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Concepts, Discourses, and Translations

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Concepts, Discourses, and Translations

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Introducing Concepts, Discourses, and Translations

The present volume discusses issues related to concepts, discourses, and translations in various cultures by addressing them from a range of theoretical perspectives including cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, and translation studies. The contributions are a fruit of the conference *Contacts and Contrasts 2020* (C&C2020), which was organised on 19-20 October 2020 in Konin, Poland, by the Department of Research in Language and Communication of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the State University of Applied Sciences in Konin. A selection of reviewed papers from this event is included in two edited volumes. The present book features the contributions focusing on the intersections between linguistic, conceptual, discursive, and cultural domains, while the second book concerns topics related to language use in an array of professional, practical, and everyday contexts.

The present volume includes 19 chapters divided into three parts: Concepts and Cultures, Dimensions of Discourse, and Facets of Translation.

The first part *Concepts and Cultures* includes six chapters. It begins with the Chapter "Anger Is a Potent Ally. The Interplay of Metaphor, Metonymy and Image Schema" authored by Anna Dąbrowska from Maria Curie-Skłodowska University of Lublin in Poland. In her cognitive linguistic analysis of a universal emotion of anger, the author discusses the novel conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY, which is triggered from Siegel's mindful technique, by focusing on the interactions between underlying conceptual structures that motivate their various linguistic manifestations.

The chapter by Júlia Hamsovszki (Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary) and Judit Baranyiné Kóczy (University of Győr, Hungary) tackles another universal concept, i.e. TREE. The authors present an extensive cultural linguistic analysis of basic cultural conceptualisations of this concept based on data from Russian and Hungarian folk songs. By taking a comparative perspective, they not only demonstrate commonalities between the analysed languages but also account for diverging tendencies and culture-specific conceptualisations which reveal the cognitive schema conventions of these folk cultural communities.

In Chapter "Why *Distancing* Is No Longer *Social*. Blending Analysis of the Compound's Meaning Construal," Nina Shtok from Warsaw School of Applied

Linguistics in Poland makes use of the Theory of Conceptual Integration in order to investigate and explicate the semantic re-organisations in the meaning construal of *social distancing*. The author discusses the emergence of this concept, its use in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic as a name for a pandemic measure, as well as its most recent semantic shift.

Chapter "The Metaphorical Representation of the Covid-19 Pandemic in the Albanian Public Discourse" by Ledia Kazazi ("Aleksandër Xhuvani" University of Elbasan, Albania) also employs the cognitive linguistic framework in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on selected Albanian official political statements and media reports, the author discusses classes of metaphors used to describe the pandemic and human activities surrounding it. The findings point out to metaphorical concepts such as WAR, NATURAL DISASTER, and JOURNEY.

The cognitive linguistic framework is also employed by Malca Belén (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru; Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru) and Frank Domínguez Chenguayen (Universidad Científica del Sur, Lima, Peru; Universidad Tecnológica del Perú, Lima, Peru) who, in their chapter, investigate the role of conceptual metonymy in the creation of signs in the Peruvian Sign Language. The authors propose a classification of the metonymic construction of concrete nominal signs which is based on their static, dynamic, or combined aspects.

This part of the volume concludes with the chapter by Kathryn M. Hudson from the University at Buffalo in USA, who explores an interaction between the cognitive, cultural, and contextual by discussing the ethnocognitive approach to lexicography. The author argues that in order to better capture various interconnections in lexicographic materials, cognitive lexicography should be more culturally contextualised and use-driven. In order to illustrate this approach, the author presents a case study based on colour terms in Miskito, a language spoken in Nicaragua and Honduras.

The second part *Dimensions of Discourse*, which consists of six contributions, starts with Chapter "*#StopCallingMeMurzyn*: Empathy and Political Correctness Among Polish Internet Users" authored by Marta Falkowska (University of Warsaw, Poland). By analysing various comments about the expert opinion from a member of the Council for the Polish Language who classified the word *murzyn* ("a black (person), Negro") as a potential insult, the author illuminates the relations between the concepts of political correctness and empathy in Polish Internet discourse.

In Chapter "Brothers in Populism. A Comparative Analysis of Donald Trump's and Jarosław Kaczyński's Re-Election Campaign Agendas," Tomasz Płudowski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw, Poland) presents a political discourse analysis of Donald Trump's 2020 videoclips and Jarosław Kaczyński's 2019 convention speech. Besides discussing the areas of convergence in their political agendas, the author also demonstrates areas where these two politicians diverge, in particular when it comes to economic policies and the role of the government.

A critical analysis of Donald Trump's discourse is also presented by Ester di Silvestro from the University of Catania, Italy. Based on data from Trump's Twitter account and his selected political speeches, the author investigates metaphors, topoi, and representational strategies employed in order to focus on selected topics such

as USA, its relations with Mexico and Europe, as well as the issues of immigration and refugees. Moreover, the question of differences between linguistic strategies in spoken and social media discourses is addressed.

Another author who explores political discourse is Marcin Kosman (University of Warsaw, Poland), who focuses on rhetorical and visual strategies used in three election video clips by a right-wing Polish politician Grzegorz Braun. The author presents a multimodal analysis complemented with a discussion of the socio-historical context which demonstrates that Braun's discursive strategies revolve around positive self-presentation and delegitimising his opponents, such as bureaucracy, LGBT communities, and mainstream politicians.

Sándor Czeglédi (University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary) addresses an interplay between the political agenda and language. In his Chapter "Contrasting Language Ideologies: Language-Related Policy Proposals in the Democratic and Republican Party Platforms in a Historical Perspective," the author provides a comprehensive analysis of the evolution of language-related policies, including officialisation, linguistic access, and educational policies, present in the USA in the last 150 years.

The final chapter of this part of the volume is a contribution by Agata Sobiczewska (Pomeranian University in Słupsk, Poland), who focuses on another cognitive-discourse phenomenon, that is, humour. In this chapter, the author discusses various aspects and types of humour as well as presents research that investigates selected conditions for irony and sarcasm detection including factors such as prior knowledge about the definitions of these concepts, age of participants, and their gender.

The third part *Facets of Translation* comprises seven chapters. In Chapter "Translating "Language-Beyond" of the Quranic Text" by Ferhat Mameri (United Arab Emirates University, Al Ain, UAE) and Salah Basamalah (University of Ottawa, Canada) an interaction of meaning and form in the context of religious translation of Quran is discussed. The authors examine the role of other languages, e.g. Hebrew, ancient Egyptian, in translating Quranic Arabic and elaborate on the concept of "language-beyond," which is where divine and human elements meet.

Chapter "The Belated Translations of Texts by Frances Burney and George Eliot" authored by María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia (Universidade da Coruña, Spain) combines theoretical frameworks of translation, reception, and gender studies in order to examine the history and reasons behind the belated Spanish translations of literary texts by Frances Burney and George Eliot. Besides discussing the factors such as censorship under Francoism, the author also describes the place of these translations in the literary system of Spanish.

Literary translation is also the focus of the Chapter "Comparing and Contrasting Adaptations of Classic Texts for Young Readers: Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818)." The author, Begoña Lasa Álvarez (Universidade da Coruña, Spain), presents a detailed analysis of selected adaptations of this classic book aimed at young readers in Spanish and British/American markets. The chapter discusses issues such as book design and format, content and structure, language and style, as well as instructional materials.

In their chapter, M. J. Zagood (United Arab Emirates University, Al Ain, UAE; Elmergib University, Libya) and A. H. Almazrouei, M. S. Alnaqbi, and F. A. Almheiri (all from United Arab Emirates University) address an issue of taboos when translating from English into Arabic. Based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Arabic translation of the book *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck*, the authors show that euphemism is the most frequently used strategy followed by a taboo for a taboo.

Floriana Renna (University of Catania, Italy) discusses a connected issue, i.e. censorship and manipulation, by focusing on audiovisual translations of expressions related to gender, sexuality, and homosexuality. The author demonstrates that when faced with such taboo topics, Italian translators of English TV-series tend to remove references to sexuality, tone them down, edulcorate, or avoid using Italian equivalents. Resorting to such strategies in translation is influenced by both cultural context and legal regulations.

Chapter "Relevance and Cognition: Translating Nominal Metaphors in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*" by Qijun Song (China University of Geosciences in Wuhan, Hubei, China) addresses another challenging issue in translation, i.e. metaphorical expressions. The author shows that in the context of Chinese to English translation of a high-status political document, five translation methods are employed. All of them are driven by concerns of relevance and are oriented towards the audience's cognitive environments.

The final chapter of the volume is authored by Andrew H. C. Chuang (National Taiwan University) and Haoran Yang (Lancaster University, UK). It offers a usage-based account of the Chinese *Bèi* passive based on online questionnaire survey data. The authors present a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the construction which evolved from the orthodox form and translationese, i.e. a by-product of translation from English to Chinese, towards constructions with ironic meanings.

By presenting these multifaceted studies at the intersection of the conceptual, linguistic, discursive, cultural, and translational, we believe the present volume not only illuminates some less frequented nooks and crannies in a timely fashion, but also inspires some further investigation in linguistics and in translation studies.

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk
Marcin Trojszczak

Contents

Concepts and Cultures

ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY. The Interplay of Metaphor, Metonymy and Image Schema

Anna Dąbrowska

Abstract Anger as a universal emotion is commonly associated with annoyance, frustration or outrage. Experiencing anger, human beings tend to become either anger stuffers or anger eruptors. This fact has given rise to the well-known conceptual metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses, 1986). Instead, taking recent advances in the field of neuroscience concerning anger management and "mindful approach" (cf. Siegel, 2009, 2016), Cognitive Linguistics may take advantage of this psychological constructive perspective to elaborate on the concept of anger from a new angle, still through the prism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 1986, 2008, 2015; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987). In this light, the aim of this paper is to discuss the novel conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY, triggered from Siegel's mindful technique. The study accounts for this original metaphor, dealing with numerous metaphorical entailments and linguistic expressions that yield from it, for instance, *start to inhabit one's body*, *take a stand for one's needs and desires*, *anger heals trauma* and *anger inspires action*. In addition, the paper refers to the interplay between metaphorical, metonymic, metaphtonimic and image schematic structures within the conceptual model of anger (Barcelona, 2002; Goossens, 1990; and Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal, 2007). As believed, the number of original conventionalised linguistic expressions that code the novel metaphor under scrutiny may help us view anger as our real ally and help us channel this vigorous energy towards improving our lives (cf. Mustad, 2019).

Keywords Conceptual metaphor · Anger · Metonymy · Image scheme · Metaphtonymy · Mindful approach

1 Introduction

Cognitive Linguistics is not a single, closely articulated, theory, "but rather a cluster of broadly compatible approaches (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007, p. 3), wherein lies

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its strength. What makes Cognitive Linguistics distinctive among the contemporary language sciences is its overarching concern to investigate the relationship between human language, the mind, and sociophysical experience. What provides the enterprise with coherence is its set of primary commitments and central theses (Evans, 2012, p. 129). For cognitive linguists though, it is the Cognitive Commitment that is their principal commitment, designed "to make one's account of human language accord with what is generally known about the mind and the brain, from other disciplines as well as our own" (Lakoff, 1990, p. 40). In other words, by following the Cognitive Commitment, researchers are due not to use exclusively the principles of linguistic structure, but rather the principles which deal with human cognition. Interestingly, other cognitive sciences are also involved in the process, for instance, philosophy, psychology, artificial intelligence, and neuroscience (Evans & Green, 2006, pp. 40–41). As elucidated by Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007, p. 5), Cognitive Linguistics is cognitive in the same way that cognitive neuroscience is, since our interaction with the world is mediated by means of informational structures in the mind. Even so, Cognitive Linguistics, more than any other cognitive sciences, treats language as a way to construe the reality, "a repository of world knowledge, a structured collection of meaningful categories that help us deal with new experiences and store information about old ones" (ibid.). Indeed, construal operations belong to the heart of Cognitive Linguistics, among which various cognitive models, image schemas, radial structures, conceptual metaphors, metonymy and metaphtonymy, to name but a few, are constitutive of people's everyday experience (Gibbs, 1996, pp. 49–50).

Based on the main principles of Cognitive Linguistics, this paper is intended to shed some light on such a pivotal but complex aspect of human daily experience, namely emotions, and their metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisation. Emotions are recognised as mental and biological states associated with all of the nerve systems (Ekman & Davidson, 1994, pp. 291–293). As claimed by Michel Cabanac (2002), emotions are usually brought on by neurophysiological changes variously associated with different components, such as, subjective experience feelings, cognitive processes, thoughts, behavioural responses, and the amount of pleasure or displeasure (p. 69). A psychologist Paul Ekman identified originally six basic *emotions, such as happiness*, *sadness*, *fear*, *surprise*, *anger*, and *disgust*, which are suggested as being commonly experienced in all human cultures (Ekman, 1972; Ekman & Friesen, 1971). The list of the six emotions has been extended since the 1970s by *acceptance* and *anticipation* (Plutchnik, 1980), *contempt* (Ekman, 1999; Ekman & Cordaro, 2011), and *interest*, *relief*, and *love* (Levenson, 2011). Regardless of whether the list is more or less lengthened, the emotion of *anger*, which is meant to be elaborated in this work, is always present in the inventory.

With this knowledge of emotions, and due to the fact that construal operations, such as metaphors and metonymies, contribute to conceptualisation of emotions to a great extent, the aim of the research is twofold. First, to discuss, in the light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 1986, 2008, 2015; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987), the novel conceptual METAPHOR ANGER IS A

POTENT ALLY, triggered from the field of neuroscience from Siegel's mindful technique concerning anger management (Siegel, 2009, 2016). Second, to deal with a couple of linguistic expressions and metaphorical, metonymic, metaphtonimic and image schematic structures that generate from this novel metaphor (Barcelona, 2002; Goossens, 1990; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2007).

The paper comprises five sections, opened with this introduction that provides the background of the issue of emotions and the cognitive theory, in which the analysis will be settled, and specifies the aim of the research. The further parts of the work are structured as follows: Sect. 2 presents the most prototypical scenario of the cognitive model of anger in the prism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 1986, 2008, 2015; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987). Section 3 elaborates a novel metaphor ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY in a constructive perspective. Section 4 deals with exemplary linguistic expressions and metaphorical, metonymic, metaphtonimic and image schematic structures that yield from the novel metaphor under scrutiny. Whereas the last section (Sect. 5) summarises all the main points raised in this paper and provides concluding remarks.

2　The Most Prototypical Scenario of the Cognitive Model of Anger

In the literature, several emotion concepts have been presented as scripts, scenarios or models. For instance, in her research, Anna Wierzbicka has frequently related to emotions as culture-grounded and not directly equivalent cross-culturally. She argues that "if we try to explain key emotion terms of other languages, such as … Ifaluk *fago* and *song*, by using English words and combinations of words such as "anger/passion/energy", "love/sadness/compassion", we are imposing an Anglo cultural perspective on other cultures. For from an Ifaluk point of view fago is a unified concept, not a mixture of the concepts encoded in the English words *anger*, *love*, *sadness* (for which Ifaluk has no equivalents)" (Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 24; cf. Wierzbicka, 1992, pp. 118–132). In addition, what Wierzbicka notices is that, regardless of some cross-cultural differences in emotion prototypes, there are some *universal semantic primitives* with which these differences are expressed, such as the concepts of *want*, *think*, *feel*, *say*, *good*, *bad* (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 8).

Zoltán Kövecses, on the other hand, underlines both universality and culture-specificity of emotions, explaining that embodiment is the basis for universality of emotions, but this does not exclude variation across and within cultures. To be precise, he argues that "some aspects of emotion language and emotion concepts are universal and clearly related to the physiological functioning of the body" (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 183). Then, Kövecses (2000b, p. 166; 2014, p. 21) claims that cultural background may account for any variations present in the perception of our bodily sensations. He says, "we should not see embodiment as a homogeneous, monolithic factor that is conceived mechanically. This is made possible by the idea that embodiment consists

of several components and that any of these can be singled out and emphasised by different cultures (or, as a matter of fact, even by individuals within cultures)" (Kövecses, 2014, p. 21). What is more, Kövecses (1986) confirms, on the ground of his thorough analysis, that emotions are not just amorphous "feelings" but they have a cognitive content. To be exact, when people speak about anger, they invoke "the conventionalized ways of talking about anger actually based on some cognitive model of what anger is" (ibid., p. 11). As Kövecses (2000b) notices, "[t]he universality of actual physiology might be seen as leading to the similarities (though not equivalence) in conceptualized physiology (i.e., the conceptual metonymies), which might then lead to the similarity (though again not equivalence) in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger and its counterparts (i.e., the container metaphor)" (p. 166). And this stance of Kövecses (1986, 2000b) is adopted for the purpose of this paper.

The concept of *anger*, as introduced in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (2003, online[1]), is traced back to the twelfth century, when it referred to "distress". Anger initially derived from "anguish" meaning "narrow, tight, squeeze, strangle", then it was related to "trouble, affliction, hot displeasure", to mean finally "being enraged, and put in a rage or fury". At present, anger is defined in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2021, online[2]) as "a strong feeling of displeasure and usually of antagonism". Similarly, the *Cambridge Dictionary* (2021, online[3]) delineates anger as "a strong feeling that makes you want to hurt someone or be unpleasant because of something unfair or unkind that has happened". Anger, understood as a strong feeling of aggravation, an antagonistic emotion usually aroused by a sense of injury, has a certain amount of responsibility. Among human beings, anger is usually considered as "having an ethical rating inasmuch as it can lead to vengeful actions that are disproportionate to the injury suffered or simply unlawful" (*Oxford University Press* and *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 2021, online[4]). The well-known psychologist, Dr Paul Ekman and his daughter Dr Eva Ekman (2016) distinguish different states of anger, dependent on the intensity of this emotion, as illustrated in Fig. 1.

Hence, as seen in Fig. 1, the least intense state of anger involves mild or strong annoyance, to continue with frustration, exasperation, argumentativeness, bitterness, vengefulness, until reaching the most intense state of anger, i.e., fury. In fact, anger contains both annoyance and fury, and the intensity of these states varies (ibid.).

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[1] The online version of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (2003, online), retrieved https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192830982.001.0001/acref-9780192830982-e-554?rskey=FIsBQq&result=554, accessed on March 30, 2021.

[2] The online version of the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2021, online), retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anger, accessed on March 30, 2021.

[3] The online version of the *Cambridge Dictionary* (2021, online), retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-polish/anger_1, accessed on March 30, 2021.

[4] The online version of the *Oxford University Press* and *Columbia Encyclopedia* (2021, online), retrieved from https://www.encyclopedia.com/medicine/psychology/psychology-and-psychiatry/anger, accessed on March 30, 2021.
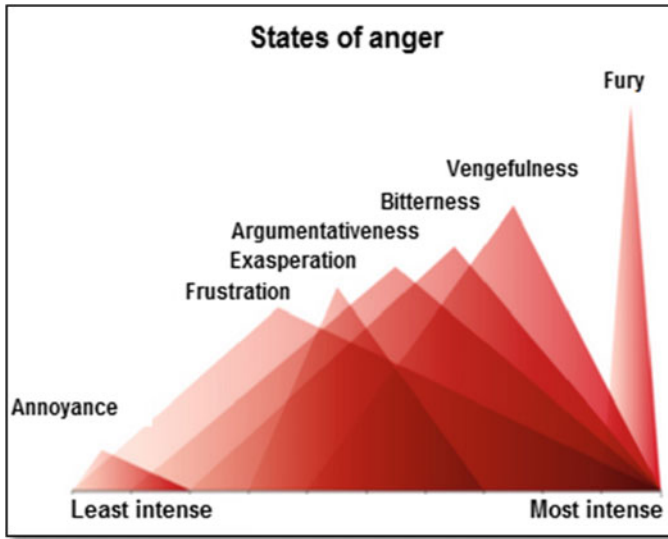
Fig. 1 Paul Ekman and Eva Ekman's (2016) states of anger (*Source* http://atlasofemotions.org/?utm_source=Newsletter&utm_campaign=34e4070f6b-Atlas_of_Emotions5_10_2016&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_7041df42ec-34e4070f6b-&ct=t(Atlas_of_Emotions5_10_2016)&mc_cid=34e4070f6b&mc_eid=[UNIQID]#states/anger)

As maintained by Jaap van Brakel (1993, p. 179), anger characteristically is assumed to entail offence, injustice, scowling. internal tension and agitation, retribution, loss of control, and striking out. Taking from the cognitive point of view, Kövecses (1986, 2000a, 2000b) and Lakoff and Kövecses (1987, pp. 211–212) provide a prototypical scenario of anger, which is summarised in (1) and name it the folk model or cognitive model of anger in American English.

(1)   The most prototypical scenario of anger:
      Stage 1: Offending Event
      Stage 2: Anger
      Stage 3: Attempt at control
      Stage 4: Loss of control
      Stage 5: Act of retribution

(Kövecses, 1986, pp. 28–29)

In the prototypical scenario of anger, which is mostly relevant to the English-speaking society, as provided by Kövecses (1986, pp. 28–29) and Lakoff and Kövecses (1987, pp. 211–212), there are five stages. In stage 1 anger is initiated by an offending event that displeases a person. Ekman and Ekman (2016) elucidate that the reason behind us feeling angry is a causing situation, for example, when something blocks us, or when we think we are being treated unfairly. The timeline of anger begins with a trigger that brings about an emotional experience and ultimately

results in a response. In most cases there is a wrongdoer who purposely (or unintentionally) does something wrong to a person. The offense creates an inequality, which seems to be balanced only by some act of retribution (Kövecses, 1986, p. 28; Lakoff, 1987, p. 400). In stage 2, the person experiences different intensities of anger, which are revealed by some physiological effects, such as increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation. The more intense the anger gets, the higher desire to perform an act of retribution appears. Having predicting a possible danger and moral and social unacceptance after carrying on the act of retribution, the angry person feels a responsibility to control his/her anger (stage 3). Nonetheless, stage 4 with a loss of control occurs when the intensity of anger goes beyond one's tolerance limit for controlling anger. Usually then the angry person displays his/her angry behaviour, and being led by their anger, the person gets out of control, acts under illogical and irresponsible compulsion, and proceeds to the act of retribution (stage 5). The strength of retribution almost matches the intensity of the offence, the scales get balanced, the intensity of anger drops to zero, and anger ceases to exist (Kövecses, 1986, pp. 28–29; Lakoff, 1987, pp. 400–401; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987, pp. 211–212).

Importantly, taking a look at the scenario of anger through the prism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 1986, 2000b, 2008, 2015), Kövecses (2000b) explains that there are certain linguistic and cognitive tools, such as metaphors and metonymies, which contribute to conceptualisation of emotions, for example, anger, to a great extent. In fact, "the metaphors and metonymies associated with anger converge on and constitute the model, with different metaphors and metonymies mapping onto different parts of the model" (Kövecses, 2000b, p. 160). For Kövecses (2000a), the cultural models of anger and its counterparts, with the following basic scenario: cause of emotion → emotion → attempt at control → loss of control → response, are "the joint products of metaphor, metonymy, (possibly universal) actual physiology and cultural context" (p. 162).

In this vein, we may distinguish some well-recognised conceptual metonymies, defined as conceptual mappings within the same domain (A STANDS FOR B) (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 5), which are associated with anger. These are: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECT OF AN EMOTION (E.G. BODY HEAT, INTERNAL PRESSURE, REDNESS IN FACE AND NECK AREA, AGITATION, INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION) STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff, 1987, p. 382). In other words, ANY PHYSIOLOGICAL REACTION OF ANGER STANDS FOR ANGER. These reactions include: facial expressions, such as frowning or glaring; body language, such as taking a strong stance or turning away; tone of voice, such as speaking gruffly or yelling; physiological responses, such as sweating or turning red; or aggressive behaviours, such as hitting, kicking, or throwing objects (Cherry, 2020).

What is more, the above-mentioned prototypical cultural scenario of anger yields numerous conceptual metaphors, i.e., mental mappings from a more concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain (A IS B) (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 5). Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) explicate that "the folk theory of physiological effects (…) forms the basis of the most general metaphor for anger: ANGER IS HEAT" (p. 383). The metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is also evoked by Gibbs (2017, p. 230) and Dąbrowska

(2020, pp. 161–180), who illustrate it by means of linguistic idioms, such as *seeing red* or *getting hot under the collar*. The ANGER IS HEAT metaphor can be realised in two versions, namely, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and ANGER IS FIRE metaphors. Both of these metaphors are motivated by the heat, internal pressure, redness and the agitation elements of the folk theory. Besides, the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor derives from the general metaphor BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (Kövecses, 2010, p. 108), and it is supported by psychological and neurological studies proving that emotion is basically experienced inside the body.

Furthermore, in the prototypical scenario, anger is visualised as a negative emotion, which triggers other metaphors, such as ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL, ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS TRESPASSING, THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE, AN ANGRY PERSON IS A FUNCTIONING MACHINE, ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (Kövecses, 2000b, 21). Undoubtedly, there are plentiful examples of the linguistic manifestation of the above-mentioned metaphors, for instance, *She let her steam off* (ANGER IS BODY HEAT); *You're driving me nuts!* (ANGER IS INSANITY); *He has a fierce temper* (ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL); or *He surrendered to his anger* (ANGER IS AN OPPONENT) (Kövecses, 1986, pp. 20–24). Finally, it needs to be noticed that due to a close interaction between metaphor and metonymy in figurative language, it is sometimes hardly possible to distinguish between metaphors and metonymies, for example, the metonymy BODY HEAT (REDNESS) STANDS FOR ANGER is strictly related to the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. This results in introducing the cover term "metaphtonymy" (cf. Goossens, 1990).

3 Non-Prototypical Scenarios of Anger

3.1 Variation in Anger Scenarios

What makes the anger scenario discussed in Sect. 2 prototypical is not the fact that it is the only model of anger, but rather a scenario which comprises a set of characteristics, typical of the given situation of anger. As Wierzbicka (1990) claims, "[t]he definition of an emotion concept takes the form of a prototypical scenario describing not so much an external situation as a highly abstract cognitive structure: roughly, to feel emotion E means to feel as a person does who has certain (specifiable) thoughts, characteristic of that particular situation" (p. 361). However, Wierzbicka's (1990) view of a prototype needs to be enriched with the cognitive perspective represented by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (1986, 2000a, 2000b, 2014, 2015), who emphasise the role of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the conceptualisation of a particular emotional experience and generating a prototypical scenario.

To make the picture of a prototypical anger scenario whole, also Kövecses's (1986) remark should be taken into consideration, when he says, "[p]art of what makes the prototypical scenario prototypical is that it is sufficiently rich so that variations on it can account for nonprototypical cases" (p. 36). Indeed, life situations and emotional conditions of people are so unlike that there seem to be no such necessary and sufficient conditions that will completely fit only one model of anger. Hence, it would be a mistake to try to adjust all anger scenarios to a single cognitive model, since there is no shared core for all kinds of anger. Instead, any possible deviations can be seen as variants of the prototypical anger scenario. Different variants of anger most likely bear family resemblances to one another. "The point is that there is no single unified cognitive model of anger. Instead there is a category of cognitive models with a prototypical model in the center" (Kövecses, 1986, p. 36).

Accordingly, Kövecses (1986) discusses several non-prototypical scenarios of anger, such as: someone who turns the other cheek, that is, who does not get angry or seek retribution, is considered virtually saintly; someone who has no difficulty controlling his anger is found especially praiseworthy; or a hothead is someone called emotionally "unbalanced", who considers more events offensive than most people, who has a lower threshold for anger than the norm, who cannot control his anger, and whose acts of retribution are considered out of proportion to the offense (pp. 32–36). In the same vein, Lakoff (1987) presents his list of non-prototypical anger scenarios, which includes: insatiable anger, frustrated anger, redirected anger, exaggerated response, controlled response, constructive use, terminating event, spontaneous cessation, successful suppression, controlled reduction, immediate explosion, slow burn, nursing a grudge, the "don't get mad, get even" anger, indirect cause, cool anger, cold anger, anger with righteous indignation, wrath and a manipulative use of anger (pp. 401–405).

Apart from the personality differences, the cultural variation also matters in creating a non-prototypical anger scenario. Wierzbicka (1992, 2002) notices that in the American culture a neutral state of being entails emotionless composure, while the presence of emotions indicates the loss of control. In turn, in the Russian culture the absence of emotions indicates the decay of the soul and one's personality, while emotions are desired in one's life to make it full. This cultural difference in viewing emotion occurrence results from the relationship between the body and soul in Russian, and body and mind in English (ibid.).

3.2 *A Novel Metaphor* ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY *in a Constructive Perspective*

Anger that is excessive or expressed in ways that are harmful, dangerous, or destructive to others can become a problem. When angry behaviours are uncontrolled, they can turn to aggression, abuse, or even violence quite soon. This type of force can bring some mental and physical consequences. Unrestrained anger disables us from

making rational decisions and can even influence our physical health (Staicu & Cuţov, 2010).

As it is commonly observed (cf. also Mustad, 2019), there are two styles of expressing one's anger in an unhealthy and negative manner, i.e., active *eruptors* and passive *stuffers*. Both *anger eruptors*, who reveal their anger with an extreme and uncontrollable force like volcano eruption, and *anger stuffers*, who keep their angry emotions locked in their body and mind, are most likely to face the destructive consequences for their own health and for the lives of others. To understand the damaging power of these two types of angry people better, let us visualise them by means of conceptual metaphors. First, the metaphor ANGER IS A CHILD can be triggered due to the fact that neither eruptors nor stuffers deal with their anger in a mature and responsible manner. This metaphor, when analysed in the [MOTION] scheme, can be realised in such linguistic expressions as: *eruptors let their anger drive the car*, and *stuffers stuff their anger in the car trunk*.

Moreover, there are other metaphors that can be generated based on some distinguishing features for both of the anger types. For eruptors, LIFE IS A FIGHT, while their ANGER IS AN ERUPTING VOLCANO. These [FORCE] and [FIGHT] schemes may be manifested by the following linguistic metaphors: *eruptors get hijacked by their anger* and *they let anger drive the car*, and metonymic illustrations: e*ruptors become aggressive, name-calling, blaming, violent,* or *yelling*. As explicated by Beverly Engel (2010), eruptors are usually incapable of pronouncing the reason behind their feeling of threat, which results in their initial impulse to become angry, to suspect others, or blame them (p. 253). Anger stuffers, on the other hand, treat LIFE AS FLIGHT OR FREEZE, whereas their BODY AND MIND ARE THE CONTAINMENT. We may recognise the following physiological responses to anger, which become metonymic terms for anger stuffers: *stifling one's true voice* or *collapsing one's boundaries*. The linguistic metaphors in the [CONTAINMENT] scheme may be exemplified by the following expressions: stuffers *shove anger deep into their body, suppress their anger, deny their anger by passing, rising above,* and *stuffing it deep inside* (cf. also Mustad, 2019). Stuffers can be represented either by "deniers or avoiders who use food or other substances to push down their anger. Instead of acknowledging, feeling, and expressing their anger, they overeat, smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, or take drugs so that they can block out their anger or avoid having to confront someone who has treated them unfairly" (Engel, 2010, p. 70). In other words, stuffers are afraid of offending people, losing control or a relationship, and, in general, they believe that revealing their anger is inappropriate, hence they avoid such an intense emotion. Deniers disown their anger to such an extent that they are usually unconscious of feeling angry or subvert this emotion that no one knows they are angry. They do their best not to become angry since they are scared of their anger, and of a possible abuse that anger may lead to, or because they are fearful of others' opinion concerning their anger (cf. also Engel, 2010, pp. 68–69).

Undoubtedly, both of the styles of dealing with anger are extremely detrimental for those who experience this emotion and for others around. Since ANGER IS A CHILD, we neither want to *let it drive the car*, and *be a driving force of our life actions*, nor we wish to *stuff the child in the trunk* since we feel that by hiding or

denying our anger, we do not live in the fullness of our being. Therefore, my proposal is to rebuild intentionally our scenario of anger, by filling it with the neuroscientific ideas of dealing with this emotional power. Only then, expectedly, we may learn that anger, mostly viewed as a negative emotion, can serve a wide range of purposes, from alerting us to danger to helping us build social connections. To be exact, it is a constructive neuroscientific technique concerning anger management that may help us recognise anger as a powerful constructive force (cf. also Siegel, 2009, 2016). In my view, by learning to deal with anger in a positive way, instead of stuffing it deep inside our body and mind or letting it erupt in an uncontrollable manner that can take a toll on both our health and our relationships, we may regain the power of our life and see it in a new light.

Consequently, the new anger scenario should include the following stages as given in (2):

(2) A new scenario of anger:
     Stage 1: Learn about the neuroscience of anger
     Stage 2: Offending Event
     Stage 3: Anger
     Stage 4: Attempt at control: breath, name it
     Stage 5: Express your anger in healthy ways: do it differently and inquire
             (own source, based on Siegel, 2009, 2016; and Mustad, 2019)

As seen in (2), the new scenario of anger, based on the constructive approach to anger, offers neither to stuff anger nor to erupt it by losing control and searching for an act of retribution. Instead, we are advised to learn to express our anger in healthy ways. We are suggested to make acquaintance with anger, which activates the ANGER IS OUR POTENT ALLY metaphor. To be detailed, as the novel scenario suggests, first, we need to understand the neuroscience of anger. Once we perceive a situation as a danger, threat, or offence, the information about a fearful stimulus is immediately sent to the amygdala (Fig. 2), which, being a component of the limbic system, is responsible for fear and anxiety processing, playing an important role in emotion and behavior. As the research suggests, the message about a potentially frightening situation can reach the amygdala long before we are even consciously aware of it. Then, the amygdala sends signals to the areas of our brain like the hypothalamus to trigger a "fight-or-flight" reaction, marked by our increased heart rate and respiration to prepare for action (cf. LeDoux, 2007).

To understand this mechanism of threat response better, Siegel (2010) visualises the brain by means of a hand. In the so-called "hand model," illustrated in Fig. 3a and b, our hand resembles our brain, the wrist represents our brain stem which controls basic bodily functions.

As seen in Figs. 3a, b, our thumb represents our amygdala, and this whole subcortical region is the most emotional and reactive part of the brain. When we close our hand, the front of our fingers represents our prefrontal cortex and this is the wise and rational part of our brain. As elucidated by Mustad (2019), we feel angry as a result of the brain's hardwired threat response that has been triggered by a perceived threat with lightning speed. All physiological responses are activated in our body. Inside

Fig. 2 The scheme of brain and amygdala (*Source* https://www.neuroscientific allychallenged.com/blog/ know-your-brain-amygdala)
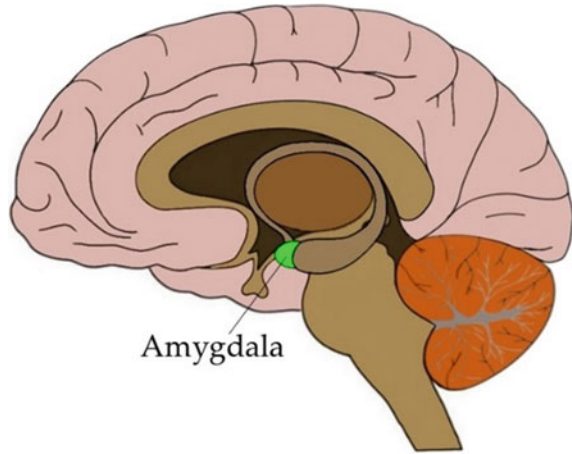
our brain, we flip our lid, losing contact with the rational prefrontal cortex, and the reactive amygdala seems to hijack our brain.

With this neuroscientific knowledge, we may more consciously approach a stimulus, for example, an offending event (stage 2 of the new scenario of anger in (2)), which triggers fear and leads to anger (stage 3). Our attempt to control anger (stage 4) may prove to be successful provided we channel our anger back on the wise track, and then express our anger in healthy ways (stage 5). To make stages 4 and 5 effective, constructive practices may be useful by helping our wiser brain to come back on line when anger is present. An easy way to remember these tools are four fingers of our prefrontal cortex that need to come back on line. These are: breathe deeply and name your emotion and the situation (stage 4), try to react in some different way and inquire afterwards (stage 5). Indeed, by taking deep breaths we engage the nervous system and send signals to our body that soothe the threat response, putting us back into a more relaxed state. Therefore, once we notice some tension or anger in our body, first we need to come to slowing things down by taking deep breaths. Then, by naming our emotion, we put the brakes on our physiological dysregulation and calm the amygdala hijack. Thus, when we notice anger, without judgment we may say, "I feel angry" or "I feel tension in my shoulders". By finding the answer for what feelings are inside us, we will feel the link between our emotions, bodily sensations, our thoughts, memories, and our perceptions. Becoming aware of our emotional feelings can be challenging to name, but it will fill us with a wash of energy. In stage 5 we are encouraged to do something different when facing our anger. To be precise, when we find ourselves erupting with anger, we may try to feel compassion, take a deep breath and say, "I'm hurting right now. How can I be kinder to myself and those around me"? By discovering what characteristics or behaviours in ourselves and in others make, for instance, an eruptor feel threatened, we may be able to avoid these behaviours in this person's presence. This attitude does not deprive us of our right to stand up for ourselves if an eruptor mistreats us. It simply teaches us how to avoid
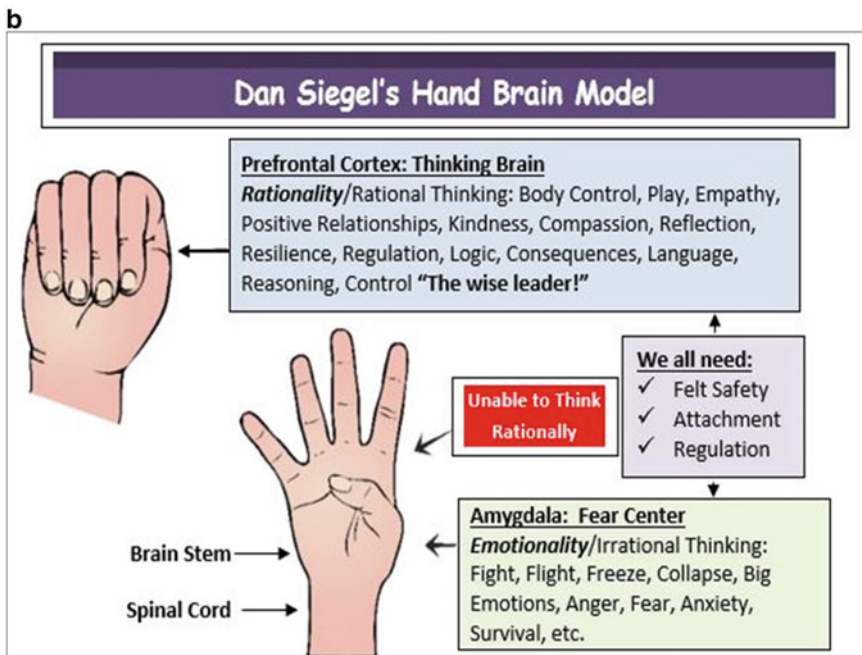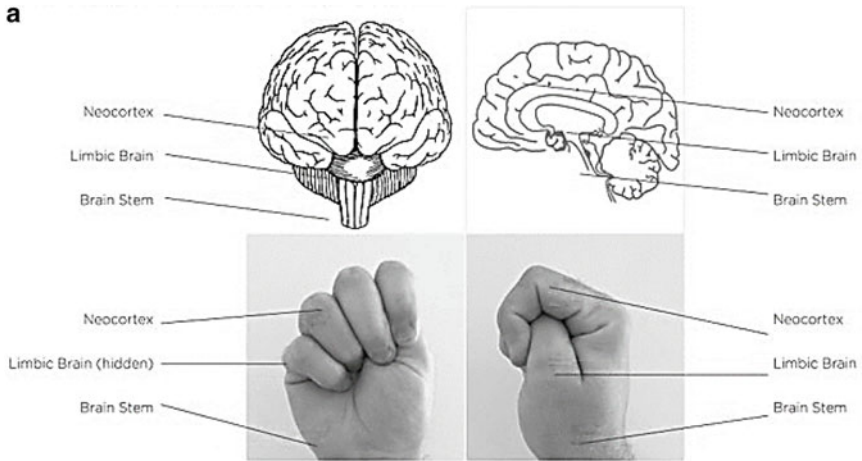
Fig. 3 Siegel's hand brain model (*Sources* **a** http://blueskyschoolca.blogspot.com/2018/12/whats-that-blob-in-my-skull-by-jaden.html, Based on Siegel [2010, p. 15]. **b** https://www.facebook.com/Carpediemschoolgeorge/photos/pcb.2714970498738563/2714969968738616/, based on Siegel [2010, p. 15])

intentionally a behaviour that triggers anger in an eruptor, to make us both happier. The final moment in stage 5 invites us to inquire after experiencing the situation of anger. Usually, our anger tries to tell us something and we may listen to it. We may also ask ourselves, "What do I need to say right now but I've been unwilling to face"?, or "What needs to be protected or supported"?, or "What action do I need to take right now"?

In short, the novel scenario of anger takes advantage of the constructive technique in which the healing and transformative power of the world most stigmatised emotion—that is anger—is unlocked. Indeed, when we creatively embody our anger, it can help us begin to resolve our past traumas and support us in getting to know our boundaries.

4 Linguistic Expressions and Metaphorical, Metonymic, Metaphtonimic and Image Schematic Structures Behind the ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY Metaphor

Coming back to the linguistic side of our new metaphor, we may notice some interesting entailments and related metaphors derived from the ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY metaphor. Three of the linguistic metaphors, which inspired me after watching Mustad's (2019) presentation, are worth being brought to light, namely, *anger reveals our boundaries, anger heals trauma*, and *anger inspires action*. Indeed, when anger is our ally, we see this emotion as a flashing red warning light for the things that we or others are trespassing. Hence, *anger reveals our boundaries*. When we begin to own anger in our body, we can start to thaw the parts of ourselves that have been locked and frozen in trauma. Therefore, *anger heals trauma*. Finally, anger urges us to come out of denial and see clearly. Nevertheless, we cannot just stop there, since anger hangs around until we take action on what we see. Hence, *anger inspires action*. In fact, what seems to be common for all these metaphorical expressions is that anger is viewed from a positive constructive perspective, which gives rise to the ANGER IS A DOCTOR / TEACHER metaphor.

In addition, all the linguistic metaphors introduced at the beginning of this section seem to belong to the general image scheme of [CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE] (cf. also Lakoff, 1987, p. 262), but they can also be interpreted in the scheme of [BALANCE] or [MOTION]. Besides, to recall briefly, Goossens (2002 [1990]), introduces the term "metaphtonymy" (p. 367) to refer to all cases in which metaphor and metonymy co-occur, as opposed to "pure" metaphors and metonymies. According to Goossens's studies, conceptual metaphors are often based on, or at least motivated by metonymy. Figure 4a–c below illustrate the interplay between metaphors and metonymies in the three metaphorical expressions under scrutiny, namely, *anger reveals our boundaries* (Fig. 4a), *anger heals trauma* (Fig. 4b), and *anger inspires action* (Fig. 4c).

Figure 4a–c above illustrate such metonymical correspondences as: BOUNDARIES STAND FOR HUMAN LIMITATIONS, WEAKNESSES, TRUTH; TRAUMA STANDS

Fig. 4 **a** *Anger reveals pour boundaries* linguistic metaphor. **b** *Anger heals trauma* linguistic metaphor. **c** *Anger inspires action* linguistic metaphor (*Source* Own source)
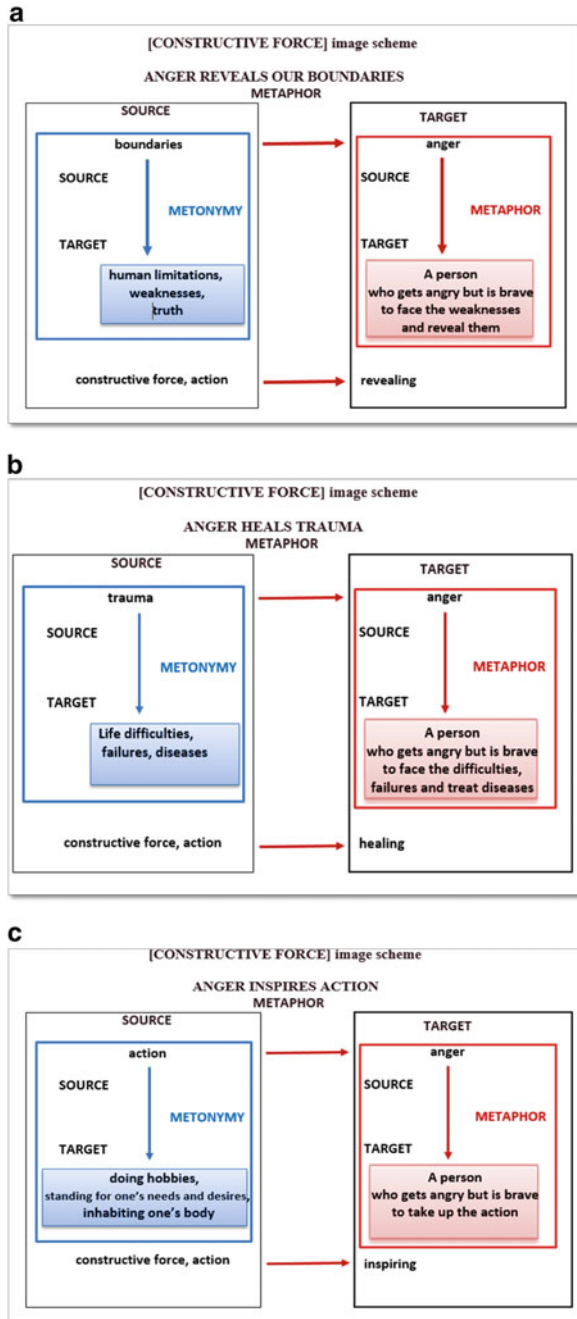
FOR LIFE DIFFICULTIES, FAILURES, DISEASES; and ACTION STANDS FOR DOING HOBBIES, STANDING FOR ONE'S NEEDS AND DESIRES, INHABITING ONE'S BODY. The cognitive metaphors generated on the ground of these linguistic expressions include personification in ontological metaphors, in which anger becomes a person. Since anger is able to reveal our weaknesses, heal our trauma and inspire to action, ANGER IS A DOCTOR / A TEACHER/ A FRIEND. Interestingly, by using the constructive perspective on anger, we can conceptualise this emotion as the other "us", i.e., an angry person who is brave enough to face the weaknesses and reveal them, to face the difficulties, failures and treat diseases, and to take up actions. Indeed, by taking a positive approach to our anger, we may find it constructive in clarifying our needs in a relationship, as well as it can also motivate us to find solutions to things that bother us and to take actions.

5 Concluding Remarks

As noticed by Plutchnik (1994), "[b]ecause emotions are complex states of the organism involving feelings, behaviour, impulses, physiological changes and efforts at control, the measurement of emotions is also a complex process" (p. 139) (cf. Baider & Cislaru, 2014; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2010). Conceptual metaphor is undoubtedly the best known aspect of Cognitive Linguistics and one of the well-recognised tools to construct the complexity of emotions. Cognitive operations are not fixed rigid-structure mechanisms. Instead, the way people perceive and describe a given scene is "deeply affected by a wealth of nonindependent factors, including what they are thinking, how they construe the scene, the goals at hand, past experience, and available knowledge structures" (Tversky & Lee, 1998, p. 158).

This paper has shed some light on one of such emotional states, namely anger. The work investigated the feeling of anger that we experience in our lives. We have tried to use such universal tools as metonymy and metaphor, based on actual human physiology, and combine them with the neuroscientic constructive technique of anger management in order to extract elements which would fit the novel positive anger scenario.

Both Zoltan Kövecses (1986, p. 33) and Dr Daniel Siegel (2009, 2010) notice a possibility of making a constructive use of the negative emotion—anger. Instead of an act of retribution, we may try to put our anger to a constructive use. Controlling and bringing up our anger has always been a challenge worth facing, undertaking and keeping up. With the help of the constructive strategies, to breathe, name our emotion, react in a different way and inquire afterwards, we may manage our anger, eliminate the negative threat response, and redirect this force into something constructive. In the novel ANGER IS A POTENT ALLY metaphor, anger is recognised as our real ally that helps us channel our vigorous energy towards improving our lives.

Finally, the most common type of the metaphtonymic interplay in the investigated metaphors was the one, in which the source-in-target metonymy occurs within the

metaphoric source in which the output of metonymy serves the source of a metaphor (cf. also Ruiz de Mendoza, 2000).

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Cultural Conceptualisations of TREE: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Hungarian and Russian Folksongs

Júlia Hamsovszki and Judit Baranyiné Kóczy

Abstract One of the key issues of recent linguistic trends is to understand the inter-action between language and culture, which can be well observed through the iden-tification of cultural conceptualizations (Sharifian, 2011, 2017). This study explores and compares the basic cultural conceptualizations of TREE, a concept which holds a universal symbolic status in human cognition, in Russian and Hungarian folk songs (e.g., Baranyiné Kóczy, 2018b), relying on approximately 800 + 600 texts presented in two Hungarian and Russian corpora of folksongs (Kireevsky, 1986). The study addresses the following questions: How is TREE conceptualized in general in folk songs by the Hungarian vs. Russian folk cultural communities? Are specific concep-tualizations attached to different tree-types in the two corpora? What similarities and differences of the underlying metaphors can be distinguished in these two systems of cultural conceptualizations? What specific conceptualizations are attached to various tree-species in these corpora? The study utilizes the methodological framework of Cultural Linguistics in that it identifies conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the texts and relates them to underlying cultural models. The research shows that, (a) Russian folk songs tend to employ various tree-types with distinct conceptual-izations, whereas tree-species are less dominantly represented in the Hungarian folk songs; (b) the most frequent type of tree is *дуб* "oak" in Russian whereas *rózsafa* "rose-tree" in Hungarian; (c) despite some similar generic ideas behind cultural conceptualizations, their representations and the image schemas related to them can be quite different; (d) there are conceptualizations which are only present in either corpus. Overall, it is argued that the figurative uses of trees and parts of trees rely on cultural conceptualizations and are deeply embedded in the cognition of folk cultural communities.

Keywords Cultural conceptualizations · Cultural Linguistics · Tree · Russian · Hungarian

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1   Introduction

A fundamental question about the study of metaphor in language is to what degree and in what ways it reflects the cognition that is characteristic of a cultural community. Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2011, 2017) emphasizes that the best way to understand the dynamic interface between language and culture is to observe *cultural conceptualizations*, which can be captured in various types of artefacts, such as cultural art, literature, cultural events, emotions, traditions, rituals, and non-verbal behaviours (Sharifian, 2017, p. 6). Cultural conceptualizations comprise various types of conceptualizations including cultural metaphors, cultural schemas and cultural categories (Sharifian, 2011, 2017), each of which convey different aspects of the worldview of a cultural group. Cultural metaphors are, on the one hand, captured as conceptual structures as proposed in the *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which emphasizes that metaphor plays a key role in embodying everyday experiences in the human—environment interaction; on the other hand, they emerge in physiological interactions and they are also grounded in cultural models (Kövecses, 2000; Sharifian et al., 2008; Yu, 2001, 2003).

This chapter delves into a specific cluster of cultural conceptualizations, namely, folk cultural metaphors, which originated and emerged in traditional peasant communities and reflect the specific ideas and beliefs of those communities regarding life and the world that surrounds them. The peasant communities had a dynamic and evolving system which preserved their traditions and adapted new ideas to their already existing ones, resulting in an ongoing interaction between collective conventions and individual initiatives. Different types of folk texts such as folk songs, folk tales, or proverbs, are repositories of folk cultural cognition, which discloses an archaic layer of the worldview, including values of a language community. The study adopts a comparative analysis of the conceptualizations of TREE in Russian and Hungarian folk songs, which are representative vehicles of folk cultural conceptualizations (on Hungarian folk songs cf. Baranyiné Kóczy, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018a, 2018b; Szelid, 2007). These two clusters are similar in that they often display personal emotions and life situations by means of metaphorical representation, using the imagery of the natural environment.

There is no universal agreement on what is understood by "nature" and "wilderness", which comes from different perceptions about the characteristics of human–nature relationship from culture to culture, and also from time to time (Evernden, 1992). The conceptualization of nature derives from a complexity of human experiences, such as ecological interactions, historical and present-day distributional patterns, and human–environment influences. The essential difference is that some communities consider humans as part of nature, while in other societies (especially in Western urban-industrialized states) humans are seen as standing apart from nature (Knight, 2006, p. 6). Therefore, landscape is basically "a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings" (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988, p. 1). In this context, Knight uses the term "cultural landscape" that incorporates its cultural, conceptual and dynamic aspects (Knight, 2006, p. 5). The

peasant societies' attitude towards nature was generally characterized by their inter-connectedness with nature, which followed from their dependence on land, which provided nutrition for them. The visual impressions of nature phenomena were basic and "elementary experiences" of peasants regarding the world, which filled their imaginations and gave rise to attaching associative meanings to them (Erdélyi, 1961, p. 174). This meant that, instead of carrying a "romantic" attitude towards nature and natural phenomena, they viewed them as ambiguous: either benevolent or malicious from the perspective of their own management and survival in life. "There are certain phenomena that have contradictory impacts on the soul through the very same visual experience. For example, fire may have a good and a bad image. It may be destroying and devouring as well as protecting and cleaning" (Erdélyi, 1961, p. 177).

From the perspective of CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), within HUMAN AS NATURE metaphors, LIVING ORGANISM, especially PLANTS are cross-culturally utilized as source domains for describing the developmental aspects of HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (Kövecses, 2000, pp. 104—106). The metaphors of NATURE as repre-sented in Russian and Hungarian folk songs were created in two separate language communities which were neither historically-culturally nor linguistically in contact. The fact that the representation of nature is characteristic—frequent and pervasive—of both Russian and Hungarian folk songs naturally leads us to the question whether these metaphor systems are based on general observations which are essentially similar or not, and what common/distinct aspects can be observed. The question is especially relevant considering the symbolic status of trees in human cognition worldwide (Bloch, 2005; Donaldson, 1938; Noble, 1975; Rival, 1998; Sinha, 1979; Zarcone, 2005; cf. Sect. 2.2). In this paper we explore the cultural conceptualiza-tions of TREE and various TREE-SPECIES, which are represented as source domains for cultural metaphors in both Russian and Hungarian folk songs. Our aim is to present a comparative analysis based on two corpora, and delineate common and distinct features of two systems of cultural conceptualizations. The study targets the following three questions:

1. How is TREE in general conceptualized by the Hungarian vs. Russian folk cultural communities as evidenced by folk songs?
2. What similarities and differences of the underlying metaphors can be distin-guished in these two systems of cultural conceptualizations?
3. What specific conceptualizations are attached to various tree-species in the two corpora?

The research employs the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics and the empirical investigation involves approximately 600 Russian and 800 Hungarian texts (Kireevsky, 1986; Ortutay & Katona, 1975).

In the analysis of folk songs, by exploring the cultural conceptualizations of each tree-species, we can gain knowledge about the meaning and value classification of trees in general and tree-species separately in the knowledge of the peasant commu-nities that create and use such texts. In this way, we can discover and get to know an archaic layer of Russian or Hungarian cultural cognition, which can be interpreted as the property of peasant communities. This is a relatively unexplored field that can be

expanded by identifying conceptualizations of further concepts, or extended to other genres of folklore. Its results may not only be significant for the Russian or Hungarian linguistic-cultural community, but may also enrich the results of intercultural research compared to the characteristics of folklore texts of other peoples.

2   Theoretical Background

2.1   *Cultural Conceptualizations in Folk Texts*

The intricate relationship between language, cognition, and culture is the central issue of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2003, 2011, 2017), which utilizes cognitive linguistic approach to language in cultural context (Kövecses, 2000, 2005, 2015). In the Cultural Linguistic perspective, culture is practically viewed as "a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people" (Kövecses, 2005, p. 1; see also Strauss & Quinn, 1997). The cross-cultural variation of metaphors has become a major interest for Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2011, 2017), a field in which cultural metaphors are understood as cultural conceptualizations in that they represent cultural cognition, i.e., "networks of distributed representations across the minds in cultural groups" (Sharifian, 2011, p. 5). Apart from metaphors, cultural conceptualizations involve cultural schemas and cultural categories. These categories are viewed as different types of repositories of a particular cultural group's collective experiences about various aspects of life, their environment, religion, etc. (Sharifian, 2011).

The metaphors of NATURE in Russian and Hungarian folksongs can be studied by understanding the complexity of the context in which they derived from. Both clusters emerged from a dynamic interface between a group's perceptions about their natural environment (the source domain), on the one hand, and their collective experiences about human life (the target domain), on the other, complemented by an application process which established connection between two domains. As a result, culture-specific metaphors of nature entities developed. This dynamic evolution of cultural conceptualizations indicates that cultural variance arises (at least) at three stages: the conceptual issues targeted for representation, the nature entities/phenomena utilized, and finally, the way experiences are linked to compose a metaphor (Kövecses, 2002). Cultural factors play significant roles in both differential experience (contexts which include the physical environment, the social context, and the communicative situation) and differential cognitive preferences (Kövecses, 2005, pp. 232, 246).

2.2 Conceptualizations of TREE Across Culture

There is a rich literature by anthropologists which is devoted to documenting the cultural significance of forest resources, including trees, for people. These studies aim at understanding and appreciating the diverse ways in which trees have entered into the human experience, involving discussions on the cognitive and symbolic attributes of trees. Tree symbolism (e.g., Rival, 1998) considers recurrent use of trees to symbolize life, vitality, and self-regeneration, yet it also emphasises the ambiguity often associated with them as entities that seem "somewhat alive and somewhat dead" (Rival, 1998, p. 27). Some anthropologists (e.g., Bloch, 2005) argue that it is the universality in the conceptualization of life that explains the universal aspects of tree and plant symbolism. Accordingly, the symbolic status of trees emerges from the fact that they are substitutable for humans because they both share "life". Others, however, emphasize the cross-cultural aspect of tree symbolism (Donaldson, 1938; Noble, 1975; Sinha, 1979; Zarcone, 2005).

The most fundamental experience about trees within the vegetation is that, in contrast to the cyclically decaying and regenerating parts of flowers, trees (especially the evergreen tree) is a symbol of vitality and eternity (cf. "tree of life"). Related to this conception and also to religious symbolism, the cosmic function of trees, a widespread symbol, derives from their structural properties. Tree as a world-axis and centre of the world is one of the most common motifs in mythical worldviews, hence its name "world tree" and "cosmic tree". It connects the vertical spheres of the world as it unites the sky with the earth and symbolizes wholeness: its root penetrating deep into the earth symbolises the underworld, its trunk embodies the terrestrial sphere, and its branches stretching out to the sky connect to the celestial sphere. In this way, trees enable communication among three spheres (Britannica).

The origin of the belief in the essential correspondence of man and tree, their transformation into one another (mythopoesis, cf. van Ooijen, 2019) is unknown, but even among peoples without developed agriculture, trees were surrounded by totemic reverence and were also used as burial sites (Jankovics, 1991, pp. 13—14). Humans and trees share the same evolutionary origin and many biological configurations, they provide the very condition for our aerobic being, and they have long fulfilled many of our basic needs, be it as housing, heat or nourishment (Ooijen, 2019, p. 2). The animistic perspective on trees for indigenous societies derived from a reflection of a world where gods and humans were part of a much more complex and multi-layered system, where every single part was closely connected with each other in a dense network of symbolic and ritual meanings (cf. Perdibon, 2019). The belief that trees possess a distinct spiritual essence and are connected to human soul, has survived, for example, in the tradition of planting trees on graves, where the root of the tree would feed on the soul of the dead, and in this way, the human's soul would live on (Jankovics, 1991, p. 20).

The interconnectedness of human and trees can be detected in several Russian and Hungarian folk songs. One example is the Hungarian folk song (1) where the growth and greening of trees are explained as a natural consequence of a human

crying under them. The effect of crying, namely, watering the soil, which is similar to that of rain, is an exaggerated metaphorical representation of the conceptualizer's sorrow.

(1)	*Arra alá de sok a fa, a fa!*	What a lot of trees, trees are there below!
	Sokat sírtam alatta, alatta	I cried a lot under them, under them
	Azért zöldelltek ki arra a fák,	The trees turned green over there
	Bús könnyeim sokat megáztatták.	Because they were soaking in my sad tears a lot.

Trees also have a prominent role in religious symbolism (Altman, 1994), which is based on the idea that,

> Trees are a form of nature that represent life and the sacred continuity of the spiritual, cosmic, and physical worlds. A tree is often used to symbolize a deity or other sacred beings, or it may stand for what is sacred in general... Trees represent certain deities or ancestors, serve as mediators or as a link to the religious realm, and are associated with cultural beliefs in heaven or the afterlife. (Frese & Gray, 1995, p. 26)

The development of secret groves can be connected to traditional societies which believed that they were linked in a web of spiritual relationships with their biophysical environments (Hughes & Chandran, 1998, p. 78). Trees served as the first temples of the gods, and sacred groves as their first place of worship (Chandran & Hughes, 1997; Frazer, 1981; MacCulloch, 1911; Philpot, 1897).

The experiences of trees which can be held as "universal" have various bases (Jankovics, 1991, pp. 10–11). First of all, it is a protective means in that its canopy protects from the heat of the Sun and rain. Its branches and hollow have served as shelters, homes or burial places for numerous communities. Trees have also provided nourishment for humans, for instance, they offered fruit, seed and nut oils, herbs, or tree sap for food, the leaves or the hollow collected water, and some tree-types were used as medicine. Trees also functioned as raw materials for paint, oil, glue and insulation. Once a tree cut, wood provided warmth for people and treated and processed wood was used for several purposes, such as making houses, furniture, ships, tools and instruments for everyday use (axe or sword handle), musical instruments, sports requisites, toys, etc. Last but not least, trees are also closely linked to writing in many cultures: birch bark for writing goes back many centuries and in various cultures before the advent of mass production of paper.[1]

In the Russian traditional folk culture, TREE is an important symbol as it represents the centre of the universe ("world tree"). This tree is connected to all three worlds, the underworld, the earthly and the heavenly world. Evil spirits live at the roots of trees, and their canopy is related to God (Borisova, 2014, p. 35). In folk tales, "good helpers" and "tree spirits" symbolize the duality of good and evil.

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[1] The evidence for this is the German lexeme *Buch*, which "was used in the earliest times for the runes scratched on the twigs of a fruit tree (see Ger. *reißen*); hence it results from Tacitus (Germania, 10) that *Buch* (lit. "letter") is connected with Old High German *buohha* "beech" (Kluge, 1891). Similarly, in Russian, Бýква has an old Slavic root *bōka* «буква» (cf. Ger. *Buch*), which comes from *бук* "beech" because originally beech was once used to make writing tablets (cf. *берестяные грамоты* "birch bark letters").

In Slavic mythology, the trees that bring happiness include birch, willow, linden, rowan, while the trees that bring misfortune are poplar and elder (Afanasyev, 1957, pp. 16, 60). As evidenced by mythology, the following functions of the trees are identified: WORLD TREE (oak, willow, rowan), TREE AS THE CENTRE OF THE WORLD[2] (oak, willow), LIFE/DEATH (oak, apple, spruce, pine), KNOWLEDGE (oak, apple tree), RELATIONSHIP WITH UNDERGROUND EXISTENCE (birch, poplar), NATIONAL TREE / THE EMBODIMENT OF A BRIGHT START (birch) and DEATH/DANGER (poplar) (Letova, 2012 p. 107).

The specific role of OAK and BIRCH in Russian cultural cognition should be emphasized in the conceptualization related to each tree-species. Oak (дуб) is the most recognized tree of Russian (and other Slavic) culture, symbolizing strength, endurance, and ruling: патриарх русского леса "patriarch of the Russian forest". In ritual life, oaks fulfil many sacral functions, appearing as a world tree in folklore and magical rites. In traditional Slavic folk culture, the concept of MAN is connoted with the concept of OAK (Borisova, 2014, p. 36), while BIRCH is used for the folk conceptualization of GIRL/WOMEN (Chervinsky, 1989, p. 115). In ancient Russian, дуб meant not only "oak" but also "wood" in general (Platonov, 2013, pp. 738). The most common plant in folk tales is "oak", which is explained by the fact that in fairy tales, the concept of the "world tree" has a specific significance, which serves as the organizing centre of the fairy tale space.

In the Hungarian folk culture, various rituals marked the symbiotic alliance—a kind of inseparability and interdependence—in which peasant communities lived with their environment. When a child was born, a tree was planted immediately to provide the offspring with, albeit not consciously, life-giving oxygen, and they even lived in the belief that the fate of the two living beings was common and inseparable (Lanczendorfer, 2019, p. 7). A sick child was also healed by being tucked between two branches of their "own tree". Another ritual was that, on the first of May, the lads set up a tree of life named *májusfa* "May Tree" for the young girls and other prominent people of the village, which was danced around and crashed down at the Pentecost dance festival (Lanczendorfer, 2019, p. 20). The Hungarian folk belief is largely based on the universal conception of tree, namely, that the evergreen tree is a manifestation of life force, vitality. Because its roots live in the earth, its trunk breathes with human beings, and its branches live in the celestial sphere, thus connecting the three "worlds" and simultaneously symbolizing the past, the present, and the future. As it revives and turns green in the spring, it also symbolizes regeneration, a return to the former perfect state. It is also present in Hungarian transitional rites: in wedding traditions a decorated tree branch refers to fertility (Lanczendorfer, 2019, p. 57). The end of life is also marked by tree symbols: the headstones/grave markers were originally named *fejfa* (lit. head-wood[3]), which were often decorated/carved by plant motifs, including weeping willows or tulips, lilies and roses, each of which offered information about the dead people's age and gender. Traces of the animistic belief can be captured in folk texts, for example, in folk ballads, a tree growing

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[2] According to the convention of Cultural Linguistics the "X as Y" format is used.

[3] Note that in Hungarian *fa* means both "tree" and "wood".

out of a grave embodies the survival of a loved one (Lanczendorfer, 2019, p. 57). Furthermore, the proverb *Kemény fából faragták* "he/she is made of strong stuff, he/she is a steady/firm character" (He/she was carved from hard wood) also reflects on the correspondence between humans and trees. Studying traditional nature-human connections and its folklore representation can also provide elements and example for a new interpretation of the nature-human relationship in the global environmental crisis era, especially sustainability education (e.g., garden-based pedagogy) can rely on the traditional, sometimes still vivid nature-human connections and traditional ecological knowledge (Halbritter et al., 2021, p. 130).

Tree metaphors prevail in various types of Hungarian folk texts. In the most ancient portion of folk tales, trees are central symbols, which can be traced back to shamanistic rites (Balassa & Ortutay, 1979, pp. 670–672). The tree symbols include the "sky-high tree" with the sun and the moon on either sides, and the "world tree" with a magic bird on the top. The sky-high tree preserved some elements of shamanic rituals in that it has to be climbed by the magical figure of the *táltos* "the shaman" in order to acquire some magical object with healing or rejuvenating powers; in this way, the sky-high tree represents the triumph of life over death. A common motif of folk tales is when order, truth and harmony are restored by the protagonist by climbing the tree branch by branch (Boldizsár, 2013). The metaphor of the SKY-HIGH TREE also entails an archaic worldview, namely, the seven celestial layers situated on it, each layer being populated by different kinds of inhabitants.

3 Corpus and Methodology

The present study focuses on the role that the conceptualizations of TREE play in Russian and Hungarian folk conceptualization as evidenced by folk song lyrics. The empirical study was based on the corpus of *Collected Songs* (Kireevsky, 1986), a collection dedicated to discourse research giving a representative overview of the Russian folk songs. The corpus contains 600 texts divided into two groups (epics and lyrics), and organized according to where the songs are recorded. The analysis of Hungarian folk songs is based on a two-volume collection (*Hungarian folksongs I–II*, Ortutay & Katona, 1975), which includes 2438 texts and was compiled for the purpose of text-oriented studies. For the present study, 6 thematic groups of the corpus (matchmaking songs, outlaw songs, love songs, melancholic songs, fugitive songs and soldier songs) were analysed, which give a total of 783 lyrics. In both corpora, the texts which include either the lexeme "tree" or some tree-species were selected and, based on the overall message of the folk song, their meanings identified. After that, the metaphors and metonymies of TREE were pinpointed and compared and contrasted to one another. Finally, on the basis of the findings, the links between conceptualizations and particular tree-species were investigated in the two languages. The corpus examples are presented in the original language and the authors" rough translation.

4 Comparative Analysis of TREE in the Russian vs. Hungarian Corpora

There are a total of 600 texts in the Russian corpus, of which 127 (21.1%) include a representation of trees. The tree-species that occur and their proportions within the overall representations in the corpus are illustrated in Table 1. The most common tree-type is oak, which occurs 90 times, giving a frequency of 50.8% of all occurrences. This is followed by birch, with significantly fewer occurrences, found in 15 folk songs, a total of 23 times, giving a frequency of 13%. Apple trees appear only 17 times (9.6%), pine is present 15 times (8.5%), cherry tree is found 12 times (6.8%), while pear trees occur 10 times (1.6%). Willows are displayed 6 times (3.4%), while cypress trees are captured 4 times with 2.3% (Table 2).

Regarding the Hungarian corpus, out of the total number of folk songs (783), 116 songs (14.8%) include references to *fa* "tree" (either as a lexeme or in compound words), or some specific tree-types with overall 149 instances of reference.

It can be observed that, contrary to Russian folk songs, 33% of the representations of tree do not specify the type of tree, but instead, they refer to a conventional image schema of the nature entity. One example, *bánatfa* "sorrow-tree", is a fictive one. Other interesting comments can be made on the categories of *rózsafa* "rose-tree", *fügefa* "fig-tree", *mogyorófa* "hazel-tree", *kökényfa* "black-thorn-tree", *mályvafa* "hollyhock tree", and *majoranna fája* "tree of marjoram", which are not tree-species but shrub species. The reason they are discussed here is that they also seem to fall under the cultural category of TREE in Hungarian folk songs. Within the different types of tree, *rózsafa* "rose-tree" (23%), *nyárfa* "poplar" (20%), *diófa* "walnut tree" (7%), *fügefa* "fig-tree" (7%), *almafa* "apple tree" (6%), *nyírfa* "birch" (5%), *fűzfa/szomorúfűzfa* "willow / weeping willow" (5%), *jegenyefa* "poplar" (4%), and *akácfa* "acacia tree" (3%) are represented in most cases, where rose-tree and poplar, with a frequency of 23% and 20%, appear in the largest numbers. For comparison, the tree-species common in the Russian folk songs are entirely different, namely,

Table 1 Frequency and distribution of the representation of tree-species in the Russian corpus

Type of tree (Russian)	Meaning	Number of occurrences	Rate within the representations of tree (%)
дуб	'oak'	90	50.8
берёза	'birch'	23	13
яблонь	'apple'	17	9.6
ёлка, сосна	'pine'	15	8.5
вишня	'cherry tree'	12	6.8
груша	'pear tree'	10	5.6
ива, верба, ракитов куст	'willow'	6	3.4
кипарис	'cypress'	4	2.3
Sum		**177**	**100**

Table 2 Frequency and distribution of the representation of tree-species in the Hungarian corpus

Type of tree (Hungarian)	Meaning	Number of occurrences	Rate within the representations of tree (%)
fa	'tree'	49	32.9
rózsafa	'rose-tree'	23	15.4
nyárfa	'poplar'	20	13.4
diófa	'walnut tree'	7	4.7
fügefa	'fig-tree'	7	4.7
almafa (aranyalmafa, vadalmafa)	'apple tree' (golden apple tree, crab apple tree)	6	4
nyírfa	'birch'	5	3.4
fűzfa, szomorúfűzfa	'willow', 'weeping willow'	5	3.4
jegenyefa	'poplar' (a type of)	4	2.7
akácfa, koronafa[a]	'acacia tree', 'crown-tree'	3	2
meggyfa	'cherry tree' (sour)	2	1.3
cseresznyefa	'cherry tree' (sweet)	2	1.3
mandulafa	'almond tree'	2	1.3
fenyő	'pine (wood)'	2	1.3
cser(e)fa	'turkey oak'	2	1.3
mogyorófa	'hazel-tree'	2	1.3
kökényfa	'black-thorn-tree'	2	1.3
szilvafa	'plum tree'	1	0.67
cédrusfa	'cedar tree'	1	0.67
pálma	'palm tree'	1	0.67
mályvafa	'hollyhock tree'	1	0.67
majoranna fája	'tree of marjoram'	1	0.67
bánatfa	'sorrow-tree'	1	0.67
Sum		**149**	**100**

[a] Also called *magyarfa* "Hungarian tree"

oak, birch and apple tree. Remarkably, rose-tree, the dominant source domain in the Hungarian texts is completely absent from the Russian corpus (at least among the references to "tree"), on the other hand, oak, which is prevalent in Russian folk lyrics has little evidence in the Hungarian folk songs.

4.1 "Contacts" in Conceptualizations

The analysis shows that the basic metaphors of TREE are grounded in the following characteristics of the entity, which serve as the experiential focus (Kövecses, 2005) for metaphors: TREE AS A LIVING ENTITY, TREE AS A FRUIT/FLOWER GROWER, TREE AS AN ENTITY OF CHARACTERISTIC SHAPE, TREE AS A LOCATION and TREE AS FIREWOOD. Table 3 shows the cultural metaphors which reside in these characteristics in either texts.

Connecting the various metaphors of TREE to specific experiential foci can be varied, for example, TREE AS A FAMILY relates both to the characteristic shape of the tree and the fact that it is a living (and constantly growing) entity. In the followings, we delineate some of the conceptualizations which were found common in the Russian and Hungarian corpora and show some similarity concerning the metaphorical representation of trees. Meanwhile, differences will be also coined in the analyses.

Table 3 Experiential foci of TREE and corresponding cultural metaphors

Experiential focus connected to trees	Conceptual metaphor	Cultural metaphors shared by Russian and Hungarian folk songs	Cultural metaphors present in either corpora
TREE AS A LIVING ENTITY	TREE AS A PERSON	• TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL • TREE AS A MATCHMAKER	• TREE AS A MOTHER • TREE AS LOVERS • WITHERING TREE AS A HEARTBROKEN LOVER
TREE AS A FRUIT/FLOWER GROWER	TREE AS A LOVE PRODUCER	• PICKING FLOWERS/FRUIT AS MAKING LOVE	• FLOWER, FRUIT AS REQUITED/FAITHFUL LOVE
TREE AS AN ENTITY OF CHARACTERISTIC SHAPE/STRUCTURE	BRANCHES OF A TREE AS LOVE/FAMILY BONDS	• BRANCHES AND LEAVES AS LOVE RELATION	• (FORKING BRANCHES OF A) TREE AS A FAMILY
TREE AS A LOCATION	TREE AS A PLACE OF LOVE OR DEATH	• THE AREA BELOW THE CANOPY OF THE) TREE FOR THE PLACE OF LOVE • CANOPY OF THE TREE AS THE MEETING PLACE/HOME FOR LOVERS • TREE FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH	
TREE AS FIREWOOD	TREE AS FIREWOOD	• BURNING FIREWOOD AS LOVE	

4.1.1 TREE AS A PERSON

In this section, two metaphors in which the TREE represents a PERSON are discussed: TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL and TREE AS A MATCHMAKER. In the case of TREE AS A MATCHMAKER, it needs to be indicated that the MATCHMAKER is not always conceptualized as a person, but rather, MATCHMAKERS are the parents in the Hungarian folk songs, whereas in the Russian texts they seem to have an opaque meaning, they are most likely to embody divine powers.

A.   TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL

In some folk songs, the TREE AS A PERSON metaphor is specified as the TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL. In text (2), the pear tree producing green pears and the curly apple tree represent a MARRIAGEABLE GIRL. The colour green refers to fertility, while the adjective "curly" indicates femininity, as if it were the girl's hair. The wind swinging the pears may lead to their falling on the ground. Picking fruit from the ground is a metaphor of MAKING LOVE (cf. Sect. 4.1.2).

(2)	*Не качайте вы грушицу зелену,*	Wind, do not swing green pears,
	Яблоню кудряву	The curly apple tree
	Не мешайте мне, младеньке, в саду	Do not bother me, a young girl, walking in
	погуляти,	the garden,
	Мне лазоревых цветочков посрывати.	Picking the azure flowers.

In text (3), the CHERRY TREE AS A MARRIAGEABLE GIRL metaphor is displayed. The idea that the water of the well washes the trees may refer to the purity and virginity of the girls (PURITY IS CLEAN). The HORSE is a representative of the male proposer.

(3)	*Тепла вода во колодезе стояла,*	The water was warm in the well,
	Все вишенки и орешеньки посмыла	It washed all the cherry trees and walnut
	[…]	trees
	Под вишеньем, под орешеньем конь стоит	[…]
	Ой, конь стоит, ой, конь стоит вороной!	Under the cherry tree, under the walnut tree
		a horse stands,
		Oh, the horse is standing, oh, the horse is
		black!

In the Hungarian folk song (4) the basis of the metaphor TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL is that a woman's life cycle is mapped onto the annual cycle of tree development, where the flowering time of trees in May is appointed as the most attractive stage of their appearance, and also the time when girls are considered the most beautiful: when they are engaged.

(4)	*Szép a virágos fa*	A flowering tree is beautiful
	Május hónapjába	In the month of May
	Ezörször szöbb a lány	A girl is a thousand times more beautiful
	Eljegyzött korába.	When she is engaged.

It is remarkable that two characteristics are mentioned in connection with women. One is their age, which is specified by the metaphorical reference to May, a spring month, which corresponds to a woman's young adult age. The other one is a life situation, engagement, which implies that women are especially charming when they are about to fulfil their love relationship. Young age and affection are what make a woman charming.

Similarly, APPLE TREE is a metaphor of a YOUNG GIRL in folk songs (5, 6). A horse tied to a tree is a conventional image schema in the Hungarian folk songs, where the HORSE corresponds to a YOUNG MAN, the TREE to a YOUNG GIRL, and the BOND between the two entities maps onto the RELATIONSHIP.

(5)	*Megkötöm lovamat piros almafához;*	I tie my horse to a red apple tree,
	Megkötöm szívemet gyönge violámhoz	I tie my heart to my gentle violate
	Lovamat eloldom, mikor a hold jön fel,	I will untie my horse once the moon comes up,
	De tetőled, rózsám, csak a halál old el.	But from you, my darling, only death will untie me.

This image schema is displayed in connection with two particular tree-species: apple trees and weeping willows.

(6)	*Udvarom közepén egy kerek almafa,*	In the middle of my courtyard there is a round apple tree,
	Ahhoz van megkötve egy szürke paripa	A grey horse it tied to it
	Fel is van nyergelve, fel is kantározva;	It is saddled as well as braced;
	Most akartam, babám, hozzád menni rajta.	I was about to visit you on it, sweetheart.

The "horse-as-man tied to the tree-as-woman" scenario is also present in Russian folk songs where the image is typically related to cherry trees, which is also a kind of fruit tree. The difference is that the horse is not tied to the tree just standing by it. However, the love context becomes evident from the presence of the marriage-proposing team.

(7)	*Под вишеньем, под орешеньем конь стоит*	Black horse stands under the cherry tree, under the walnut tree
	[…]	[…]
	Подле ворона коня сват большой.	Next to the black horse, the big marriage-proposing team.

In general, forests often serve as a protecting surroundings for young girls in the Hungarian folk songs (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2011a, 2018b). In (8) the grove appears like a mythical place in which the girl is depicted like an altar, described in a highly idealized way. The grove seems to protect the girl like a treasure, while it also provides physical distance from a male observer, which may map either EMOTIONAL DISTANCE or SOCIAL DISTANCE, and it also manifests as a physical obstruction in a young man's attempt to approach her. Some folk songs clearly show that groves are metaphors for a young girl's emotional and moral sphere in that they provide emotional and moral protection to them (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2018b, pp. 70—71).

(8)	*Túl a Dunán egy nyárfásba*	Beyond the Danube in the poplars
	Találtam egy szép leányra	I found a beautiful girl
	Hol a rubin, hogy a gyémánt;	Here the ruby, there the diamond,
	A két karja liliomszál;.	Her two arms are lilies.
	Aszúszőlőből a nyaka,	Her neck is made of Aszú grapes,[4]
	Nádmézből meg az ajaka;	Her lips of sugar,
	A termete aranyótár;	Her figure is a golden altar
	Elébe térdölni nem kár.	It's not a shame to kneel before her.

In conclusion, it seems that trees in both Russian and Hungarian folk songs often represent women, especially marriageable young girls.

B.   TREE AS A MATCHMAKER

Trees sometimes have prominent functions in connecting couples or strengthening the bond between lovers, which can be coined in the metaphor TREE AS A MATCHMAKER. This idea can be detected in the folk songs of both cultures, although they appear in rather different scenarios. In the following Russian text, an oak plays an important role in the ritual of the marriage vow by providing the ritual site of the oath.

(9)	—А куры, вы дуры, ничего не знаете:	"And hens, you fools, you know nothing:
	Идите к совице, к сове-то на свадьбу!	Go to the owl hen, to the owl to the wedding!
	Как нашу-то совку повезли венчати	As our owl was taken to the wedding
	Ко синему морю, ко старому дубу. […]	To the blue sea, to the old oak".
		[…]

The explanation for trees serving as the places of weddings can be traced back to the Russian tradition in the middle of the nineteenth century when, as part of the marriage ceremony of the old-believers, following the church wedding, the groom and the bride made a pilgrimage to a mystical oak and walked around it three times (Platonov, 2013, p. 367). The reference to the age of the oak validates the marriage oath and ensures that the marriage will be lasting. The conceptualization of OAK thus evokes the event schema of WEDDING.

In Hungarian folk songs the image schema of BLESSING can be related as a similar conceptualization, where the TREE represents the unity/marriage of the couple, the branches of the bush physically connecting the two parties (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2017, p. 413). The "rue tree" in (10) represents the PARENTS who give their parental blessings as approvals to their child's marriage (Lükő, 1942/2001, p. 140), which was a basic requirement for marriage in peasant societies.

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[4] *Aszú* wine is a very sweet, topaz-colored wine that is produced in the Tokaj wine region in Hungary.

(10)	*Magos a rutafa,*	The rue tree is high,
	Ága elágadzik	Its branches fork all round,
	Selyem sár haja,	Her silken blond hair,
	Magyar Ilona	Ilona Magyar[5]
	Egyik ága hajlik	One of its branches is bending
	Barna legény udvarába	Into the courtyard of a brown lad,
	Másik ága hajlik	The other branch is bending
	Szőke leány udvarába	Into the courtyard of a blond girl,
	Haján fölü gyöngykoszorúja, gyöngy.	In her hair she has a pearl-wreath, pearl.
		(Lükő, 1942/2001, p. 148)

Another example for the conceptualization of TREE AS A MATCHMAKER is a plum tree, the flowers and buds of which are the metaphors of LOVE, indicating the relationship of the young man and the girl. Two branches of the tree locate the members of the couple, while they are united as a family by the trunk of the tree. In this way, the BRANCHES map onto the future FAMILY MEMBERS, which makes the TREE AS A MATCHMAKER metaphor closely related to the TREE AS A FAMILY metaphor.

(11)	*A Józsáék házuk előtt*	In front of the Józsas'[6] house
	Van egy szilvafa;	There is a plum tree;
	Virágjától, bimbajától	From its flowers, and its buds
	Messze ellátszik.	It can be seen from afar.
	Egyik ágán ez a Rozi	On one of its branches this girl 'Rozi'
	Úgy megsirdogál,	Is crying just like that
	Másik ágán ez a Gyula	On another one of its branches this boy 'Gyula'
	Verset fujdogál:	Is chanting a verse:
	– Ne sírj, Rozi, szívem Rozi,	"Don't cry, my sweet Rozi,
	Majd megkéretlek,	I will propose to you
	Ma van péntek, holnap szombat,	Today is Friday, tomorrow will by Saturday,
	Én el is veszlek!	I bet I will marry you"!

While the TREE AS A MATCHMAKER metaphor can be found in both corpora, it seems that the conventional image schema of the TREE in which it unites the lovers by its branches is only characteristic of Hungarian folk songs.

4.1.2   TREE AS A LOVE PRODUCER

In another branch of conceptualizations—both in the Russian and the Hungarian corpus—TREE is a metaphor of LOVE, which cover various conventional scenarios where difference aspects of love are punctuated. In the comparative analysis of folk songs, the following cultural metaphors of LOVE have been identified and found to be

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[5] Ilona Magyar is the name of a woman who is called for by girls when they need help, some regard her a mythological person.

[6] *Józsa* is a Hungarian family name.

similar: SHAKING THE TREE AS MAKING LOVE and PICKING THE FRUIT OF A TREE AS MAKING LOVE. These metaphors fall under the metaphor MAKING LOVE IS PHYSICAL WORK but they also represent the tree a "love-producer" where the FRUIT/FLOWERS stand for LOVE. It is the fruit which can be found in both corpora, whereas (budding, flourishing or fading) flowers growing on the trees are only present in Hungarian texts.

A.   SHAKING THE TREE AS MAKING LOVE

In Russian texts, APPLE TREE is a source domain for UNWAVERING LOVE, where the wind tests love by rocking the trees. In text (20), the apple/pear tree appears as a conceptualization of a marriageable girl, where green refers to fertility and femininity.

(12)	*Не качайте вы грушицу зелену,*	Wind, do not swing green pears,
	Яблоню кудряву	The curly apple tree
	Не мешайте мне, младеньке, в саду погуляти,	Do not bother me, a young girl, walking in the garden,
	Мне лазоревых цветочков посрывати.	Picking the azure flowers.

SHAKING THE FRUIT TREE is a source domain for MAKING LOVE and FERTILITY. Similarly, shaking the pear tree in (13) is connected with a fertile marriage.

(13)	*Вот тибе жана,*	Here is the wife,
	От бога саждана	A gift from God
	Сей лен да канапли,	Sow flex and hemp,
	Спрашивай рубашки да партки,	Ask for a shirt and pants,
	Руби драва,	Cut a tree,
	Спрашивай щи,	Ask for a shcsi soup,
	Люби, как душу,	Love her soul,
	Триси, как грушу.	Shake her like a pear tree.

The act of shaking a tree is also represented in the Hungarian folk songs. In (14) the conceptualizer's desire to be with his sweetheart is displayed in the scene of fruit picking, which is a consequence of shaking the apple tree. FRUIT is one of the most prevalent metaphors of LOVE, especially that of apples and cherries (Lükő, 1942/2001, p. 139). In (14) the top of the mountain as a location rises vertically from the environment, a protected place metaphorically representing intimacy, while it also indicates that the desired event is difficult to achieve.

(14)	*Látod-e te azt a hegyet,*	Can you see that mountain?
	Hegy tetején azt a meggyest?	And on the top of the mountain that cherry orchard?
	Én majd rázom, te csak szedjed!	I'll shake it, you should just pick them!
	Adok csókot, de csak egyet.	I'll give you a kiss, but only one.

B.   PICKING THE FRUIT OF A TREE AS MAKING LOVE

The LOVE IS FRUIT metaphor is based on the conceptual metaphor of LOVE IS HUNGER (Kövecses, 2000, p. 45). In Hungarian folk songs, picking apples, plums, cherries and strawberries (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2016, p. 10) can be compared to the image schema of PICKING CHERRIES in Russian folk songs.

(15)	—Ваша матушка в зеленóм саду, Рвет алы вишенья.	"Your mother is picking the blood-red cherries and sweet in the green garden".

(16)	Цвела, цвела вишенья алыми цветами, Опадала вишенья рáными зарями.	The cherry tree is covered in blood red, Cherries fell early in the morning.

A variation of this image schema is PLANING which refers to MAKING LOVE where a girl is picking the shavings instead of fruit (17).

(17)	Как у нас было в зеленом саду, Под грушею, под зеленою, Под яблоней, под кудрявою, Стругал стружки добрый молодец, Подбирала стружки красная девушка.	We had it in the green garden, Under the pear tree, under the green tree Under the apple tree, under the curly one, A good lad planed, shavings fell, A beautiful girl picked up the shavings.

Sweet cherries and green gardens have positive connotations of fertility and abundance. Marriageable girls meet young men in the garden, which is the place of love encounters. Similar to Russian texts, a CHERRY TREE is conceptualized as a LOVE PRODUCER in Hungarian songs. Another similarity is that it is either girls or both of the couple who pick fruit.

(18)	Hoci, rózsám, a kezedet, Forduljunk egyet, forduljunk egyet! Aztán menjünk ki a kertbe, Ott szedjünk meggyet; Aztán menjünk ki a kertbe, Ott szedjünk meggyet!	Give me, my sweetheart, your hand, Let's turn around, let's turn around! Then let's go to the garden, Let's pick cherries there, Then let's go to the garden, Let's pick cherries there!
	Én lerázom, te csak szedjed, Mindig csak szedjed, mindig csak szedjed! Csókot is kapsz, de csak egyet, Mindig csak egyet; Csókot is kapsz, de csak egyet, Mindig csak egyet.	I will shake it, just pick it up, Just keep picking it, keep picking it, You'll get a kiss, but only one, Only one at a time You'll get a kiss, but only one, Only one at a time.

As mentioned, picking flowers is only apparent in Hungarian folk songs. In text (19) it can be clearly observed that the metaphorical action of picking the flowers represents the maintenance of the relationship, which may be a reference to making love.

(19)	*Erdőben, erdőben, szép, kerek erdőben*	In the forest, in the forest, in the nice round forest
	Rózsát szed a babám rózsafa tövében	My sweetheart is picking roses under at the stem of a rose-tree
	Szedjed, babám, szedjed, hogy el ne hervadjon,	Just pick them, my darling, pick them, so they won't fade,
	Hogy a mü szerelmünk félbe ne szakadjon!	And so our love won't break off!

4.1.3 Branches of a Tree as Love/family Bonds

Another LOVE metaphor, the BRANCHES AND LEAVES AS LOVE RELATION metaphor, where the physical connection of tree branches and the leaves represent a love relationship, resides in the shape/construction of the tree and also in the annual loss of its leaves. In both corpora, a conventional conceptualization for representing lovers is the BRANCHES AND LEAVES AS LOVE RELATION metaphor, which is represented typically when they are separated: when the leaves fall down, depicting the lovers when they part ways. In (20) the CUCKOO is the metaphor of a LOVER (LOVERS ARE BIRDS), and losing one's lover is compared when the leaves fall from the branches of the apple tree.

(20)	*Как одна-то была в саду яблонька,*	As one apple tree was in the garden,
	И с той листья облетают;	And from that leaves fly around;
	Как один-то был у меня кукушёночек,	As I had one cuckoo,
	И того я потеряла.	And I lost that one.

This metaphor is exemplified in Hungarian folk songs as follows. While the unity of the branch-and-leaf denotes the unity of lovers, falling leaves represent the discontinuity of emotional bonds on either side. In this context, the WIND is conceptualized as a FORCE THAT SEPARATES LOVERS and it is also connected to REMEMBRANCE/FORGETTING (Baranyiné Kóczy, 2018b, pp. 101—113).

(21)	*Szél fújja le, szél fújja le a fáról a levelet;*	The wind should blow off, the wind should blow off the leaves from the tree,
	Szőke kislány, szőke kislány, felejtsd el a nevemet;	Blond girl, blond girl, forget about my name
	Ne tarts engem, ne tarts engem abb' az árva szívedbe!	Don't keep me, don't keep me in your lonely heart!
	Öleltelek, csókoltalak mostanáig kedvemre.	I have hugged you and I kissed you till now as I pleased.

4.1.4 Tree as a Location of Love or Death

A group of folk songs display trees as the sites of remarkable events or situations. Two common topics can be identified in both corpora, namely, the function of trees

related to various events of a love relationship on the one hand and to death on the other. These topics will be discussed under the metonymies TREE FOR THE PLACE OF LOVE and TREE FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH.

A.   TREE FOR THE PLACE OF LOVE

In the Russian texts, the oak is often conceptualized as a characteristic site of some love-related event: OAK AS A PLACE OF LOVE:

(22)	*На дубчику*	On the oak
	Два голубчика	Two doves
	И целуются,	Are kissing,
	Милуются.	And making love.

In human experience, the canopy of the oak and below it are protected, safe places for birds to nestle or for lovers to meet. As an oak provides security and protection, it becomes a place of fertile love. Oaks also appear as MATCHMAKERS and have ritual functions in verifying a wedding oath. In this respect, oaks are connected to love in various ways: as bond-strengthening powers (matchmakers), as meeting places / hideaways for lovers, and as homes for lovers.

In a similar vein, the canopy of trees are also metonymical references for a "love nest" in the Hungarian texts.

(23)	*Az én galambomnak dombon van a háza;*	My dove has a house on the top of the hill;
	Két keréken fordul csikorgós kapuja,	Her creaking gate turns on two wheels,
	Az ablakja alatt két szép koronafa,	Near her window there are two nice crown-trees,[7]
	Kire a galambom neve van ráírva.	Which my dove's name is written on.
	Ha én madár volnék: oda fészket raknék,	If I were a bird, I'd build a nest there,
	Ott minden hajnalban szépen énekelnék;	Every dawn I'd sing nicely there,
	Az én galambomnak elébe repülnék,	I'd fly to meet my dove,[8]
	Piros orcájára egypár csókot vinnék.	I'd bring some kisses on her cheeks.

B.   TREE FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH

In Russian folk cognition, there are two important life events associated with the willow: wedding and death. In the seventeenth century, visits of Orthodox churches were forbidden, and willows were designated as places of the marriage vow. Furthermore, forests and groves served as burial places because the dense vegetation reminded them of the heavenly place where the soul could find a home for itself again (Afanasyev, 2008, p. 653). The weeping willow was considered "a demonic tree that grows in hidden, swampy places, will root easily and quickly, and will be

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[7] I.e. acacia trees.

[8] It can also be interpreted as 'my sweetheart'.

full of mysterious odds. They never cut down such a tree, so that the devil would not
be hurt" (Sebők, 1978, pp. 149—151). In (24), the WILLOW appears as a PLACE OF
DEATH.

(24)	*Во угожия вы миста, где ракитовы куста,*	Where willows grow, in a place we love,
	Где ракитавы куста, где мой милый убит	Where willows grow, there lies my killed
	лежит.	sweetheart.

Within Hungarian folk songs, the conceptualization of GRAVE is linked to three
tree-species: *nyárfa* "poplar", *jegenyefa* "(a type of) poplar" (Lat. populus nigra)
and *nyírfa* "birch". Trees are described in relation to death in two scenarios: one is
when someone is buried at the foot of a tree, the other one is when a young man is
hanged on a tree. In both cases the tree serves as a death site for people who die far
away from their homes, most typically soldiers who die during service far away from
their homeland, and outlaws who were criminals fleeing from legal punishment and
who used to hide or live permanently in forests. In the former conceptualization, a
tree provides a protective area for the dead person while it is also a substitute for a
memorial cross. We may recall here the Hungarian tradition of setting up a memorial
head-wood (*fejfa*) instead of a cross in graves, which was present in some regions.

As mentioned in Sect. 2.2, these wooden pieces were often decorated by plant
motifs, one of which was a weeping willow, which symbolized the dead person, which
may be connected to the idea of mythopoesis. Another interpretation of the represen-
tation of weeping willows in connection with death derives from their characteristic
shape, the branches bending to the ground conveying the idea of SORROW. Both
the Hungarian name *szomorúfűzfa* (lit. sad willow) and its English correspondence
weeping willow support this.

(25)	*Donec partján van egy szomorúfűzfa,*	On the bank of the Donetsk, there is a sad
	Magyar honvéd halva fekszik alatta	willow,
	Bajtársai szuronyosan ássák a sírját,	A Hungarian soldier is lying dead underneath
	Odahaza magyar lányok siratják.	His comrades are digging his grave in a
		bayonet,
		Back home, Hungarian girls are mourning him.

The idea of trees as living entities which show empathy to human who are
desperate are apparent in various pieces of Hungarian folk songs. The empathic
attitude of trees can be captured in two ways in folksong (26): the leaves falling
down from the tree is a metaphor of a crying tree, whereas the leaves also support
the heartbroken human by hiding him/her.

(26)	*Amerre én járok, még a fák es sírnak,*	Wherever I go, even the trees cry,
	Gyenge ágairól ződ levelek hullnak	From their weak branches the green leaves
	Hújatok, levelek, rejtsetek el ingem,	fall down
	Mert az én édessem mást szeret, nem ingem.	Fall down, dear leaves, conceal me,
		Because my sweetheart loves someone else,
		not me.

As mentioned, another conventional image related to the conceptualization of TREE FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH is when a young man—usually an outlaw—is hanged on the tree as in (27). The attitude of the tree towards the outlaw embodies fortune, from "caring" in stanza one to "killing" in stanza two. First the TREE is conceptualized as the PLACE OF LOVE, where the protective function of the tree is displayed, then it turns to be a means in the execution and becomes the PLACE OF DEATH. It is remarkable though that the tree also dies simultaneously with the young man by being carved for a gallows tree.

(27)	*Arra alá van egy fekete nyárfa* *Betyárlegény furulyázik alatta* *Olyan szépen fújja a furulyáját,* *Oda várja búbánatos babáját.*	There is a black poplar over there An outlaw is playing the flute under that He is playing his flute so nicely, He is waiting for his sweetheart.
	Arra alá kifaragták azt a fát, *Kire szegény betyárlegényt akasztják* *Fújja a szél fekete, göndör haját,* *Veri össze rézsarkantyús csizmáját.*	That tree has been carved over there, On whom the poor outlaw will be hanged The wind will blow his black curly hair, And click his copper-spurred boots.

4.2 "Contrasts" in Conceptualizations

In this section, some of the conceptualizations are discussed that are only present in either the Russian or the Hungarian corpus. These include TREE AS A FAMILY, TREE AS A MOTHER and WITHERING TREE AS A HEARTBROKEN LOVER.

4.2.1 TREE AS A FAMILY

In the Russian folk songs, the conceptualization TREE AS A FAMILY is rather typical unlike in the Hungarian corpus. OAK is a source domain not only for a FAMILY but it is often extended to the concept of NATION as well. In folk song (28), the oak and its canopy display an extended family kinship comprising many relatives. Siblings are depicted as branches, twigs and leaves, while the golden canopy typical of autumn depicts the parents, grandparents and elderly kinship. Having a large family is described as the basis of one's identity and welfare, which, having no parents, seems to be missing for the girl named Polageyushka.

(28)	*Много, много у сыра дубá ветвей,*	The wet oak has many, many branches,
	Много ветвей, пóветвей,	Many branches, many twigs,
	Много листу зелёного,	Lots of green leaves
	Только нет у сыра дубá,	What the wet oak doesn't have,
	Нет золотой макушечки,	A golden top,
	Позолоченной верхушечки	A golden foliage
	Много, много у Полагеи родни,	Polagey has many, many relatives,
	Много роду и племени,	Many relatives, many clans,
	Только нет у Полагеюшки,	Only Polageyushka doesn't have
	Нет родимаго батюшки	She has no father,
	И сударыни матушки	And she doesn't have a mother
	Ты, родимый мой братец, батюшка!	You, my dear brother, Holy Father!

The conceptualization of FAMILY via TREE is not typical in Hungarian folk songs. Instead, similar conceptualizations that can be presented for comparison are TREE AS A MATCHMAKER (Sect. 4.1.1), where the branches locate two lovers united in marriage, or TREE AS A MOTHER, which is a frequent conceptualization in the folk songs. Hence, the branches of the walnut tree in (29) may be interpreted as references to the children (and particularly one girl) raised by a mother. Interestingly, carrying the girl in her mother's arms alludes to the branches of the tree which map onto the mother's arms.

(29)	*Ágas-bogas a diófa teteje*	The top of the walnut tree is branchy,
	Csak egy kislány nevelködött kedvemre	Only one girl was raised to my pleasure
	Még az anyja gyenge karján hordozta,	From the time she was carried in her mother's gently arms,
	Már akkor énnéköm ajándékozta.	She has been given to me as a gift.

4.2.2 TREE AS A MOTHER

As emphasized, a central conceptualization in the Hungarian corpus is the TREE AS A MOTHER metaphor, which is represented by various tree-species, the most frequent one being the rose-tree (30, 31).

(30)	*Édesanyám rózsafája*	My mother's rose-tree
	Engem nyitott utoljára	Opened me last
	Bárcsak ki ne nyitott volna,	I wish she hadn't opened me,
	Hej, maradtam volna bimbóba!	Hey, and I had remained in a bud!
	Édesanyám rózsafája,	My mother's rose-tree,
	Én voltam legszebb rózsája,	I was the most beautiful rose on it
	De egy álnok leszakasztott;	But a deceitful one plucked me,
	Hej, két karja közt elhervasztott!	Hey, and made me wilt in his arms.

(31)	*Nem anyátú lötté,*	You are not from a mother,
	Rúzsafán termötté;	You were grown on a rose-tree,
	Piros pünkösd napján	On the day of red Pentecost
	Hajnalba születté.	You were born at dawn.

The metaphor of ROSE-TREE AS A MOTHER is elaborated in (30): while the flower refers to a young girl, "remaining in a bud" is a girl's wish for staying a little girl and avoiding heartbreak. PLUCKING A ROSE is a source conceptualization for starting a love relationship with a girl, while withering in a young man's arms refers to making love and then being left by him.

4.2.3   WITHERING TREE AS A HEARTBROKEN LOVER / HOPELESS LOVE

Another frequent conceptualization characteristic for a group of Hungarian folk songs is where a WITHERING/DRY TREE, embodied by a poplar, embodies HOPELESS LOVE. The loss of ability of the tree to grow leaves signifies that the love at hand cannot have a future prospective.

(32)	*–Mondd meg, édös rózsám,*	"Tell me my sweetheart,
	Hogy mikor jössz hezzám?	When will you visit me?
	Télbe, karácsonba,	In winter, or at Christmas,
	Küskarácson napján?	Or on the day of Little Christmas[9]"?
	–Látod ama högyön	"Can you see on that mountain
	Azt a száraz nyárfát?	That dry poplar?
	Mikor a kiződül,	When it turns green
	Akkor mönyök hezzád.	Then I will visit you".

Similarly, another variant of this metaphorical image is an aspen from which the leaves fall. The Hungarian name *rezgő nyárfa* "trembling poplar" illustrates that the small leaves of the poplar keep trembling, which gives the impression that the leaves are vulnerable, dry, and they are weekly connected to the branches. In this way, they are prone to represent the PARTING OF LOVERS (cf. BRANCHES OF A TREE AS LOVE/FAMILY BONDS).

(33)	*Búza, búza, de szép tavaszbúza!*	Wheat, wheat, what beautiful spring wheat!
	Közepibe van egy rezgő nyárfa	In its centre there is a trembling poplar
	Rezgő nyárfa válik a levelétől,	The trembling poplar[10] is losing its leaves
	Én es válok a régi szeretőmtől.	I'm also parting from my old lover.

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[9] *Kiskarácsony*'Little Christmas' is 1 January in the Hungarian folk traditions.

[10] 'Trembling poplar' is the literal translation of aspen in Hungarian, Lat. Populus tremula.

4.3   Metaphors Specific of Various Tree-Species

In this comparative analysis another fundamental question is which tree-species are attached to each conceptualization and whether the two analysed corpora are different in this respect. A brief summary in Table 4 illustrates how the various conceptualizations are associated with specific tree-types, and it can also be examined that there are certain species which represent only one or two target concepts.

Although in Sect. 4.1. numerous common conceptualizations were pointed out, the comparative account shows that there are relatively few tree-species which bear the same conceptualizations in Russian and Hungarian. These include BIRCH, CHERRY TREE, APPLE TREE and WILLOW. Differences, however, are far more remarkable: oak and cypress are only present in the Russian texts, and there are a number of tree-species which are typical only in the Hungarian songs, such as rose-tree, walnut tree, poplar, acacia tree, fig-tree and black-thorn-tree.

In Russian, associations between the conceptualizations and tree-types are basically distinct (e.g., LIFE is only related to OAK), but some overlaps can also be observed. The PLACE OF LOVE conceptualization appears in relation to four trees: OAK, CHERRY TREE, PEAR TREE and APPLE TREE, while FAMILY is embodied by OAK and APPLE TREE. Young girls are typically represented by BIRCH, APPLE TREE and CHERRY TREE. There is also a difference in the fundamentally positive or negative evaluation of each tree-species. While the BIRCH is typically represented as a helping, supportive environment, and it is associated with positive emotions, the WILLOW has a negative connotation. It is also noteworthy that the conceptualizations of WILLOW and CYPRESS are different from the other trees, as they are never related to the theme of FAMILY or LOVE.

The Hungarian account of conceptualizations and relevant tree-species show a rather different picture. PICKING FRUIT AS MAKING LOVE is exclusively related to cherries while a PLACE OF DEATH are either a WILLOW or a POPLAR. The conceptualization of mother is linked to three tree-types: ROSE-TREE, WALNUT-TREE and ACACIA-TREE. However, although it could not be explained in this study, all of these conceptualizations are different: while the ROSE-TREE AS A MOTHER metaphor (the most frequent one) entails the concept of a DAUGHTER represented by a flower, both the WALNUT-TREE and ACACIA-TREE display a sorrowful mother where the MOTHER'S TEARS correspond to FALLING LEAVES in the case of the walnut tree and FALLING FLOWERS in the case of the acacia-tree. Further characteristic conceptualizations include BIRCH AS SORROW, DRY POPLAR AS HOPELESS LOVE, FIG-TREE AS MEDICINE FOR LOVE and BLACK-THORN-TREE AS UNREQUITED LOVE. Within the limitations of this paper, these conceptualizations could not be analysed in detail. A further difference which should be recalled here is that not specifying tree-species is very typical of Hungarian texts (one third of the cases), but it is not characteristic of the Russian songs.

Table 4 Contrastive analysis of the cultural conceptualizations related to specific tree-species (similarities are highlighted in bold)

Tree-species	Conceptualizations of specific tree-species in the Russian corpus	Conceptualizations of specific tree-species in the Hungarian corpus
OAK	OAK AS LIFE OAK AS A FAMILY OAK AS A SHELTER OAK AS A PLACE OF LOVE OAK AS WOOD	-
CYPRESS	CYPRESS AS A GATE TO THE OTHER WORLD	-
BIRCH	**BIRCH WOOD AS FIRE-WOOD** BIRCH AS A HELPER BIRCH AS A YOUNG GIRL	**BIRCH WOOD AS FIRE-WOOD** BIRCH AS SORROW BIRCH WOOD FOR GRAVE MARKER
CHERRY TREE	**PICKING CHERRIES AS MAKING LOVE** CHERRY TREE AS A PLACE OF LOVE EVENT	**PICKING CHERRIES AS MAKING LOVE**
APPLE/ PEAR TREE	**APPLE TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL** APPLE TREE AS A FAMILY APPLE TREE AS LOVE PEAR/APPLE TREE AS A LOCATION OF MAKING LOVE	**APPLE TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL** A HORSE TIED TO AN APPLE TREE AS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP
WILLOW	**WILLOW FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH**	**WILLOW FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH** WILLOW AS A GIRL A HORSE TIED TO A WILLOW AS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP
ROSE-TREE	-	ROSE-TREE AS A MOTHER ROSE-TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL ROSE-TREE AS LOVE
WALNUT TREE	-	WALNUT TREE AS LOVE WALNUT TREE AS A MOTHER WALNUT TREE AS LOVERS WALNUT TREE AS A FAMILY
POPLAR	-	POPLAR FOR A PLACE OF A LOVE EVENT POPLAR FOR THE SURROUNDINGS OF A GIRL DRY POPLAR AS HOPELESS LOVE POPLAR FOR THE PLACE OF DEATH

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Tree-species	Conceptualizations of specific tree-species in the Russian corpus	Conceptualizations of specific tree-species in the Hungarian corpus
ACACIA TREE	-	ACACIA TREE AS A MOTHER ACACIA TREE AS A LOVER
FIG-TREE	-	FIG-TREE AS MEDICINE FOR LOVE UNITY OF FIG AND FIG-TREE AS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP
BLACK-THORN-TREE	-	BLACK-THORN-TREE AS UNREQUITED LOVE

5 Conclusion

In this chapter we explored and compared the cultural conceptualizations of the representations of TREE in Russian and Hungarian folk songs from a Cultural Linguistic perspective. Based on the corpus study, we can specify the following findings about cultural metaphors inherent in Russian and Hungarian folk songs. The observations presented in the study are strongly relevant to the question how cultural contexts influence the emergence of cultural conceptualizations, and what underlying similarities can be found between the cultural conceptualizations of two language communities, which are neither culturally-historically, nor linguistically related. Although it is obvious that environmental factors are determining for the representation of trees, our findings demonstrate that differences between two networks of cultural conceptualizations do not arise only from the linking of conceptualizations to particular tree-species, but rather, distinctions can be discovered in terms of the presence of certain conceptualizations, their frequency, and also the metaphorical correspondences between the source and target domains of the conceptualizations.

Some of the key findings of the analysis are summarized as follows. First of all, it has been shown that Russian folk songs tend to employ various tree-types with distinct conceptualizations, whereas tree-species are less dominantly represented in the Hungarian folk songs. A group of Hungarian texts display TREE as a schematic concept, utilizing its generic characteristics as a source concepts. Secondly, in terms of frequency of the representation of specific tree-types, the most common one is дуб "oak" in Russian whereas rózsafa "rose-tree" in Hungarian; in this respect, it can be noticed that "oak" is a tree-type that grows in a "wild" natural environment, while "roes-tree" is normally planted by human in a garden. Overall, in the Russian representation of TREE, ones that grow in a forest are dominant, on the other hand, in the Hungarian corpus, trees that can be found in a garden or fruit tree are in a higher proportion. Based on the comparison of the cultural conceptualizations in the two corpora, various similar conceptualizations can be detected, including TREE AS A YOUNG GIRL, TREE AS A MATCHMAKER, PICKING FLOWERS/FRUIT AS MAKING LOVE, BRANCHES AND LEAVES AS LOVE RELATION, TREE FOR THE PLACE OF LOVE/DEATH and BURNING FIREWOOD AS LOVE. A thorough analysis of some of these cultural metaphors and metonymies reveal that, despite the similar generic ideas behind these

conceptualizations, their realizations in the folk songs and the image schemas related to them can be rather different.

At the same time, we have identified conceptualizations which are only present in either corpora, including TREE AS A FAMILY in Russian, and TREE AS A MOTHER and WITHERING TREE AS A HEARTBROKEN LOVER / HOPELESS LOVE in Hungarian folk songs. Regarding the TREE AS A FAMILY vs. TREE AS A MOTHER cultural metaphors we can draw the inference that in the Russian folk cultural cognition, the concept of "extended family kinship" is more entrenched than the "mother-and-child relationship", the latter being more characteristic of Hungarian cognition. Finally, we have also observed that in general, the tree-types involved in the folk songs and the way certain conceptualizations are associated with them are rather different in numerous respects. Overall, it is argued that the figurative uses of trees, parts of trees, crops, and plants of various types of trees rely on cultural conceptualizations and are deeply embedded in the cognition of folk cultural communities.

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Why *Distancing* Is No Longer *Social.* Blending Analysis of the Compound's Meaning Construal

Nina Shtok

Abstract The present study focuses on the cognitive processing of the semantic shifts (Coulson, 2001) in the "social distancing" compound in light of the Theory of Conceptual Integration (Fauconnier & Turner, 1994, 1996, 2002). Semantic shift is viewed as reconsideration of the existing knowledge structure and its re-organization into a new frame under the influence of discourse. The study traces the semantic re-organizations in the meaning construal of "social distancing": from the moment of its emergence, through usage to denote inter-racial relations, then to a current usage in the context of COVID-19 as the name of a pandemic measure, and to the most recent shift in the meaning, which has led to the displacement of the "social" component, giving way to a new compound: "physical distancing". The theoretical background of the study is the Theory of Conceptual Integration which describes a mechanism of a dynamic and context-dependent meaning modelling. The paper offers a discussion of the semantic shift in "social distancing" in terms of conceptual integration networks. In fact, compounds—specifically two-element nominal compounds—present one of the most obvious case studies for a conceptual blending analysis. The given Adj+Ving compound is placed under scrutiny here as a blend, which develops its emergent structure in conceptual integration of two mental spaces evoked by input words. This process involves *composition, completion,* and *elaboration.* Moreover, the article explores the analysability of the structure from the perspective of the components' relations and their contribution to the resultant blend, which questions the traditional head-and-modifier relations for synthetic compounds.

Keywords Semantic shift · Conceptual integration · Frames · Frame structure · Compounds · Blend · Compositionality

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1   Introduction

"*Coronaspeak*"—the new language of the pandemic—was an immediate linguistic reaction to the world changes brought about by the spread of the coronavirus. Lexicographers had a rare, unique chance to witness "online" the formation of a whole new layer of COVID-19 related vocabulary, with compounds among the most popular lexical units employed to describe the new *corona reality*. Some of these compounds are medical or epidemiological terms that have invaded our everyday language since the start of the pandemic; some are newly generated words (*coroneologisms),* and then there are those compounds which have been registered for years or even centuries, but gained a wider usage in the pandemic with semantic shifts in their meanings. Social distancing is obviously one of them.

The objective of the article is to study the semantic shifts in the meaning construal of "social distancing". First, it explores the evaluation of the compound's meaning from the moment of its emergence in sociology as a term describing remoteness, estrangement between different classes in society (mainly racial), to its current usage to denote physical space between individuals not belonging to the same household. It later investigates the most recent shift in its meaning, which led to the substitution of the "social" component, bringing in a new lexical unit—"physical distancing".

The research tool is blending analysis developed by Fauconnier (1994, 1997) and Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 1998, 2002) within the Theory of Conceptual Integration. It investigates the process of conceptual integration of the input spaces evoked by the compound's elements in the process of meaning construal and the creation of a new emergent space of the compound. According to Dirven and Verspoor, "to a very large extent, compounds result from a process of conceptual blending. In such a process elements from two concepts are selected and "blended" into a new, more complex concept" (Driven & Verspoor, 1998, p. 55).

The compound is studied as a blend structured with the elements and relationships partially inherited from the input components, as well as a new conceptual content. The blending analysis is aimed at revealing the contribution of each space into the resultant blame and exploring a traditional approach of head and modifier relationships from the perspective of cognitive linguistics.

The study also conducts frame analysis (Fillmore, 1982, 1985; Fillmore & Baker, 2009) to introduce the conceptual structure of integrational network components. The mechanism of frame analysis relies on a semantic frame database presented by the Berkley FrameNet Project (Fillmore et al., 1998).

2   Semantic Frame Data Base

The construct of frame was introduced to Cognitive Linguistics by Fillmore. His approach (Fillmore, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992) attempts to unveil the properties of the structured knowledge evoked by words. This structured

knowledge encompasses much of the encyclopaedic meaning, which is obligatory for perceiving, remembering, imagining, assuming and reasoning about our experience. Frame is a cover term for these structures—schematizations of experience held in a long-term memory, which represent the particular organization of knowledge as a prerequisite to our ability to understand the meaning of the associated words (Fillmore, 1985, p. 224).

Fillmore's study of frame was an invaluable contribution to the Berkeley FrameNet project (Fillmore et al., 2003). The project's scope was building a frame-based database containing hundreds of frames supporting English lexical units (frame-evoking words) from contemporary English corpora. This database contains over 1200 semantic frames for over 13,000 word senses with annotated sentence examples from large text corpora. It provides detailed insight into frame conceptual structure, introducing its elements and relations. The semantic domains are as the following: HEALTHCARE, CHANCE, PERCEPTION, COMMUNICATION, TRANSACTION, TIME, SPACE, BODY (parts and functions of the body), MOTION, LIFE STAGES, SOCIAL CONTEXT, EMOTION and COGNITION.

The frame analysis conducted within the project included several stages. The first stages, which are naming and describing frame elements (FEs) and selecting lexical units (LUs), are especially meaningful to mental space modelling. FEs are components of a frame which "stand for the things worth talking about once a frame has been entered into a conversation" (Fillmore & Baker, 2009, pp. 324–325). They are divided into *core* and *non-core* elements, while the letter are further subdivided into *peripheral* and *extrathematic*.

The schematisation of our knowledge about cooking, for example, can be represented by the frame "Cooking_creation" (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu), which provides core FEs: COOK (a person doing the cooking), FOOD (the food produces as the result of a COOK's efforts); and peripheral FEs: CONTAINER (something to hold the food while cooking), DEGREE (degree to which an event occurs), HEATING_INSTRUMENT (the source of heat with which a COOK prepares FOOD), INGREDIENTS (elements chosen by a COOK to prepare FOOD) as well as MANNER, MEANS, PLACE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT, TIME. Frame element naming is treated individually for each frame, which means that "the names need to be chosen so that someone who understands the frame will be able to see what FEs the names refer to …" (Fillmore & Baker, 2009, p. 326).

Application of blending analysis to the study of composite structures is quite a popular method in Cognitive Linguistics. However, in many cases these studies do not offer a systematic approach to the analysis of input space structures built by the selective projection of elements and relations from corresponding frames, that is, which exactly frames participate in the process and how these elements are defined and named. The frame structure is essential for the given study since it provides a reliable tool to complete a schematization of the mental spaces involved in integrational networks of compounding. It gives us answers to such basic questions as what frames are reached for in the process of mental spaces structuring, how constituent elements are defined and named.

3   Semantic Shift in Meaning Construal

The approach is based on Coulson's idea of frame shifting (Coulson, 2001) to counter a more traditional approach viewing the processing of language composite structures as a type of *parsing*. Parsing amounts to dismantling linguistic data into two types of context-invariant meaning: word meaning and syntactic information. When the process is accomplished, the context-invariant meaning adopts to the given situation and background knowledge. In contrast, S. Coulson (2001) claims that contextual and background knowledge do much more since meaning emerges from the integration of linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge, as meaning and background are intimately intertwined.

The most prominent features of frame-shifting theory are in Coulson's analysis of humour (jokes), such as, for example, the composition "thoughtful wife" in:

1.   A thoughtful wife has pork chops ready when her husband comes from work.
2.   A thoughtful wife has pork chops ready when her husband comes from fishing (Coulson, 2001, pp. 41–49).

For "a thoughtful wife" in (1), a language user draws on available background knowledge of a certain model of marriage, construing the meaning of a wife solicitous in her care for her husband. The same phrase in (2) obviously displays the *contextuality* (Clark, 1983) of the meaning construal. The word "fishing" provokes a remarkable change in the interpretation of a "thoughtful wife" as one who anticipates her husband to come home without any fish, and thus the previous meaning does not fit the context anymore.

This type of change is defined as frame-shifting or a "semantic reanalysis process that reorganizes existing information into a new frame" (Coulson, 2001, p. 34). This process is central to a compound interpretation whose meaning is greatly influenced by context and background knowledge at every stage of its construction: from establishing input spaces to elaboration of the blend.

4   Conceptual Integration Theory

Conceptual Integration is recognized as a basic cognitive operation running over a wide range of linguistic phenomena, including inference transfers, analogical links, metaphors, categorization. This operation was introduced to cognitive linguistics by Fauconnier and Turner (1994) as a development of Fauconnier's Mental Space Theory (1994, 1997).

4.1 Building of Mental Spaces

The central notion in the theory is of mental spaces, which are dynamic cognitive structures prompted by linguistic units and built as the discourse or thought unfolds. The important assumption here is that the cognitive structures underlying language use are dynamic and context-dependent. From this perspective, mental spaces are built up during an on-going discourse in a way that new elements can be added and new relations between them established (Fauconnier, 1997).

The online, dynamic nature of mental spaces is closely related to the selective character of elements in their structure. The theory views mental spaces as very partial cognitive domains[1] that "proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained *partitioning* of our discourse and knowledge structures" (Fauconnier, 1997). The selection of elements structuring mental spaces is determined by a specific context and results in partial representations of the real or imaginary worlds to which they are employed to refer.

Though dynamic and apt to constant modifications, mental spaces have a coherent internal organization set up by elements and relationships selectively projected from pre-existing conceptual structures of *frames*. These pre-existing packages of structured knowledge operate in the long-term memory and are activated when mental spaces are set up in the on-going discourse (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). The process of structuring depends largely *on conceptual mapping* of these dynamic, context-dependent assemblies onto corresponding frames.

As an example we can take Fillmore's COMMERCIAL EVENT frame of buying, which can cover a range of participant roles, at least four basic ones: *buyer – seller - money – goods* (Fillmore, 1982). When this frame happens in the following context: "I bought vegetables from a farmer", we have "I", "vegetables", and "local farmer" correspondingly as the *a, b, c* elements in the mental space which are mapped onto corresponding elements in the "buying" frame (Fig. 1).

This is an example of a rather straightforward mapping between a mental space and the frame by which it is structured. However, it clearly shows how partial and context-determined the process of mental space structuring is.

4.2 Conceptual Integration Networks

One of the more complex cognitive phenomena where conceptual mapping takes place is in conceptual integration, or blending of mental spaces. The authors of the Conceptual Integration theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) assume that an integration network consists of four mental spaces*: input spaces, generic space* and *blend* which are put together under a common integration network through the process of mapping.

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[1] Following Fauconnier (1994), the notion of cognitive domain is employed in the work as a broad term denoting mental spaces.
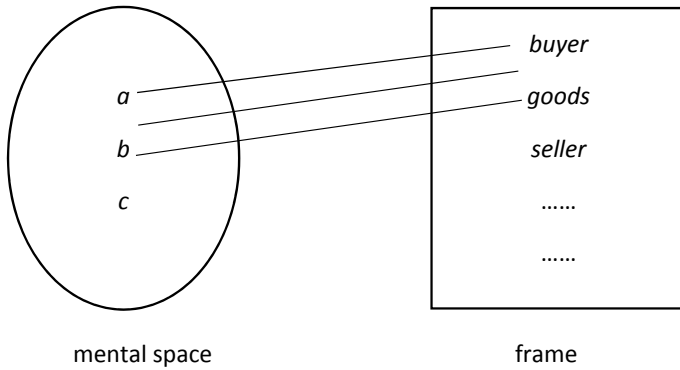
Fig. 1 Conceptual mapping (Fillmore, 1982)

The mechanism of conceptual integration starts with establishing two *input spaces*. The organizing frames give their profiles for corresponding input mental spaces providing elements relevant for the particular context. The degree of input space framing varies, that is, it can have a varying number of elements and relations mapped onto the structuring frame. The mental spaces establish connection by means of a partial *cross-space mapping* of their counterparts. The matching of the input spaces gives rise to the third element in the network—a *generic space*. The generic space is constituted with the elements shared by the inputs at any moment of the integration network development. These elements, in their turn, are mapped onto the input counterparts. Importantly, a given element in a generic space is mapped onto paired counterparts in the input spaces.

The structural elements from the inputs are selectively projected onto the fourth mental space of the network, which is the *blend*. Blend and *generic space* are closely related. Blend captures the generic space structure (inputs' matched counterparts) but with more specific information. Some of the matched counterparts are mixed up into one element in the blend while others are projected separately. Apart from inherited elements, blend acquires new elements and relations, developing an *emergent structure* which is not copied from any of the inputs.

A new emergent structure is possible due to three processes: composition, completion, elaboration. First, *composition* relies on introducing relations between counterpart elements that did not exist in inputs. During the *completion* the blend composite structure reaches for long-memory knowledge structures bringing in all the necessary background information. Finally, *elaboration,* or running the blend, occurs in terms of mental simulation. This is an online processing of blend in accordance with the principles established at completion stage and those recruited during the dynamic completion itself.

Conceptual blending is claimed to underlie a whole variety of linguistic structures and processes, including all word formation mechanisms. From the perspective of conceptual integration, compounds can be viewed as conceptual blends of two

or more input spaces partially integrated into a blended space with a new emergent structure containing both: elements projected from the inputs and new ones. In fact, compounds—specifically two-element nominal compounds—present one of the most obvious case studies for conceptual blending analysis.

5 Research Methodology

The research methodology first involves a frame analysis of the compound elements. It is based on the semantic frame database in Berkeley FrameNet project (Fillmore et al., 2003, http://framenet.icsi.edu). The first stage is to select a frame for the given lexical unit from the frame database. It is done by entering a LU into the "Search" in the List of Lexical Units available on the web-page of the Project. The structure of all the frames suggested by the program for this particular LU is then analysed to select that one which fits the context. Fillmore's project work on frame structure provides a list of frame elements—components of a particular frame which are described in terms of *semantic roles* associated with the frame. This description predicts which elements will be projected from the frames into the mental spaces once the components are connected via the blending process.

Then a blending analysis is applied to trace the semantic shifts that have occurred in the meaning construal of the compound, finally leading to the elimination of the "social" element in its structure. The analysis effectively captures the semantic combination of the two components to produce a composite meaning. It covers all the stages of integration network creation: (1) Establishing input spaces. Two input spaces are structured with the elements projected from the frames evoked by the compound's constituent elements (*social* and *distancing*). (2) In the process of integration, these spaces are linked by a cross-space mapping, connecting their counterparts; (3) Generic space construction. The information which is recognized as belonging to both inputs is reflected in the generic space; (4) Blending an emergent structure formation. The blended space develops an emergent structure which partially inherits elements and relations from the two input spaces and obtains new knowledge in the process of completion and elaboration.

Blending analysis was also applied to study the contribution of each element to the resultant compound. This part of the research examined feasibility of traditional head and modifier relationships in syntactic compounds (Adj+Ving) from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective.

6 Blending Analysis of "Social Distancing" Meaning Construal

6.1 Social Distancing as a Form of Racial Prejudice

The compound "social distancing" has its origin in the field of sociology where it was brought up by a German sociologist Georg Simmel in his essay "The Stranger" (1908). Initially the concept was understood as a complex interpretation of sociality as forms of "distance" in both a geometric and a metaphoric sense (Ethington, 1997). In the 1920s, Robert E. Park deprived the concept of geometric sense of distance in favour of a metaphoric one. At this point it was viewed from the perspective of social space (estrangement, remoteness) between different groups (usually belonging to different races) in the social hierarchy. The notion was employed as a tool to measure inter-racial relations and different forms of prejudice.

This path led to the development of the "Social Distance Scale" in 1925. Emory Bogardus devised this scale to define "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize pre-social and social relations generally" (Bogardus, 1925). Bogardus primarily applied this scale in his experimental research to measure racial distance between communities. Later contribution to the development of the social distancing concept was made by German sociologist Karl Manheim in the context of "safe space". The concept of social distancing was applied to "external or spatial" and "internal or mental" distance between social groups (Mannheim, 1936/1957).

The frame and blending analyses elucidate the process of the compound's initial meaning construal. The integration network is launched by the construction of input spaces. The first input reaches for the "social_desirability" frame. This frame contains LUs similar to those of the "desirability" frame (a frame which focusses on an Evaluee being judged for its quality, that is, how much it would probably be liked) except the Evaluee incorporates the Parameter as "associated with a perceived place in a social heirarchy" for all LUs (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/). The mapping process recruits the elements from this frame which are needed for the construction of the resultant blame: EVALUEE, CIRCUMSTANCE, COMPARISON. These slots (Minsky, 1974, 1975) are filled in with information specific to this particular context, which is respectively: people, belonging to a racial group and social hierarchy.

"Distancing" enters the integration process as a metaphoric concept where it does not denote a physical space between objects, but rather refers to types of relationships, mainly estrangement, aloofness. This is an obvious case of a conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, 1980/2003), which is another case of "a *unidirectional mapping* projecting conceptual material from one structured domain, called the *source domain*, to another one, called the *target domain*" (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014, pp. 13–15). The mechanism of metaphoric projection in case of distancing can be derived on analogy with the mapping from the source domain of "physical closeness" to the target domain of "emotional intimacy" (emotional intimacy is physical

closeness) (http://www.lang.osaka-u.ac.jp/~sugimoto/MasterMetaphorList/metaph
ors/Emotional_Intimacy_Is_Physical_Closeness.html): *distancing* (source domain)
is *estrangement*" (target domain).

Thus, lexical unit "distancing" evokes a "forming_relationship" frame: Partner_1
interacts with Partner_2 (also collectively expressible as Partners) to change their
social relationship. (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/). The frame elements will
be partially projected into the second input space with the slot-fillers offered by
the context: PARTNERS (people), CIRCUMSTANCE (state of the world) and
INTERACTION (estrangement).

The cross-space mapping connects counterparts in two spaces. CIRCUM-
STANCE is the structure common for both inputs. These elements are projected
into the generic space where CIRCUMSTANCE becomes "a racial group" and the
structure is mapped onto the paired elements in the input spaces.

The next stage is the formation of the fourth space—blend with a new emergent
structure of the compound. The new structure involves the elements and relations
partially inherited from the "social" and "distancing" input spaces and new ones
belonging to neither of the spaces.

The mechanism of the "social distancing" integration network is schematically
presented in Fig. 2. It demonstrates the basic elements and operations within the
process of conceptual integration underlying the meaning construal in "social distanc-
ing". Mental spaces are illustrated with circles (Input I, Input II, Generic space,
Blend), elements within input spaces are indicated with dots, solid lines are cross-
space mappings between two inputs, dotted lines symbolize connections between
inputs and a generic space or inputs and a blend, a square in the blend is a new
emergent structure.

The emergent structure develops under three conceptual processes: composition,
completion and elaboration. Thus, *composition* imports the structures from the input
spaces into the blend. The counterparts CIRCUMSTANCE is fused and brought into
the blend as one slot. Other elements are projected as distinct entities.

This conceptual process exposes the contribution of each input into a new space.
The blend inherits its frame-level structure from the "distancing" input, but the role
of "social" input is not restricted to a mere modification of the value of one of the
blend's elements. The blend receives another element from this input ("social") as a
separate structure. Thus, the compositionality of this structure does not seems to align
with the assumptions of semantic relations in synthetic or verbal-nexus N/Adj+Ving
type compounds: "the relation between the constituents was wholly attributed to the
presence of underlying verb in the deverbal head" (Scalise & Bisetto, 2009, p. 50).
In other words, the head is supposed to be the element containing a verb in its base
while the other element is understood as an argument of this verb.

Cognitive Linguistics, in general, does not accept this type of head-and-modifier
relation in composite structures (see, e.g., Benczez, 2006; Dirven & Verspoor,
1998; Downing, 1977; Geeraerts, 2002; Langacker, 1987; Warren, 1978) nor does
it accept the notion of compositionality, instead arguing for a continuum or cline of
compounding and its analysability. Langacker defines analysability as "the extent to
which speakers are cognizant (at some level of processing) of the contribution that
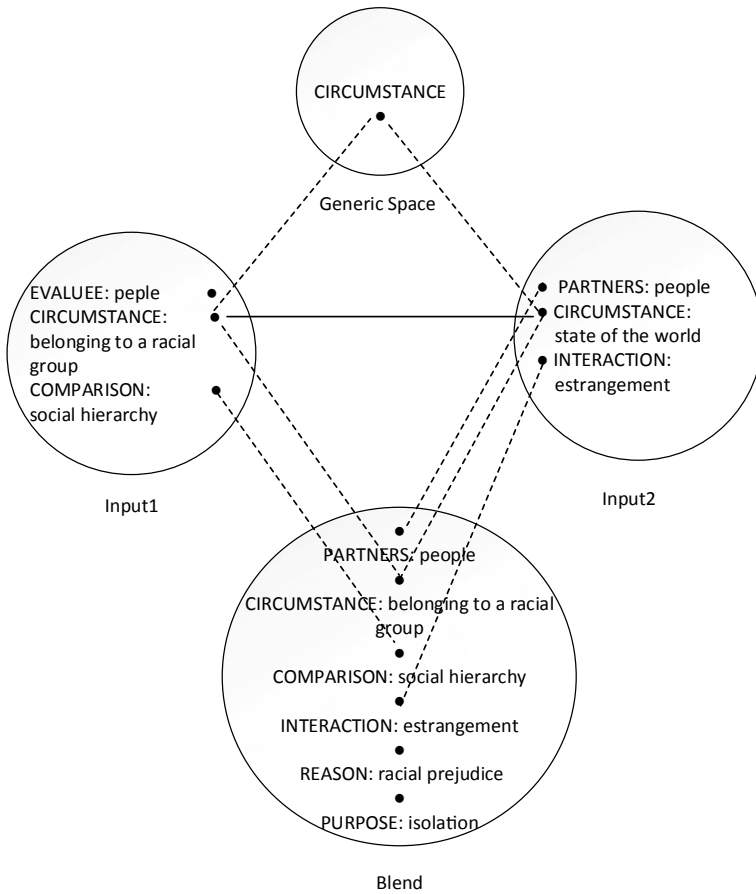
Fig. 2 Social-distancing (form of racial prejudice) integration network

individual component structures make to the composite whole" (Langacker, 1987, p. 457).

Completion enables the blend to unconsciously recruit a range of background knowledge and contextual information: REASON and PURPOSE. These complete the composition process and make it possible for the composite structure to invoke elements not present in its counterparts. The addition of new conceptual content implies the overall meaning is not fully compositional and its interpretation is highly contextual.

Finally, *elaboration* or *running the blend*, is the mental simulation of the structure in the blend. It can involve those elements and principles which were brought to the blend in the completion or new logic can be employed within the elaboration process itself.

Blending analysis is the non-compositional method of a composite structure analysis, which clearly shows that the resultant structure of the compound is not a mere

sum of input elements. The conceptual integration network reveals the complexity of the compound structure when the adjective does not limit its contribution to the resultant compound by specifying a particular value of one of its elements.

6.2 Social Distancing in COVID-19 Context

In the mid-2000s "social distancing" became one of the pandemic measures aimed at preventing the spread of highly contagious diseases. Starting from February 2019 we can observe a spike in the usage of this compound in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic. In this case, the term was employed to name a COVID-19 preventive measure of keeping a physical distance (1.5–2 m) in public places between people not belonging to one household in order to prevent the virus spread.

The word entered a different context with a new meaning. The context-dependent, online nature of conceptual integration is particularly suitable to explain such semantic changes in composite structures. The process is closely tied together with the notion of a cognitive structure's "entrenchment", that is, a lot of what we say evokes pre-existing, ready-made knowledge structures so deeply "entrenched" in our memory that "their activation has become a highly activated routine" (Schmid, 2007, p. 118), and an online blending is not incurred every time the lexical unit is used.

According to Coulson (2001), the online meaning construal is prompted only when elements of a compound are combined outside of the default context. She gives a vivid example of meaning construal of "*pet fish*". The degree of entrenchment of this unit in a default context is rather high and it calls on the concept of an aquarium. However, it does not extend to the context of a public pond where an old man regularly feeds the carp and might consider them his pet fish. Another example of an ad hoc meaning construal in compounds is given by Ungerer and Schmid. The entrenched meaning of "cherry jeans" is most probably "jeans of cherry-like colour". But when the same input spaces are subjected to conceptual integration in a less conventionalized context, it may lead to another emergent structure in the blend, such as "printed with a cherry pattern", "garment soiled by stains of cherry juice", "jeans used for cherry picking" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006).

When "social-distancing" occurred in the novel COVID-19 context, routine mechanisms of entrenched meaning constriction in this compound failed. Thus, it no longer meant a deliberate attempt to isolate oneself socially from other racial groups, but instead a pandemic measure of keeping a certain physical distance between people to avoid infection. In this case, the blending process recruits new background knowledge to structure an input space and the resultant blended space.

The conceptual network of "social distancing" starts the same way—with the building of two input spaces. The first semantic shift happens when Input Spaces I is structured in a less conventional context of COVID-19 pandemic. It suggests projection not from a default frame of "forming_relationship" but a different structure— "Social_event": a Social_event occurs at which attendees are present to conduct a social function or joint activity (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu). Thus, as we
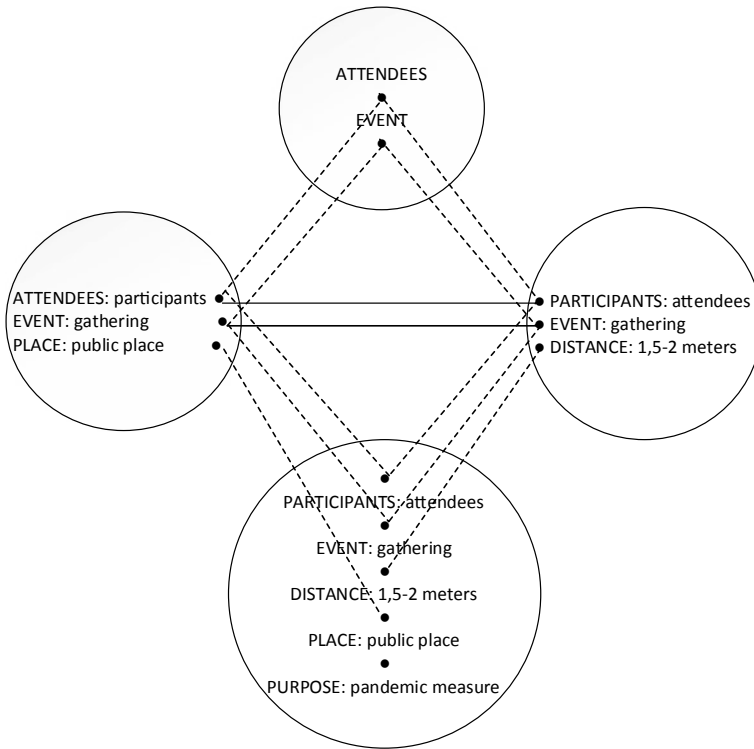
Fig. 3 Social-distancing (pandemic measure) integration network

can see in Fig. 3, Input 1 assumingly recruits ATTENDEES, EVENT and PLACE elements, which are mapped onto a "social_event" frame, and nothing in this space indicates any references to the conventional meaning of social/racial groups of society.

The second shift can be observed in Input 2, which is structured with the elements projected from "Range" frame: There is a certain physical distance within which some other entity can participate in an Event with the Participant (https://framenet. icsi.berkeley.edu). These elements evoke the sense of physical space between two or more people, and there is no any inference about a metaphoric implication of the relationships. The process shows the selective nature of mapping between input spaces and background frames. This selection is determined by context, i.e., from a range of elements in these pre-existing packages of structured knowledge we opt only for those which are relevant for this particular discourse: PARTICIPANTS, EVENT, DISTANCE.

The next stage is cross-space mapping to establish the connection between counterparts in the input spaces. These are, first of all, EVENT and ATTENDEES-PARTICIPANTS. These common structures constitute generic space. Each generic space element is mapped onto both counterparts in the input spaces.

Finally, the blending is launched, when the structures from the two Inputs are partially projected onto the fourth space. The process first involves *composition,* through which the blend composes elements from the input spaces imparting relations that did not exist in the separate inputs. Composition can take two forms when counterparts from the inputs are either projected to the blend each separately or fused into one element. As we can observe in the "social-distancing" blend, the composition takes form of fusion where the PARTICIPANTS slot becomes "attendees" and EVENT—"gathering". PLACE and DISTANCE are brought into the blend as separate elements. A composed structure then is *completed* with new background conceptual knowledge which is necessary for our understanding of the given scenario: PURPOSE: pandemic measure. The third process involved in blending formation is *elaboration.* It develops the blend through mental simulation or "running" the blend. The schematic presentation of "social-distancing" meaning construal is given in Fig. 3.

The integration network exposes conceptual structures recruited by the compound's components as well as the contribution of each into the resultant blend. In this context, "social" does not evoke the default frame "forming_relationships", which contains background information on social classes and racial/ethnic groups, instead bringing in a different structure of gatherings in a public place ("social_event" frame). An analogical shift can be witnessed in the second input, which in this particular context involves the physical space of a certain distance between people. The structures integrate, bringing an emergent structure different from one in the default blend as well.

The integration of two input spaces reveals the contribution of both elements into the resultant compound's meaning. In this case as well, this contribution does not fit the traditional standpoint on head and modifier relations in verbal-nexus N/Adj+Ving type compounds. The role of the 1st input space again, cannot be limited to a modifier of one of the elements of the 2nd input space. The blending analysis of the compound's meaning formation shows that components of word-formation items cannot be understood as the building blocks of composite structure (Ungerer, 2007). According to Langacker, the components only trigger or motivate the compounds, supply a certain amount of conceptual assistance, but are discarded when the compound is fully entrenched by frequent activation (Langacker, 1987, pp. 452, 461).

6.3   Why Is "Distancing" No Longer "Social"?

The etymology and evolution of the meaning of "social distancing" is essential for understanding the cognitive backstage of a new trend in substitution of its "social" component" by "physical".

Though the conceptual analysis of "social distancing" justifies the appropriateness of the given lexical unit for COVID-19 context, the compound is being actively displaced by *physical distancing.* It denotes the same, that is, the practice of keeping a

certain distance from other people, in order to stop a disease from spreading to another person or other people (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/). This change must have been triggered not by a fault in the cognitive mechanism of meaning construal (which efficiency was previously proved by the analysis) but some other extraneous factors.

As we could see, the world discourse during the pandemic was captured by another outbreak—violent protests and worldwide unrest about racism (May 2020). A wave of anti-racism campaigns were triggered by the vicious murder of George Floyd in police custody, and it swept over the major part of the world, leaving almost no one indifferent to "Black Lives Matter" movement.

The discourse changed, and so did the background assumptions about "social distancing", which might have caused another semantic shift in the interpretation of the compound or rather a semantic leap backwards. It evoked the deep-rooted conceptual knowledge behind the lexical unit, bringing it back to the times when the term was employed to describe a type of relationships between racial groups based on racial prejudice.

The compound "social-distancing" as a pandemic measure has been heavily criticized for the inappropriateness of "social" as its component. As a result, a new word was introduced to replace it in the context of COVID-19, which is "physical distancing". However, the blending analysis has revealed the background knowledge used in the meaning construal of "social distancing" as a preventive measure and proved the congruousness of its both elements in this context.

7 Conclusions

The aim of the article was to investigate the change which happened to a COVID-19 related term "social distancing" causing its substitution into "physical distancing" with the same meaning of a coronavirus preventive measure. It was also intended to reveal the contribution of each of the compound's components into the resultant structure and explore a traditional approach of head and modifier relationships in N/Adj+Ving noun compounds from the perspective of cognitive linguistics.

First, the survey examined the conceptual reconsideration of the meaning construal in "social distancing" from the moment of its emergence in a sociological context to its recent function in COVID-19 discourse. This sort of conceptual revision is defined as *frame-shifting* and suggests reorganization of the existing information into a new frame (Coulson, 2001, p. 34). As the analysis showed, the semantic shift happens when a word enters a less conventionalised context and default mechanisms of meaning construal fail. This activates other frames and brings new background knowledge to input spaces and a new emergent structure to a blend.

Secondly, frame-shifting explained the radical change or semantic leap backwards in the understanding of "social distancing" as the pandemic context suddenly lost its validity. This shift emphasizes the role of the context and background knowledge in

the process of on-line meaning construal. Compound interpretation is highly context-dependent, and greatly influenced by pragmatic and discourse factors (Coulson, 2001). Langacker (2008, p. 54) writes: "… it is only the context that renders these fragments coherent or supplies enough content to make them conceptually or communicatively useful".

The frame analysis was conducted on the ground of the data on frame structure collected under the FrameNet Project. This analysis indicated the elements and slots of the spaces in the integration networks and enabled a systematic and structured approach to the reconstruction of highly contextual meaning formation in compounds.

Overall, the research has proven that compounds can accommodate smoothly into the framework of blending analysis. It revealed the conceptual mechanisms of constituent integration and the formation of the compound's composite structure—a new emergent meaning not derived from the mere combination of its constituents. Taking into consideration the non-compositional nature of this compounds' meaning, the traditional modifier-head analysis does not seem suited to elucidate a compounding process. The conceptual integration approach to the compounds' meaning construal casts doubt on a standpoint viewing the role of the first (left-hand) constituent as simply a modifier of its right-hand head.

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The Metaphorical Representation of the Covid-19 Pandemic in the Albanian Public Discourse

Ledia Kazazi

Abstract From a cognitive linguistics perspective it is widely known that well known conceptual domains are used to explain complex or emerging concepts. As of recent, in the context of the Coronavirus pandemic, a wider usage of metaphors has been noticed in various public discourses. This paper aims to explore the most common metaphorical expressions used in the Albanian public discourse from the period of March 2020 until June 2020, in official political statements and media reports. It draws on the concepts of discourse metaphors and metaphor scenarios. The findings suggest that the pandemic in Albania is mostly framed in terms of WAR, NATURAL DISASTER and JOURNEY. However, even though these metaphors are used within the pandemic context they are not specific to Covid-19.

Keywords Covid-19 · Conceptual domain · Metaphor · Scenarios · Discourse

1 Introduction

The first case of the coronavirus infection in Albania, was reported on March 8, 2020 in Tirana. On March 10, 2020, Prime Minister Edi Rama announced the country's lockdown policy by stating that this policy was regrettable but necessary by inviting the citizens to wash their hands and avoid fake news (tiranatimes.com, n.d.). The measures were initially imposed on the largest urban areas only, to be then expanded on the whole country in a matter of days. They were continually modified without prior warnings and without providing justifications. Furthermore, the government required the citizens to apply for an online "going out permit" through E-Albania, an online government portal. The permission was awarded for one hour per day, later updated to an hour and a half, and only one adult member per family could be eligible for application. The elderly were not allowed to leave their homes, unless emergency situations. One concerning issue regarding these measures is the fact the authorities adopted them without declaring a State of Emergency, as provided by law,

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thus restricting and forbidding fundamental human rights. The lockdown was legally enforced on 24 March, 2020, when the government declared a State of Emergency through a Decision of the Council of Ministers. The provisions, however, remained the same and the act was considered just a technical formality, as the government had already ordered the military forces into urban centers calling on people to stay indoors before declaring the State of Emergency.

These measures were generally accepted by citizens, even though in some cases, various fines have been administered by the police forces for breach of measures. To date, Albania records 118,017 infected people, 2,060 fatalities and 81,061 recovered patients in a population of 2,877,797 inhabitants.

Facing a new, unknown and unprecedented situation, new and appealing narratives were required to justify the extreme measures that were taken and to persuade the citizens to collaborate and embrace the applied policies. This paper aims to shed light on the conceptualization of the Covid-19 pandemic in the Albanian public discourse from the period of March 2020 until June 2020. It explores the most used metaphorical expressions and metaphor scenarios found in political speeches and media reports during the first stage of the pandemic.

2   Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphors are considered to be important in communication and cognition because they express, reflect and reinforce different ways of making sense of particular aspects of our lives (Semino, 2008). They involve the conceptualization of more abstract notions in terms of more concrete ones (Flusberg et al., 2018; Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Pinker, 2007). More specifically, conceptual metaphors are defined as the understanding of one more abstract domain of experience in terms of a more concrete domain of experience. Thus, the metaphor is considered a process and a product simultaneously. The process aspect is related to the cognitive process of understanding a domain and the conceptual pattern that results from such an understanding is recognized as the product aspect (Kövecses, 2017). This process allows for the image of a familiar topic to replace the image of an unfamiliar topic in the auditor's mind (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Another distinction embodied in the metaphor is the one between the "source domain" and "target domain". The source domain is a concrete domain, whereas the target domain is an abstract one. In the case of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, the domain of journey is concrete as opposed to the domain of life. Thus, JOURNEY constitutes the source domain of the metaphor and LIFE the target domain. In general, concrete physical domains typically serve as source domains for more abstract targets, as in the case of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Kövecses, 2017). This reasoning suggests that conceptual metaphors reside not only in language but also in cognition. We frequently use metaphors to speak but also to think about certain aspects of the world (Kövecses, 2017). They help us think and speak about

a problem by simplifying the issue, highlighting certain aspects and deemphasizing others (Flusberg et al., 2018).

3 Metaphors and Covid-19

As aforementioned, metaphorical language tends to be used whenever an abstract concept is being discussed. The revolution in the lifestyle that this pandemic brought called on for relevant linguistic expressions to address the issues related to it. The abstraction of the topic is related to the fact that the virus in question was new, unknown and invisible. Also the consequences were very sudden and serious such as the spreading of a large scale illness and a considerable number of deaths. As a result urgent responses were needed from governments which also involved major changes in the lifestyle of people all over the world. These changes sometimes violated human rights and democratic behavior and resulted in a growing debate about the pandemic and the measures taken.

Metaphorical language use is not a novelty in healthcare discourse (Demmen et al., 2015; Semino et al., 2015; Sontag, 1991). Target domains concerning illnesses appear to be relatively complex, abstract, subjective and very sensitive experiences (such as life and death), whereas source domains tend to be simpler, richer in imagery and quite accessible experiences (such as fighting, people and animals). For this reason illness, both physical and mental, is a subjective and sensitive experience and tends to be talked about and conceptualized through metaphor (see Semino & Demjen, 2017).

4 Metaphor Scenarios

There are three main perspectives on metaphor analysis: cognitive, discourse based and practice based. All of the three methods are concerned with the implications and usage of metaphors, however they have different priorities. The cognitive based method is mostly concerned with metaphors in thought and considers metaphorical expressions as part of conceptual structures and processes. The discourse based method investigates the form and application of metaphors in authentic language use by taking into consideration the interlocutors and the context. The practice based method focuses on how metaphors affect communication in a particular setting (such as healthcare). What all these three methods have in common is the notion of framing, even though it is defined at different levels of generality in each of them (Semino, 2008).

The present study draws on the concepts of discourse metaphors and metaphor scenarios. It analyses metaphorical expressions in authentic data such as political statements and media reports on Covid-19, from March 2020 to June 2020 and considers their implication for rhetorical effects, social relations, ideologies etc. The

study is concerned with metaphor as an object of study and with issues within a specific domain of communication such as the narrative on the Covid-19 pandemic from which textual data are drawn. The chosen methodology involves a manual analysis of the selected data, based on the Metaphor Identification Procedure proposed in Pragglejaz Group (2007) which considers an expression as metaphorically used when its contextual meaning contrasts with a more concrete basic meaning and when the former meaning can be understood through a comparison with the latter. For instance, the expression "invisible enemy" was identified as e metaphorical expression and then allocated to the semantic field of war. Other semantic fields explored were those related to journey and natural disaster.

This approach to metaphor study proves to be effective since it offers the possibility to explore what is included within the framing effects, what level of conceptual structure is considered in relation to metaphors and framing, and the role of linguistic choices and patterns in claims about metaphor and framing (Semino, 2008).

More concretely, this study relies on the identification and exploration of metaphor scenarios. A scenario is defined as: *a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc.* (Musolff, 2006; Semino, 2008).

The notion of scenario seems to be compatible with the notion of frame. However, scenarios are extracted from discourse data and function as a bridge between the conceptual properties of metaphor to its active usage in a socially situated discourse (Musolff, 2006).

5   Most Common Scenarios in Albanian Public Discourses on Covid-19

5.1   The Warfare Scenario

It is noticed that especially during the initial phase of the pandemic there is a tendency to conceptualize the virus as an enemy, or invisible enemy (the adjective invisible contributes to enhance the danger and risk involved) and the pandemic in general as a war. The war metaphor is proved to be effective because of some significant properties embodied by it, such as: the source domain recalls a salient knowledge (or feeling) and this knowledge is well-known to speakers of the linguistic community (Flusberg et al., 2018).

Within this context, there is a well-defined schematic knowledge for a prototypical war which involves a fight between opposing forces, an in- group (the people/ countries/ governments/ the world) and an out- group (the enemy/ the virus). Also there are strategic decision to be taken in order to win the war (lockdown/ travel restrictions), there is a hierarchy of decision making and a leader who takes the most

strategic decisions (the specialists' committee/ the Prime Minister), there are soldiers who fight in the frontline (medical staff) and there are also the people who have a stake in the outcome of the war but are not directly involved on the frontline (people who have to respect the government's measures). This knowledge of a prototypical war is quite widespread and relatable to the audience. The chances are that a lot of people have a first-hand experience with fighting in a war, or a second-hand experience of learning about a war, reading information about wars or seeing it and hearing from it through various media. Thus, war metaphors are meaningful because war exposure is frequent in everyday life. (Flusberg et al., 2018) They are also prevalent in daily communication. As stated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) we cannot help but talk about, and enact, arguments in terms of concepts of war, since a lot of topics of discussion (politics, sport etc.) have something in common with war. Due to this conventionality, war metaphors are easy to process and understand in context.

The war metaphor is not new in healthcare discourse. It has been extensively used to refer to the Ebola epidemic, AIDS and cancer (Semino, 2016), a fact that suggests that the discourse on Covid-19 has been conceptualized on pre-existing frames and scenarios.

5.1.1   The Invisible Enemy

The warfare scenario has been applied in dominating discourses in English and borrowed and translated in other languages too. Albanian Prime Minister, Edi Rama has also relied on this conceptualization when constructing his political narrative on the pandemic. For example he explicitly refers to the virus as an enemy when addressing the pandemic issue in the Albanian parliament and government meetings during the months of March and April.

> On the other hand, this is not a conventional war, where human values such as courage is highlighted. This is a war with an invisible enemy, completely invisible, who is able to enter our body and our beloved bodies by seriously menacing their health and their life.
> (PM Edi Rama addressing the government meeting on March 10, 2020)

> Friends, I hope you are keeping calm and mobilised to win this war, which unlike conventional wars, does not require us to go to an actual front, since we are the front; we don't have to protect the country from an enemy, but our own cells from an enemy; we don't need to use any weapons, but we should equip ourselves with the weapon of patience and sacrifice our own freedom. (Statement of PM Rama, March 2020)

> We are in war with an enemy that is looking for hostages among the elderly in our family and its main ally is our carelessness and the other allies are fear, insecurity, confussion which are nourished by our sources of information. No war is fought without information and every battle or argument, let alone a war, can be lost if you are not informed or missinformed. And with regard to this enemy, every other information apart from official information, is dangerous and it should be received by wearing the protecting mask of total doubt. (Statement of PM Rama, March 2020)

The above discursive passages suggest that PM Rama emphasizes the danger embodied by the virus by highlighting the abstract and unknown properties of it and also stating that being courageous is not enough. This statement implies that

further "sacrifices", such as respecting the measures of the government, are required to face this war. The need to express and articulate the new circumstances and justify the measures taken, which as the Prime Minister also states, limit the citizens' basic rights, has activated in components of lexical field of war in discourse. The conceptualization of such circumstances as war, reaches the audience's conscience and causes fear and insecurity and as a result, obedience towards the call for collaboration. PM Rama attributes features of the invisible enemy to the non-official information. Thus, the war frame is used here to indicate the media too. It is worth reminding here that Rama's relationship with the media is not the best. Also, during the pandemic the PM centralized the information resources by being the only one who reported on the measures of the pandemic, mainly through his social media accounts. A number of people were also arrested for spreading fake news on social media.

One month after the application of government's measures, PM Rama states:

> Albania has successfully won the first battle with this invisible enemy. (PM Edi Rama addressing the Albanian parliament on April 16, 2020)

> This war is positioned in two fronts; the front of facing the enemy on the battlefield, our beloveds bodies and the front of the battle for the survival of the economy today and its recovery tomorrow. Of course, with stress and patience, we are going to win both wars. (Statement of PM Rama on 16 April 2020)

This statement implies a success of the lockdown measures, however it does not announce a victory on the enemy. The war still goes on and other battles are on the way, as a result, further cooperation by the citizens is needed. The Prime Minister, also, juxtaposes here two very different concepts. On the one hand an abstract concept, the war with the invisible enemy and on the other hand a concrete concept, something that affected the daily lives of every Albanian family, the difficult economic situation. There is an implication that, so far, the war has been won only at an abstract level.

5.1.2   The Hero

As with every war, there are enemies and there are heroes. In the war against Covid-19, the traits of the heroes are attributed to the medical staff who is considered to be on "the frontline" with the virus by risking infections and also their life. Different political leaders and media channels have called on for solidarity for the medical staff in these challenging and difficult times, as is the case of this extract from a news report on March, 2020.

> Since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, we are all experiencing a stressful and tiring period, but even in the most tiring days, there are the silent heroes who spend their days "imprisoned" in the hospital saving patients' lives. (Shqiptarja.com)

> We are continuing to furnish doctors, nurses and the structures of the National Emergency section with personal protective materials. The protection of doctors and nurses, who fight in the frontile in the war against COVID-19. (Statement by the Minister of Health, Ogerta Manastirliu, April 2020)

> Dear doctors, nurses and health staffs everywhere in Albania and staff of the hospital of Tirana! You are our heros! The heart and mind of every Albanian is close to you! May God

> give you the strength and courage to face this challenge that lies ahead! In these times you are not just parents, partners, sons and daughters, sisters and brothers of your families, but of all the Albanian citizens. (Statement of Leader of the Albanian opposition, Lulzim Basha, March 2020)

> Doctors and nurses in Albania are continuing their fight on the frontline to save infected coronavirus patients in extraordinary circumstances – that keep them isolated from their families and children. (reporter.al, news report, March 2020)

This is also the only occasion when the leader of the Albanian opposition, Lulzim Basha, has used the warfare scenario in his public discourse. He has avoided the usage of the war frame entirely during the pandemic.

Elements of the hero are also found in narratives about police officers, who even though are not on "the frontline" with the virus are still sacrificing their lives by being on duty.

> The white collars are not the only heroes! Police officers are everywhere in times of peace and times of war. Even in this modern day war with the coronavirus. (Ora news, news report, March 13, 2020)

5.1.3   The Antihero

Political discourses on Covid-19 were framed with the aim to persuade and convince the citizens to collaborate in "the war" and this involved respecting the imposed rules, respecting social distancing, wearing a mask and during the lockdown phase staying at home. By doing what was required they could share the glory of making their part in winning the war. Those who would not be willing to contribute would be considered responsible for the loss of the war and would thus be attributed elements of the antihero. In one of his social media communications in March 2020, PM Rama states:

> From 1 to 5 the country will be considered a closed house. Going for a walk with other people, during the exit hours, will not be peacefully tolerated. We will not stop at administering fines. The police and the army will supervise neighborhoods in Tirana and Durrës, which are categorized as red zones. We will photograph them and place them in the black list of traitors. These individuals will have to pay a price. They will be denied every financial aid possible for at least a year, starting from scholarships up to medicine reimbursement. The elderly too, will be considered war traitors and will be treated with zero tolerance. (Social media communication of PM Rama, March 2020)

> If this is the level of understanding civic duty in the frontline with this war on life and death and referring to the positive result achieved so far, a lot of people are giving up thinking that nothing is going to happen to them, then the response from the government will be reciprocal for whoever that will not stand in a line. The new punitive measures will be converted into law on Monday and for the stubborn ones, deprivation of freedom will be the answer. (Social media communication of PM Rama, April 2020)

> The new confining measures, which we are going to present to the parliament in order to conduct changes in the criminal code of the Republic of Albania, in the conditions of the natural disaster situation and more specifically the epidemic, will on the one hand, protect the people from the disobedients of this war, and on the other hand will guarantee the needed facilitations by securing the health of every citizen. (Statement of PM Rama, April 2020)

> We are making a fantastic effort that history will remember, unless those who do not respect the laws of this war ruin all of this. They are a few, very few, compared to the population, but enough to turn this war into a national tragedy with unimaginable consequences, God forbid! (PM Edi Rama calling on Albanian youth to stay home, March 20, 2020)

> PM Rama, who is in self-isolation with his family, since March 12, recalled on Monday, the priceless value of life through respecting the restriction of what he called "the laws of war". "We have entered a very difficult week. Do not play with fire. We are going to lose people, but let us not lose a mountain full of people. Never". PM Rama addressed the citizens on Monday. (DW, March 24, 2020)

Threatening discourse dominates the narrative of the above passages, where administrative measures are stressed. There is an implication that those who will deny to obey the rules, even though just a few, shall be the cause of a national tragedy. Moreover, the Prime Minister implies a moral public punishment of the disobedient ones, what contributes to the emotional manipulation of the audience.

5.2   Problems Arising from War Metaphor Usage

Whereas the war frame proved to be useful, especially at the beginning of the pandemic, since it conveys a feeling of risk and urgency (Flusberg et al., 2018) and tends to lead people modify their behavior accordingly, its extended use over-time may be problematic, especially if we think of the associated emotions evoked by war metaphors. They tend to create anxiety because loss of lives and loss of resources are involved and also imply that those who died did not fight enough or were not strong enough. Moreover, war metaphors evoke fear which is suggested to be their primary function in political rhetoric (Flusberg et al., 2018). On the one hand, fear can motivate people to pay attention, be more careful and modify their behavior on behalf of important social issues. As a result, war rhetoric helps individuals recognize the threat of diseases and dedicate more efforts to the research on the actual disease (Hodgkin, 1985; Petsko, 2001). On the other hand, fear is a strong and dangerous motivator in political choices and it tends to lead to the rise of conspiracy theories which can undermine trust in democratic institutions. Due to a circumstance of anxiety, fear and extraordinary measures which limit the basic rights of people (such as those implied by the lockdown restrictions) there is the possibility for the rise of authoritarianism and autocratic leaders.

Within this particular context another metaphor is noticed to be continuously used:

5.2.1   The Leader as the Father of the Nation

This is a concept deriving from the metaphorical frame A NATION IS A FAMILY, which allows us to "reason about the nation on the basis of what we know about a family (Lakoff, 1996). In the Covid-19 pandemic context the usage of this frame allows for the conceptualization of the country's main leader as a devoted father of a

family. In a traditional nuclear family the father has the primary responsibility for the well-being of the household. In this context, life is seen as fundamentally difficult and the world as fundamentally dangerous. Evil is conceptualized as a force in the world, and it is the father's job to support his family and protect it from evils—both external and internal. The father embodies the values needed to make one's way in the world and to support a family: he is morally strong, self-disciplined, frugal, temperate, and restrained. He sets an example by holding himself to high standards. He insists on his moral authority, commands obedience, and when he doesn't get it, metes out retribution as fairly and justly as he knows how. It is his job to protect and support his family, and he believes that safety comes out of strength (Lakoff, 1996).

PM Rama has framed his narrative around this concept several times during the pandemic. For instance, on April 30, 2020, during his communication on social media he announced that:

> On Saturday, May 2 and Sunday May 3, the elderly will be allowed to freely go out at 10:00. All the others will remain home during this timeframe. On Saturday, May 2 and Sunday May 3, parents accompanied by children up to 14 years old will be allowed to go out freely from 11:00 to 17:30. (PM Edi Rama on his Facebook profile, April 30 2020)

> - TOMORROW IN ALL URBAN CENTERS, ONLY MOTHERS AND CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 10 WILL BE ALLOWED TO GO FOR A WALK, UNTIL 11:00.
> - ATTENTION! MOTHERS MUST NOT BE ACCOMPANIED BY FRIENDS AND CHILDREN MUST BE KEPT IN DISTANCE.
> - ALL US, FATHERS AND OTHER CHILDREN OVER THE AGE OF 10 AND THE ELDERY WILL STAY HOME UNTIL MONDAY, 05:00. (Social media communication of PM Rama, April 2020)

When explaining his Strict Father model, Lakoff states that the father's primary duty is tell his children what is right and wrong, punish them when they do wrong, and to bring them up to be self-disciplined and self-reliant. He teaches his children to be self-disciplined, industrious, polite, trustworthy, and respectful of authority.

Here the PM, takes the attributes of the family father who decides upon the actions and timetables of his children since he is responsible for them and thinks and decides on their behalf. This metaphor results to be highly effective, especially, in patriarchal societies.

On a broader note, the usage of war metaphors when addressing health related issues has been considered not appropriate. Research on the topic suggests that the usage of military language places the illness in the role of an opponent that the patient has to struggle with individually and not actually recovering may be interpreted as a personal defeat (Miller, 2010; Sontag, 1991). Constructing the patient as a victim may also prevent his/her recovery as he/she may be considered responsible for the development of the illness and culpable in case of a "failure" of recovery. Sontag proposes to entirely eliminate the usage of these metaphors when communicating health related issues and use only literal language instead (Sontag, 1991). The topic has created controversies since a study by Hauser and Schwartz (2015) has confirmed that the metaphorical framing of cancer as an enemy was shown to reduce people's

intention to engage in self-limiting prevention behavior (such as quitting smoking). In this case war metaphors are effectively used to explain and encourage behaviors that may have positive effects on people's health. This might also be the reason why the narrative of war was immediately incorporated in the discourses about Covid-19. Also, military language proved to be effective for the Albanian culture as the history of Albania is marked by multiple wars, starting from the Illyrian wars up to the Second World War. The activation of these pre-established familiar schemata fostered an immediate response from the citizens who embraced the restrictive measures and accepted the changes in the lifestyle.

5.3   Other Common Scenarios

5.3.1   The Journey Scenario

Another way of framing the pandemic in public narratives in Albania, is noticed to be the journey metaphor, which suggests that the return back to normality involves a long and difficult process with an uncertain conclusion. The process of dealing with the virus and the overcoming of this challenging situation is conceptualized based on elements of travelling and journeys such as maps, final destinations, length of the journey, expansion into different locations etc. The "journey" metaphor is considered as a better alternative to the war metaphor in healthcare discourse (Semino et al., 2015; Sontag, 1991). This metaphor constructs illness as a path that can be travelled collectively and can aid the relationship and involvement of other people rather than the patient in the course of the illness. In public discourses in Albania the journey scenario has been mostly employed by the healthcare authorities. The element of the map has been widely used in the press releases of the Ministry of Health, especially when explaining the spread of the infection.

> In her daily public communication, the Minister of Health and Social Care, Ogerta Mana-stirliu, confirmed that the map of coronavirus infections has expanded and called on the citizens to respect the social distancing measures. (Press release of the Ministry of Health, March 23 2020)

> The map of the people infected by COVID-19 is spread in Vlora, Shkodra, Durres and in cities such as Lushnja, Kavaja, Fier and Rrogozhina, the epidemic tracing is ongoing. (Statement of the Ministry of Health, March 2020)

These statements calls on the activation of already familiar visual and conceptual frames of maps and movement from one location to the other to illustrate the spread of virus. The process to recovery is also conceptualized as divided in phases as stated by a study of the Albanian Academy of Sciences and also by a manual on the opening strategy published by the Albanian Ministry of Health.

> The Minister of Health has announced the inclusion within the "green areas" of 18 new municipalities. They are considered as involving a low risk for the spread of the infection. (Statement of the Prime Minister's office, April 2020)

Starting from the May 4, every person that will return in the country and is a resident in one of the red zones must be quarantined at home under strict monitoring conditions. While people who are residents in the green areas will continue the quarantene in the apointed accomodating structures. (Statement of the Minister of Health, April 2020)

We are now expecting the Peak and moving on to the next phase. (ata.gov.al quoting the Albanian Academy of Science, March 4 2020)

Based on the WHO recommendations as well as the evaluation of risk in the country, return to normality will be achieved gradually and will include some phases in time. (Manual on the reopening strategy, published by the Albanian Ministry of Health)

We are in a very important instance regarding the continuation of the epidemic situation in the country. Based on ongoing monitoring, there are still some active hearths of infection in some areas. We are working hard to test and trace the cases. The reopening strategy which is composed by the Technical Committee, predicts some phases of slow and careful relief of the actual measures. (Minister of Health, Ogerta Manastirliu, April 2020)

5.3.2 The Natural Disaster Scenario

Metaphors involving weather events are used to refer to the consequences of Covid-19 in the health system but not only. Thus, the pandemic is often conceptualized in terms of storms, tsunamis, and other natural catastrophes. PM Rama talks about a potential "second wave" by relying on pre-existing frames involving elements of the sea.

A second wave is expected, in autumn and winter. It could be true or not. (kryeministria.al /newsroom quoting PM Edi Rama during a press conference)

DW talks about a catastrophe that could occur in the Albanian health system if a situation similar to that of Italy could happen. This statement evokes the devastation brought about by natural disaster and implies that no one is immune to that.

A hypothetical Italian scenario, would be a catastrophe for Albania. (DW, March 24, 2020)

The natural disaster metaphor scenario tends to be effective because it evokes vivid and familiar images who may have been experienced directly or not. Another metaphor evoked within this scenario is the fire metaphor since fires tend to cause harm by progressively increasing in size and intensity and work as very suitable source domains for any phenomenon that causes damage by "spreading" (Charteris-Black, 2017). This clearly applies to a high contagious virus as Covid-19. The fire metaphor is very effective in describing how contagion happens and explains measures that need to be taken in this regard. It also helps to conceptualize the post-pandemic future and can be considered as more plausible alternative to the war metaphor. The usage of this kind of metaphor does not dominate Covid-19 narratives in Albania, however there are some cases when it is used, mostly by the media. For instance in this brief quote, DW talks about intensive explosions of contagions which evokes images of progressive fires.

The foretold storm on the explosion of COVID-19 just started. The pandemic entered on Monday its third week. A week of intensive explosions. (DW, March 24, 2020)

The global explosion of COVID-19 is expected to slow down economical growth during 2020. The rate is quite unclear at the moment", states the IMF mission. They suggest that the governments secures enough financial resources for the health sector in order to support the infected by COVID-19. (DW, March 2020)

6 Conclusions

As a very pervasive and effective means of communication, metaphors have extensively been used in Covid-19 pandemic narratives in Albania. Based on an analysis of metaphor scenarios, the dominating metaphor resulted to be the war metaphor, especially during the initial phase of the pandemic. During this particular phase, their usage is considered appropriate to convey the dangers posed by the virus, justify the need to change certain aspects of the citizens' lifestyle and generate a sense of responsibility and sacrifice for a common purpose. The warfare scenario has dominated the discourse of Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama, especially in the initial phase of the pandemic. The leader of the Albanian opposition has avoided military language, as have done healthcare specialists.

The effectiveness of this metaphor is attributed to the fact that it is very relatable for the Albanian audience as it is constructed on pre-existing familiar frames and recalls on the country's past experience in wars. However, its extended use overtime may be problematic, especially considering the negative emotions evoked by war components. Thus, it creates anxiety which contributes to health deterioration and evokes fear, which might have a strong impact in political choices by leading to the creation of conspiracy theories, undermining democratic institutions and causing a rise of authoritarianism. Also, from a discourse perspective, they can convey only a partial representation of a certain issue. The more complex and long term the issue, the more we need a variety of metaphors to capture the different facets of meaning generated on the way. For this reason and also for the need to normalize the presence of the virus two other scenarios appear to have been incorporated, the journey scenario and the natural disaster scenario. They both rely on familiar conceptualization and tend to be more acceptable and relatable than the warfare scenario. With the beginning of summer 2020, a tendency to return to normality, despite of the fact that the monitoring of the virus continued, called for a new representation of the virus. Thus the war metaphor was effective only at a short term level.

All of the three identified scenarios rely on already pre-existing conceptual frames which are not specific to Covid-19. Also, these scenarios and the metaphors generated by them are not culture specific but "borrowed" and translated from international discourse.

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Conceptual Metonymy in the Creation of Concrete Nominal Signs in Peruvian Sign Language: Towards a Metonymic Typology

Marco Malca Belén and Frank Domínguez Chenguayen

Abstract This paper aims to analyze the creation of concrete nominal signs in Peruvian Sign Language (LSP, for its initials in Spanish). To do this, we have mainly collected data available online. Within the framework of cognitive linguistics, we propose a classification for the metonymic construction of concrete nouns in this signed language. As we propose, Peruvian Deaf people use either static or dynamic aspects or both combined in the creation of these signs. Based on these considerations, we establish metonymies and metonymic variants as part of the classification as an explanatory framework of LSP.

Keywords Peruvian Sign Language · Cognitive linguistics · Conceptual metonymy · Concrete nominal signs

1 Introduction

Signed languages are the natural languages of Deaf[1] communities. There are many of them around the world: American Sign Language[2] (ASL), Australian Sign Language (Auslan), Brazilian Sign Language (Libras), British Sign Language (BSL), Catalan Sign Language (LSC), German Sign Language (DGS), among others. Ethnologue:

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[1] The term *Deaf*, with an uppercase letter, is used to refer to deaf people who identify themselves as members of a cultural and linguistic community, whereas the term *deaf*, with a lowercase letter, is used to describe people with hearing loss or impairment.

[2] By convention, names of signed languages are written in capital letters.

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Languages of the World has listed about 150 signed languages,[3] but "they are just reporting signed languages that we know of, that have been reported. There are probably many other signed languages that have not been reported yet" (Wilcox, 2017, pp. 9–10). Therefore, the actual number of signed languages worldwide is underestimated and their study is still underway.

Peruvian Sign Language (LSP) is the name given to the natural signed language of the Peruvian Deaf community, which was officially recognized in 2010 by Law 29535. It coexists with spoken languages such as Spanish, Quechua, Aymara and others (e.g., Amazonian languages; see Ministerio de Educación, 2013). Despite what some still believe, LSP has its own vocabulary and grammar. Some characteristics of LSP are the lack of copula, the polymorphemic nature of numerous signs (for instance, in order to express the sentence *The tree falls*, signers use a single sign instead of a linear sequence of signs as in English), the SOV basic sign order (Rodríguez Mondoñedo, 2016), and so on.

In the social Peruvian context, members of the Deaf community are still discriminated against due to their language and culture. Even a government body as is Peru's Ministry of Culture fails to recognize LSP as a native language. The difference is reflected, in fact, when contrasting Peru's 48 native languages[4] with LSP, which is considered to be Peruvian, but not an indigenous language from the national territory (Rodríguez Mondoñedo, 2017). In addition, few studies address this signed language (Cuti, 2018; Madrid, 2018), and most of them are underway (see Grupo Señas Gramaticales[5]). Based on a cognitive-linguistic approach, there is some work in process (Malca Belén, 2018); however, no studies focus on lexical signs in LSP: how signers create them and what cognitive mechanisms are used to construct these symbolic units. To reverse the situation, we will start by focusing on concrete nominal signs.

This study seeks to evidence how conceptual metonymy plays a pivotal role in the creation of concrete nouns in LSP. To achieve so, we first analyze a set of signs which were mainly collected from videos available online. Then, Sect. 2 describes the methodological aspects, such as glossing conventions, the use of computer software, criteria to identify metonymies, amongst others. Section 3 discusses previous research on metonymy in signed languages from a cognitive perspective and introduces a general framework for the analysis. Concrete nominal signs in LSP are analyzed in Sect. 4. As we will see, metonymy permeates all such lexical signs, and they will be in turn categorized based on the nature of the metonymic source domain. Finally, conclusions are presented in Sect. 5.

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[3] The list of signed languages around the world reported by the Ethnologue is available at https://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/sign-language.

[4] According to Peru's Ministry of Culture, 44 of Peruvian languages are spoken in the Amazonia (Amawaka, Kakataibo, Wampis, amongst others), and 4 in the Andean region (Quechua, Aymara, Jaqaru, and Kawki). The complete list of Peruvian languages is available online and can be downloaded from https://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/sites/default/files/archivos/paginas_internas/descargas/Lista%20de%20lenguas%20ind%C3%ADgenas%20u%20originarias_1.pdf.

[5] Information about Grupo Señas Gramaticales, a research group at Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, is available at https://investigacion.pucp.edu.pe/grupos/senasgramaticales/.

2　Methodology

2.1　Data Collection

In this study, data mainly consist of video recordings made by active members of the Peruvian Deaf community. Most of them are linguistic models, that is, Deaf people proficient in LSP who facilitate language learning for Deaf students and bring them closer to the Deaf culture. These videos recordings were posted on YouTube and Facebook as a part of individual projects (see, for instance, the YouTube Channels Steve Mayurí (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1akieyg0U89WC3--tCfiUg/featured), the Facebook page Modelos Lingüísticos de Lengua de Señas Peruana (https://www.facebook.com/MODELOSLLSP), amongst others) or institutional projects (such as those of the Ludwig Van Beethoven Special Basic Education Center (https://www.facebook.com/CEBE-LUDWIG-VAN-BEETHOVEN-509624212416509), the Sueños Compartidos education center (https://www.facebook.com/SuenosCompartidosPeru), amongst others), and concrete nouns were extracted from them. Specifically, the signs represented by figures in this paper can be found at the preceding links.

We also collected data using an elicitation process. We interviewed an LSP teacher who elaborated on the motivations behind the creation of concrete nominal signs in this language. The 40-min work session allowed us to gain insight into his metalinguistic intuitions. As a result, we collected more than 200 concrete nominal signs. Some cases were not considered because their motivations were not clear. These signs will be detailed in a future research.

2.2　Use of Computer Software and Glossing Conventions

Once we obtained the data from the resources above, we began processing. We used an open-source software, ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator),[6] to adjust the rate at which videos were played. By reducing the playback speed, we were able to analyze the manual parameters and non-manual components of signs. Then, we transcribed the signs into glosses, while taking into consideration some conventions. First, capital letters were used for glossing, for example, BRIEFCASE, MOTORCYCLE, TOOTHPASTE. Second, if two or more words were needed to gloss a single sign, the words were linked by a hyphen, for example, NAIL-CLIPPER, PRICKLY-PEAR, REMOTE-CONTROL. Third, lexicalized fingerspelling signs were expressed with a pound symbol (#); for instance, #PAWPAW. Fourth, the elements of a compound were linked using a circumflex (ˆ), for example, TABLEˆWRITE 'desk'. Finally, lexical variants were represented with subscript numbers. For example, two signs for

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[6] ELAN is a computer software developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. For more details, go to http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan.

Fig. 1 Sign DUCK$_1$
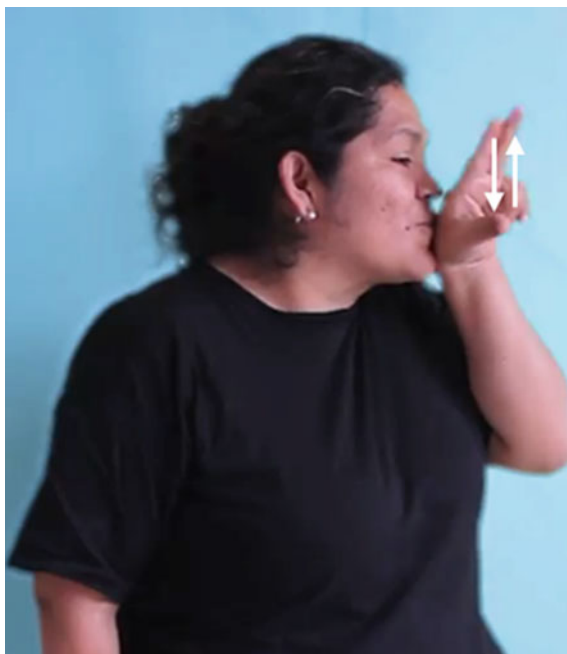
'duck' were found in LSP (see Figs. 1 and 2), both of which share all but one artic- ulatory feature: the handshape; in Fig. 1, the index and middle fingers are selected, and in Fig. 2, all four fingers are selected. Therefore, both signs sharing the same meaning are glossed as DUCK$_1$ and DUCK$_2$.

2.3 Methodological Steps for Analysis

We took a number of steps to analyze concrete nominal signs in LSP. Firstly, we identified the metonymic processes used in the construction of these signs, taking into account the target and source domains. Secondly, these mechanisms were subdivided based on a particular level of inclusiveness. Thirdly, we indicated the nature of the source domain, that is, we established whether there was a dynamic or static profiling; this in turn allowed us to evaluate metonymic processes into three big classes (see Sect. 4). Finally, we analyzed all the data.

Fig. 2 Sign DUCK$_2$

3   Metonymy, Iconicity and Signed Languages

By adopting the framework of cognitive linguistics (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987, amongst others), several studies have documented the application of this approach to signed languages (for more details, see Martínez, Siyavoshi & Wilcox, 2019; Wilcox, 2007; Wilcox & Morford, 2007; Wilcox & Wilcox, 2010). Particularly, a large body of research was carried out to clarify the motivation behind the construction of symbolic units (Jarque, 2005; Kosecki, 2014; Martínez, 2012; Martínez & Morón Usandivaras, 2013a; Taub, 2001; Wilcox, 2000; Wilcox et al., 2003; P. Wilcox, 2004; S. Wilcox, 2004; Xavier & Santos, 2017; amongst others). In doing so, metonymy has played a pivotal role. For instance, the ASL sign DRIVE-CAR describes a "prototypical action of hands holding onto a car's steering wheel" (Wilcox et al., 2003, p. 145). A specific action is represented in the articulation of one sign, which is explained by the metonymy PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ACTIVITY. In other words, among the different actions involved in driving— entering the car, adjusting the rear-view mirror, turning the ignition—, only one is profiled—holding a car's steering wheel—and it is used as a point of access to the whole activity 'to drive a car'.

Most studies on metonymy in signed languages have focused on lexical metonymy (Wilcox & Wilcox, 2010), and yet, few studies address concrete nouns in these languages from a cognitive perspective. One of them is carried out by Martínez and Morón Usandivaras (2013b) in the Argentine Sign Language (LSA). They identified three metonymic processes to explain the creation of these signs: PROTOTYPICAL

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY, and MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY. An example reported by them is the two-handed symmetrical sign SWIMMING-POOL, which is explained by PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY. In the articulation of this sign, LSA users represent the prototypical action of a swimmer giving strokes, thus focusing on the action to represent the place where the action is performed. Except for MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY, the two other metonymies were also reported by Gibaudant (2019) in LSA. As a result, these metonymic processes, and conceptual metonymy in general, are deemed to be very productive in the construction of nominal signs in LSA.

Conceptual metonymy is not the only cognitive mechanism involved in the creation of signs; iconicity has also been recognized as an important cognitive process. According to Taub (2001), who studied how iconicity and metaphor interplay in ASL, iconicity is "a relationship between our mental models of image and referent. These models are partially motivated by our embodied experiences common to all humans and partially by our experiences in particular cultures and societies" (p. 20). To elaborate, she proposed the Analogue-Building Model, which is based on three principles: image selection, schematization, and encoding (see Taub, 2001). For his part, S. Wilcox (2004), based on cognitive grammar (Langacker, 1987, 2008), presented a model of iconicity called *cognitive iconicity*. In his proposal, iconicity is not a relationship between the form of a sign and something in the world, but "a distance relation between the phonological and semantic poles of symbolic structures" (p. 122). The core claim of his model is that phonological notions also reside in a conceptual space. According to him, when a symbolic structure is iconic, the semantic and phonological poles reside within the same conceptual region. However, when a symbolic structure is arbitrary, the semantic and phonological poles reside in distant regions of conceptual space.

In studies on metonymies in signed languages, the following types were well-documented and well-supported to explain the construction of concrete nouns:

A.   PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR (WHOLE) ENTITY (Gibaudant, 2019; Martínez & Morón Usandivaras, 2013b; Wilcox et al., 2003)
B.   ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT (Wilcox et al., 2003)
C.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY (Gibaudant, 2019; Martínez & Morón Usandivaras, 2013b)
D.   MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY (Martínez & Morón Usandivaras, 2013b).

Even though most concrete nouns can be explained by these metonymies, the list could be complemented by considering two aspects. On the one hand, the nature of the metonymic source domain, that is, its profiling, is to be taken into consideration. We can distinguish between dynamic and static frames or scenarios for metonymic source domains (see, for instance, Blank, 1999). On the other hand, there seems to be more metonymies other than the above to account for the construction of concrete nominal signs in signed languages, as we will evidenced with respect to LSP. As a result, a metonymic classification can be proposed to explain concrete nouns.

4 Analysis of Concrete Nominal Signs in LSP

In this section, concrete nouns in LSP are analyzed by metonymic processes. To do so, we first identify the nature of the metonymic source domain. As we will see, metonymies found in LSP are grouped into three major categories: static profiling, dynamic profiling, and static-dynamic profiling.

4.1 Static Profiling

This category contains a number of metonymies whose source domains are linked to static profiling. By *static profiling* we mean scenarios where language users (in this case, LSP Deaf signers) represent entities lacking movement or action, which can take the form of prototypical characteristics and letters of written names. Specifically, we report two metonymic processes: PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY and LETTERS OF WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY.

4.1.1 Prototypical Characteristic for Whole Entity

This type of metonymy involves the process by which prototypical characteristics are highlighted to represent whole entities. As we will see below, these characteristics can be further distinguished. Firstly, the characteristic can be a salient portion of a whole, for instance, a man's feet, a table leg, a bird's wing, etc. Secondly, the characteristic is not necessarily a piece of something, but also an aspect of a thing which is closely related to dimensional properties such as length, width and height. Thirdly, the consistency of an entity can be also a prototypical characteristic, for instance, softness, hardness, viscosity. Accordingly, three specific metonymic variants can be documented:

A. PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
B. PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
C. CONSISTENCY OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY.

To illustrate a PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY there is the sign PIG$_1$ (see Fig. 3). In the articulation of this sign, the pig's snout is depicted by LSP users, that is, they focus on a prototypical part of the animal and use it to access the whole concept of 'pig'.

We have identified many cases in which a part is assumed to be prototypical or more salient, such as beak for DUCK$_1$ and DUCK$_2$ (see Figs. 1 and 2), eyes and ear tufts for OWL (see Fig. 4), crest and beak for ROOSTER$_2$ (see Fig. 5), glochids for PRICKLY-PEAR (see Fig. 6), among others.

We have documented a total of 35 signs for this first metonymic variant. In Table 1, prototypical parts of such entities are shown in parentheses.
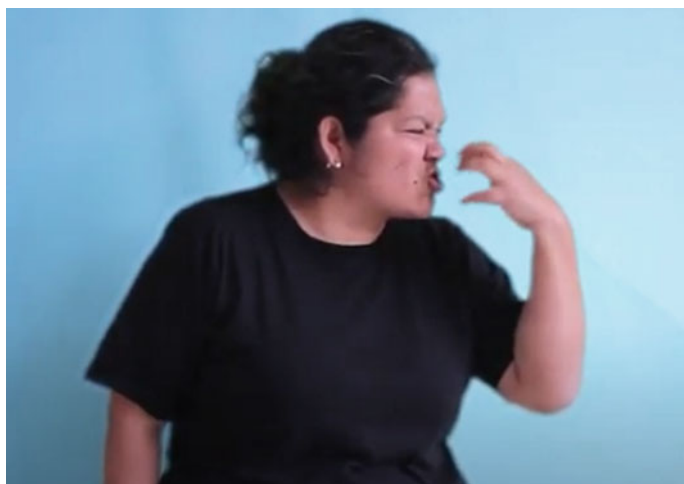
Fig. 3 Sign PIG$_1$

Fig. 4 Sign OWL

The second metonymic variant, PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, can be exemplified by the two-handed symmetrical sign DRESS (see Fig. 7), for which the hands and their movement represent a long dress. This means that, although there are other dimensions associated with the entity (the width, the contour), only one aspect is profiled by LSP Deaf signers (the length) and this is used as a point of access to the concept of 'dress'.

Fig. 5 Sign ROOSTER$_2$

Fig. 6 Sign PRICKLY-PEAR

Other signs also show signers' attention to length as a prototypical characteristic. However, we have found cases in which other dimensions, such as shape and height, stand out. Table 2 shows 20 cases identified for this second metonymic variant.

For the third metonymic variant, CONSISTENCY OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, we have found only two cases: the sign for 'jelly' (see Fig. 8) and the sign for 'clothes' (see Fig. 9). In the case of the asymmetric bimanual sign JELLY, the movement of the dominant hand over the non-dominant one and the facial expression represent the gelatinous consistency of the entity. In the symmetric bimanual sign CLOTHES, the signer represents the action of pulling out a garment with the fingers to represent the ownership of the object.

In our corpus, we have identified a total of 57 signs under this first metonymic pattern whose source domain corresponds to the prototypic characteristic, and whose target domain, to the entities. Quantitatively speaking, the frequency difference between profiling a part of an entity as the most salient characteristic and profiling its dimension or consistency is shown in the following graph (Fig. 10).

Table 1 Prototypical parts used to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY					
CAT (whiskers)	LION (mane)	RABBIT$_1$ (ears and teeth)	RABBIT$_2$ (ears and teeth)	HORSE$_1$ (ears)	DONKEY (ears)
COW$_1$ (horns)	BULL$_1$ (horns)	GOAT (beard and horns)	PIG$_1$ (snout)	PIG$_2$ (nostrils)	SQUIRREL (teeth)
WOLF (snout)	ELEPHANT (trunk)	RHINOCEROS (horn)	GIRAFFE (neck)	CAMEL (humps)	SHARK (fin)
SWORDFISH (bill)	TURTLE (head and shell)	COCKROACH (antennae)	DUCK$_1$ (beak)	DUCK$_2$ (beak)	ROOSTER$_1$ (crest)
ROOSTER$_2$ (crest and beak)	PARROT (beak)	PELICAN (beak and throat pouch)	CHICK$_1$ (beak)	OWL (eyes and ear tufts)	TOUCAN (beak)
TURKEY (caruncle)	MAN (moustache)	PRICKLY-PEAR (glochids)	HOUSE (roof)	POLO-SHIRT (short sleeves)	
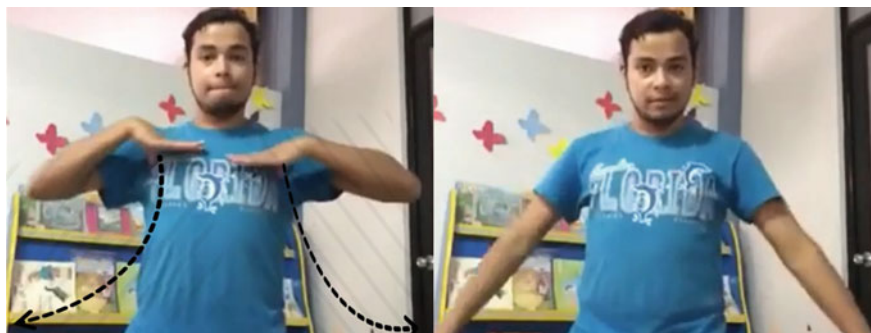
Fig. 7 Sign DRESS

Table 2 Prototypical dimensions used to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR THE ENTITY					
BED (shape)	BUS (length)	PLATE$_1$(shape)	PLATE$_2$(contour)	TABLE (shape)	BALL (shape)
CHILD (height)	TREE (shape)	AVOCADO (shape)	BLACKBERRY (shape)	STARFRUIT (shape)	CHERRY (shape)
PEAR (shape)	FIG (shape)	DRESS (length)	SKIRT (length)	GROUND-BEEF (shape)	CHORIZO (length)
MOLD-BREAD (length)	GLASS (shape)				

Fig. 8 Sign JELLY

Fig. 9 Sign CLOTHES
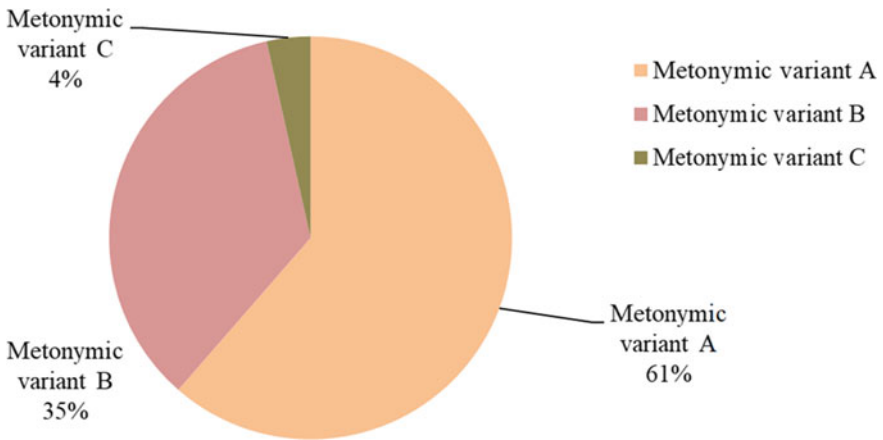
Fig. 10 Metonymic variants of PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY

In quantitative terms, the graph compares PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant A) with the other two, PROTOTYP-ICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant B) and CONSISTENCY OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant C). From a qualitative point of view, this numerical difference can be explained by an attentional phenomenon. Focusing on a single part of an entity perhaps takes less cognitive effort than attending to the particular spatial dimension or consistency of the entity. In fact, as our data reveal, for Peruvian Deaf signers, it seems to be more useful to focus on generalizable traits among categories (e.g., the beak as the salient property of the chick, the duck, the toucan, etc., or the horns for the cow or the bull) than particular

features from category to category such as dimension (e.g., the multiple mimicry of signs for fruits) or consistency (e.g., the consistency of jelly).

4.1.2   Letters of Written Name for Entity

In the Peruvian context, LSP interacts mainly with Spanish. As a result, there are signs whose phonological poles resemble letters from the written forms with which the entities are expressed in the Spanish language. We have found two variants for this metonymic pattern: ONE LETTER OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY and MORE THAN ONE LETTER OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY.

The first one characterizes signs by representing one letter of a Spanish written word. An example is the sign BATHROOM (see Fig. 11), which uses a B-handshape, i.e., a handshape of the first letter of the Spanish word *baño* "bathroom," with a repeated rotation of the wrist in the fingerspelling area. Another example is the sign PINEAPPLE$_2$, with a P-handshape (see Fig. 12). Based on our data, we have only identified four cases (BATHROOM, PINEAPPLE$_2$, RICE$_1$, and YOGURT), but they are sufficient to support a first variant of LETTERS OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY.

The other metonymic variant, MORE THAN ONE LETTER OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY, characterizes the signs whose phonological poles represent more than one letter. In this study, two cases have been reported: the signs #PAWPAW and TELEVISION. For the sign #PAWPAW, the handshape represents the initial consonant of the three syllables of the Spanish written word *papaya* "pawpaw". As shown in Fig. 13, the letters P (double) and Y are represented in the lexicalized fingerspelled sign #PAWPAW. In the case of TELEVISION, the letters T and V are represented. Data about this second metonymic variant are few yet significant.

Fig. 11 Sign BATHROOM

Fig. 12 PINEAPPLE₂
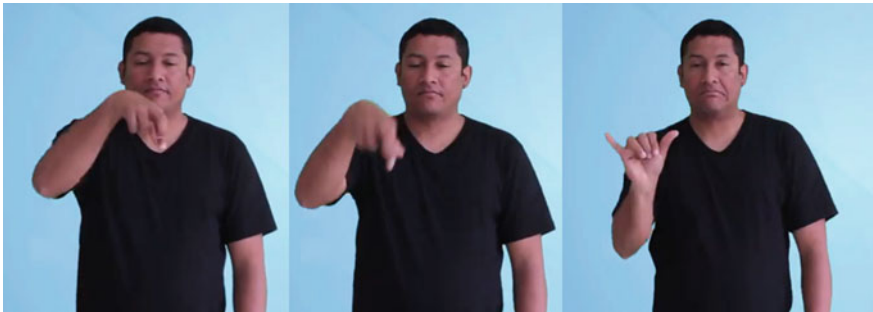
Fig. 13 Sign #PAWPAW

Although we only found six cases in total, the metonymy LETTERS OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY can be found in other signed languages. For example, Wilcox et al. (2003) identify similar cases for name signs. Therefore, this metonymic pattern can be supported by their data.

4.1.3 Prototypical Part of an Entity for Entity and Prototypical Dimension of an Entity for Entity

We have identified two signs created from a combination of two of the metonymies above. For example, in the creation of the sign CHICK₂, the beak and the size are represented to refer to the animal as a whole, as shown in Fig. 14. Another example of this complex metonymy is the two-handed sign PAWPAW, in which the shape of the pawpaw (dimension of the fruit) and its seeds (a part of the fruit) are

Fig. 14 Sign CHICK$_2$

represented by signers. These two signs have been created using both the metonymies PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY.

4.2 Dynamic Profiling

This section presents such cases in which the source domain of the metonymic process points to dynamic elements. By *dynamic profiling* we mean situations in which some processes or actions are prominent in Deaf people's perception. Thus, entities are captured dynamically, that is, through actions with which these entities are associated. Based on this perspective, we have identified two patterns. The first one shows a single metonymic process, while the second one shows two metonymic processes. Both patterns, however, have a dynamic element as vehicle.

4.2.1   Prototypical Action for Whole Entity

As we have already pointed out, the source domain of this metonymic mapping involves a dynamic aspect and, more specifically, a prototypical action associated with the entity. It has been possible to distinguish five metonymic variants:

A.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
B.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY

Fig. 15 Sign TOWEL

C.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED TO OBTAIN AN ENTITY FOR
       ENTITY
D.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
E.   PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN
       ENTITY FOR ENTITY.

The metonymic variant PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN
ENTITY FOR ENTITY depicts an action performed with the use of the object to refer
to that object. Therefore, the use of the object is the most salient aspect. An example
of this variant is the sign TOWEL (see Fig. 15). In this case, the phonological pole
of the sign represents the action—drying oneself, specifically the back—associated
with the towel.

In other words, the towel is referred to through the action associated with it.
Examples such as this are observed in a large number of other signs. Find below
a total of 58 cases in which prototypical actions related to entities are specified in
parentheses (Table 3).

In the metonymic variant A above, the action performed by an agent other than
the entity using the entity is profiled in Deaf people's perception. In the metonymic
variant B below, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR
ENTITY, however, the entity is the agent, and the action performed by this entity
enters the attentional process. The action becomes a vehicle for its conceptualization;
for example, the sign DOG (see Fig. 16).

In this case, signers represent with a facial expression the action of a dog salivating,
as well as the dog's paws, which are arranged as if the animal was sitting on two

Table 3 Prototypical actions performed using entities to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY

SOAP (putting soap on the body)	TOWEL (drying oneself with a towel)	TOOTHBRUSH (brushing the teeth)	TOOTHPASTE (pressing the toothpaste)	COMB (combing the hair)	NAPKIN (wiping the mouth with a napkin)
CAR (driving a car)	BICYCLE (driving a bicycle)	KEY (opening a door with a key)	NAIL-CLIPPER$_1$ (cutting fingernails)	NAIL-CLIPPER$_2$ (cutting fingernails)	HOLE-PUNCH (perforating with hole punch)
ERASER$_1$ (erasing something with eraser)	ERASER$_2$ (erasing something with eraser)	SURF-TABLE (surfing on a table)	USB$_1$ (plugging the USB flash drive into a USB port)	USB$_2$ (plugging the USB flash drive into a USB port)	REMOTE-CONTROL (pressing a button on the remote control)
STAIRS$_1$ (climbing stairs)	STAIRS$_2$ (climbing stairs)	WALLET (opening the wallet and putting it into the pocket)	TELEPHONE (making a phone call)	CELL-PHONE (making a phone call)	HEADPHONES$_1$ (putting on headphones)
HEADPHONES$_2$ (putting on headphones)	SEWING-MACHINE (sewing clothes on the machine)	WHEELCHAIR (moving in a wheelchair)	LAPTOP (typing on a laptop)	TYPEWRITER (typing on a typewriter)	BOOK (opening a book)
PEN (writing with a pen)	MIRROR (looking in the mirror)	PIANO (playing piano)	DRUM (playing a drum)	CYMBAL (playing cymbals)	PANPIPE (playing a panpipe)
BASS-DRUM (playing a bass drum)	FIDDLE (playing a fiddle)	HORSE$_2$ (riding a horse)	CHAIR (sitting in a chair)	MOTORCYCLE (driving a motorcycle)	SCISSORS (cutting with scissors)
HANDSAW (cutting with a handsaw)	BROOM (sweeping the floor with a broom)	AXE (chopping with an axe)	SCREWDRIVER (using a screwdriver)	HAMMER (hitting with a hammer)	JACKHAMMER (using a jackhammer)
PICKAXE (hitting with a pickaxe)	SHOVEL (digging with a shovel)	SCARF (wearing a scarf)	SWEATER (wearing a sweater)	BRIEFCASE (carrying a briefcase)	PURSE (carrying a purse)
COAT (wearing a coat)	APRON (wearing an apron)	JACKET (wearing a jacket)	SALT (adding salt to food)		

Fig. 16 Sign DOG

legs. In other words, to refer to a dog in LSP, the prototypical action performed by the animal is profiled. This metonymic variant is supported by 25 cases (Table 4).

The third metonymy, PROTOTYPIC ACTION PERFORMED TO OBTAIN AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, allows to characterize signs whose referents are the result of a set of successive phases. However, signers focus on one of these phases to refer to them. There are several examples in which entities are inferred through one of the moments involved to obtain them. Two concrete cases are the following signs (Fig. 17).

As shown in Fig. 17, in the two-handed asymmetrical sign TEA, the action of dipping a tea bag in water is represented by LSP users. In the articulation of the sign MILK (see Fig. 18), signers represent the action of milking a cow. Other signs that support this third metonymic variant are COFFEE$_1$ and LEMONADE, which represent the action of turning off a hand-operated coffee grinder and the action of squeezing a lemon, respectively.

The fourth metonymic variant, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, characterizes scenarios in which actions performed on the entities are profiled. These actions are used by Peruvian Deaf signers to refer to the entities involved. Unlike PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, the contact established between the agent other than the entity and the entity itself in this new metonymic variant does not imply a use, but rather an action done to the entity as an object or focal feature, as shown in the following signs (Fig. 19).

In the two-handed asymmetrical sign HAM (see Fig. 19), the action of cutting ham is represented; that is, signers use the action performed on the ham to refer to the cold meat. In the articulation of the two-handed asymmetrical sign RICE$_2$ (see Fig. 20), the movement of the selected fingers represents the action of selecting

Table 4 Prototypical actions performed by entities used to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY					
DOG (dog salivating)	MONKEY (monkey scratching head and body)	KANGAROO (kangaroo jumping)	SEAL (seal clapping hands)	GORILLA (gorilla beating its chest)	PENGUIN (penguin walking)
WOODPECKER (woodpecker pecking wood)	BULL$_2$ (bull charging)	TOAD (toad inflating vocal sac)	FROG (frog jumping)	FISH (fish swimming)	FLY (fly flying)
BUTTERFLY (butterfly flying)	PIRANHA (piranha biting)	SPIDER$_1$ (spider walking on the floor)	SPIDER$_2$ (spider descending from the spiderweb)	OCTOPUS (octopus swimming)	HIPPO (hippo opening and closing its mouth)
SNAKE (snake moving)	HUMMINGBIRD$_1$ (hummingbird flapping)	WORM (worm moving)	CROCODILE (crocodile biting)	HOT-AIR-BALLON (hot air balloon taking off)	ROCKET (rocket taking off)
PLANE (plane flying)					

Fig. 17 Sign TEA

Fig. 18 Sign MILK

Fig. 19 Sign HAM

Fig. 20 RICE$_2$

rice grains. Another example for this metonymic variant is the sign SHEEP, which represents the action of cutting a sheep's wool.

The last variant, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR WHOLE ENTITY, is a mechanism by which LSP signers represent one of the moments of the consumption of an entity to conceptually refer to such entity. In other words, Peruvian Deaf people access the entity through an action involved with its consumption. To better illustrate the above, consider the following signs (Fig. 21).

The signs above represent actions related to the consumption of the entity. In the case of POMEGRANATE (see Fig. 21), the sign specifically represents the action of splitting the pomegranate and then the action of eating the fruit. In the sign WATERMELON (see Fig. 22), two actions are also represented: the action of eating the watermelon and then the action of spitting out the seeds. A total of 23 signs gather evidence in favor of this metonymic variant, as shown in Table 5.

Statistically, frequency differences are observed between the metonymic variants, as shown in Fig. 23.

According to our data, the most productive metonymic variants in the creation of these signs are PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant A), PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant B) and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant E), followed, to a much lesser extent, by PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED TO OBTAIN AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant C) and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY (metonymic variant D).

Fig. 21 Sign POMEGRANATE
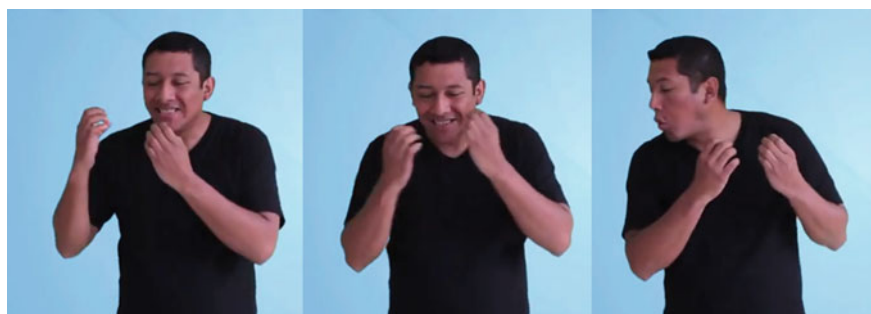
Fig. 22 Sign WATERMELON

4.2.2 Prototypical Action for Entity and Prototypical Action's Effect for the Entity[7]

In light of the data, we will address such cases in which a single metonymic procedure is not enough to explain how LSP signers construct certain signs. There are signs that document two metonymic processes combined, i.e., cases of complex metonymies. We have identified a group of signs using the following pair: PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION'S EFFECT FOR ENTITY. A first example is the sign QUINCE (see Fig. 24).

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[7] Although metonymic variants can be established, data are scarce. For this reason, motivations are treated at this generic level.

Table 5 Prototypical actions related to the consumption of entities to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY					
WATER (drinking water)	COFFEE$_2$ (drinking coffee)	SODA (drinking soda)	WINE (drinking wine)	ICE-CREAM (eating an ice cream)	LUCUMA (peeling a lucuma)
TANGERINE (peeling a tangerine)	CAPE-GOOSEBERRY (removing a cape gooseberry from its natural wrapping)	PACAY (splitting pacay pod)	MANGO (eating a mango)	APPLE (eating an apple)	WATERMELON (eating a watermelon and and spitting out the seeds)
GRAPE (eating a grape)	ORANGE (eating an orange)	MELON (eating a melon)	POMEGRANATE (splitting and eating a pomegranate)	CRACKER (eating a cracker)	PLUM (eating a plum)
TOAST (eating a toast)	PEACH (cleaning the peach)	DAMASCO (cleaning the damasco)	BREAD$_1$ (eating bread)	BREAD$_2$ (breaking bread)	
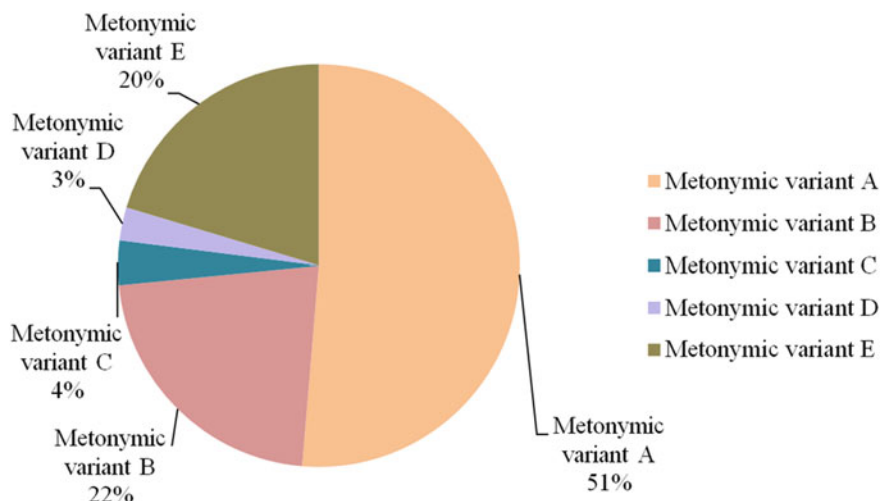
Fig. 23 Metonymic variants of PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY

Fig. 24 Sign QUINCE

In the articulation of the sign for 'quince', LSP signers profile the way they eat a quince, but also the effect produced by such action: scrunching up the face after tasting something sour. Other cases can also be reported, such as the sign GRAPEFRUIT (which represents the action of eating the grapefruit and the resulting effect of staining the mouth), the sign STOVE (which represents the action of turning on the stove and the effect, i.e., the flames), and the sign REFRIGERATOR (which represents the action of opening the refrigerator door and the effect of shivering due to the cold released).

4.3   Bridge Between Static and Dynamic Profiling

As we have seen in previous sections, there is a large number of signs that report metonymic processes in which either static or dynamic aspects are profiled. For this section, however, we have found cases in which both aspects are represented as a result of Deaf people's attentional window, and thus enter the source domain of the metonymic process. As a result, we were able to identify a number of metonymic combinations.

4.3.1   Prototypical Characteristic for Whole Entity and Prototypical Action for Whole Entity

In this first metonymic combination, LSP users' attention is drawn towards both static and dynamic aspects. In this case, the prototypical characteristic of the entity is grasped by Deaf signers as a stationary trait, while the action associated with it is profiled as an active aspect. We have found four metonymic variants for this first combination:

1. PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYP- ICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
2. PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTO- TYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
3. PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTO- TYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY
4. PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYP- ICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY.

The first metonymic variant, PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, includes the signs presented in Table 6.

As shown in Table 6, the creation of these five signs (i.e., PIGEON, CHICKEN, HUMMINGBIRD, $BULL_3$, and LLAMA) includes both static and dynamic aspects.

Table 6 Prototypical parts of entities and prototypical actions performed by entities used to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY THE ENTITY FOR THE ENTITY		
Sign	Static aspect	Dynamic aspect
PIGEON	beak	pigeon flying
CHICKEN	beak	chicken flapping
HUMMINGBIRD$_2$	beak	hummingbird flying
BULL$_3$	nose ring	bull charging
LLAMA	head	llama ruminating

The first elements are the prototypical parts of the entities (beaks for birds, nose ring for BULL, and head for LLAMA), while the latter are the prototypical actions performed by these entities, i.e., pigeon flying, chicken flapping, hummingbird flapping, llama ruminating (which is produced with the non-manual component of mouth movement), and bull charging.

The second metonymic variant is PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. An example of this metonymic variant is the sign BANANA:

Figure 25 shows the two-handed asymmetrical sign BANANA, in which the dominant hand is moved to represent a dynamic aspect, i.e., the action of peeling the banana. The static aspect, however, is observable in the selected finger of the non-dominant hand, i.e., the index finger, which represents the form of the fruit. This becomes evident when other banana species are signed. In the articulation of the sign PLANTAIN (see Fig. 26), for example, signers change the index finger for

Fig. 25 Sign BANANA

Fig. 26 Sign PLANTAIN

Fig. 27 Sign LATUNDAN-BANANA

the thumb. Similarly, a change occurs when LATUNDAN-BANANA is signed (see Fig. 27): the finger selected is the little finger. In this way, although the action corresponds to the same process of peeling the fruit to eat it, the finger used changes to represent the shape and size of the banana.

The third metonymic variant is PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. In this variant, the following signs have been identified:

As we see in this Table 7, dimensions constitute static aspects, while the actions carried out with the entity are the dynamic aspects.

The fourth metonymic variant is PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. For this variant, we have only found one example, as shown in Fig. 28.

The sign COW_2 represents the horns of the cow, i.e., a prototypical part of this animal, but also the action of milking a cow, i.e., a prototypical action performed on the animal.

Table 7 Prototypical dimension of an entity and prototypical action performed using the entity to represent whole entities

PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING THE ENTITY FOR THE ENTITY		
Sign	Static aspect	Dynamic aspect
CANOE	the shape of the object	the action of paddling
SQUARE^TYPE 'computer'	the contour of the object	the action of typing
TABLE^WRITE 'desk'	the shape of the object	the action of writing
LAMP	the shape of the object	the action of turning on the lamp

Fig. 28 Sign COW$_2$ in LSP

Statistically, all the metonymic variants discussed above are unevenly supported, as shown in the following graph (Fig. 29).

Although there are few cases for this metonymic combination and its variants, we observe that variant A (PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY) and variant C (PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and
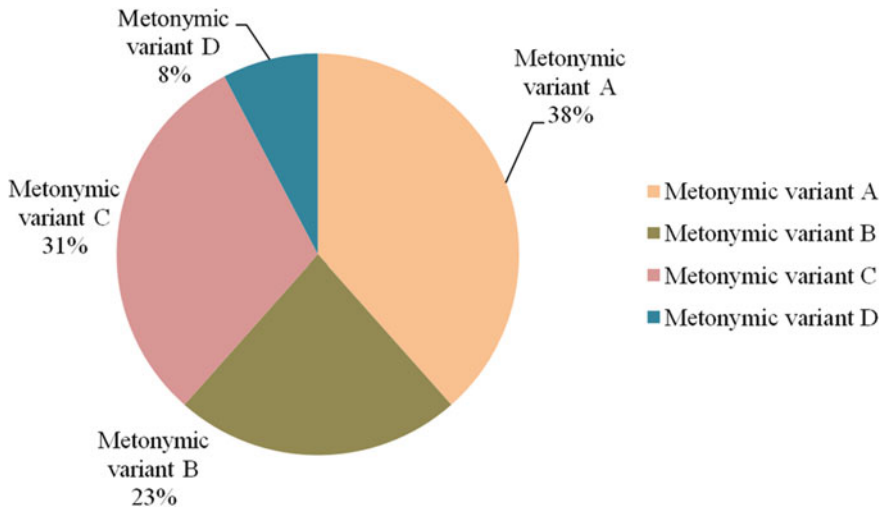
Fig. 29 Metonymic variants of PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY

PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY) characterize a greater number of signs unlike variants B and D. This is probably due to the fact that LSP signers focus their attention on some parts of entities to partially access them and the actions associated with these entities, respectively.

4.3.2   Letters of Written Name for Entity and Prototypical Action for Whole Entity

Signs that show this metonymic combination are the nouns MARKER (the action of using the marker and the P-handshape, i.e., a handshape corresponding to the first letter of the Spanish word *plumón* "marker," are represented), CHICHA-DE-JORA (the digraph CH and the act of drinking are represented), and DOLPHIN (the handshape corresponding to the first letter of the Spanish word *delfín* "dolphin" and the action of a dolphin swimming are represented).

4.3.3   Other Metonymic Combinations

Although with fewer signs as sample, we have identified other metonymic combinations. Among these, it is possible to report the following two combinations:

A.   CONTENT FOR CONTAINER and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY
B.   PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY and PROTO-TYPICAL ACTIVITY FOR PLACE.

In the first metonymic combination, the entity is conceptualized as a container. To get there, signers focus, however, on its content (CONTENT FOR CONTAINER) and then on the action associated with the container (PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY). The example found for this combination is the sign CLOTHES^SPIN 'washing machine'. This sign is formed by the sign CLOTHES, i.e., the content, and the sign we gloss as SPIN, i.e., the action performed by the entity.

For the second metonymic combination, examples are the signs for 'bedroom' and 'kitchen'. In both signs, the walls of these rooms are represented (part for the whole entity), but also the activities of sleeping and cooking, respectively.

5   Conclusions

Based on data analysis, we can come to some conclusions about concrete nominal signs in LSP. Signers use various metonymic processes in the creation of these signs, as we have shown.

Within the framework of metonymic triggers, LSP users attentively distinguish between static and dynamic elements when they focus on the entities in his experiential environment. As a result, it is possible to propose a classification regarding the metonymic construction of concrete nominal signs. More specifically, we have identified that the creation of concrete nouns in LSP can be subclassified into three groups: focus on static or permanent elements, focus on dynamic elements, and focus on both static and dynamic aspects in order to carry out the naming process of entities.

Among the procedures that involve static elements, we have noticed the following metonymies: PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY, LETTERS OF WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY and the complex group PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. All these metonymies present, in turn, variants. In the first case, for example, the following variants have been reported: PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, and CONSISTENCY OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. In the second case, we have identified only two variants: ONE LETTER OF WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY and MORE THAN ONE LETTER OF A WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY.

Among the procedures that involve dynamic elements, we have identified the following metonymies: PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION'S EFFECT FOR ENTITY. Regarding the first mechanism, five metonymic variants have been identified: PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED TO OBTAIN AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY. The other metonymic process appears in a complex group (PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION'S EFFECT FOR ENTITY), as we have shown in the analysis above.

Among the procedures involving both static and dynamic elements, we have identified the following metonymic combinations: (i) PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY, (ii) LETTERS OF WRITTEN NAME FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY, (iii) CONTENT FOR CONTAINER and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION FOR WHOLE ENTITY, and (iv) PROTOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC FOR WHOLE ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTIVITY FOR PLACE. Regarding the first of these metonymic combinations, we have identified four variants: (a) PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED BY AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, (b) PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION RELATED TO THE CONSUMPTION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY, (c) PROTOTYPICAL DIMENSION OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYPICAL ACTION PERFORMED USING AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY,

and (d) PROTOTYPICAL PART OF AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY and PROTOTYP-ICAL ACTION PERFORMED ON AN ENTITY FOR ENTITY.

Finally, even though we have focused on conceptual metonymy, most of the metonymic processes used in the creation of concrete nouns in LSP are closely related to the mechanism of cognitive iconicity (S. Wilcox, 2004). The manual parameters and non-manual components of many concrete nominal signs in LSP resemble the conceptualization of the referred entities because metonymy plays a fundamental role in determining conceptual distances between the phonological and semantics poles of these signed symbolic units.

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Placing Words: Culture, Cognition, and Context in Lexicographic Practice

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Abstract This paper explores the utility of a more culturally contextualized approach to the cognitive lexicography framework developed by (Ostermann, 2015). Cognitive lexicography: A new approach to lexicography making use of cognitive semantics. Walter de Gruyter.) through a critical examination of its interfaces with ethno-lexicography, critical lexicography, and other considerations of the intersections between cognitive linguistics and lexicographic practice. This perspective—described as ethnocognitive lexicography—is rooted in the observation that culture interacts with cognition and with language in ways that are not easily separable for speakers of a language or others who make use of lexicographic productions. It does not assume that one of these systems determines the contours of the others but instead posits that the dynamics among cognitive, cultural, and linguistic systems are interactive in ways that shape both cultural and linguistic perception and practice. Capturing these interconnections in lexicographic materials requires grounding in the cognitive dimensions of language—particularly in the domain of semantics—and combines lexical data with ethnographic information relevant to the cultural context(s) of the data and a critical, use-driven approach to lexicographic recording. Exploring the parameters of this process and its potential applications forms the core of this paper. The concepts highlighted in this discussion have been implicated in academic commentary for a decade or more, but the contexts and combinations in which they appear here are innovative. They serve to illustrate how different synthetic perspectives may point to interesting new approaches. Color terms in Miskito, a Misulmalpan language spoken in Honduras and Nicaragua, are considered as a case study.

Keywords Lexicography · Ethnography · Cognitive Linguistics

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1 Introduction

This paper explores the potential utility of a more culturally contextualized approach to the cognitive lexicography framework developed by Ostermann (2015) through a critical examination of its interfaces with ethno-lexicography (e.g., Fillmore, 1994; Pérez, 2000; Rodríguez Barcia, 2018; Silverstein, 2006), critical lexicography (see e.g., Chen, 2019; Peters et al., 2006), and other considerations of the intersections between cognitive linguistics and lexicographic practice (see, e.g., Csabi & Kövecses, 2014). This perspective—described as ethnocognitive lexicography—is rooted in the observation that culture interacts with cognition and with language in ways that are not easily separable for speakers of a language or others who make use of lexicographic productions. It does not assume that one of these systems determines the contours of the others but instead posits that the dynamics among cognitive, cultural, and linguistic systems are interactive in ways that shape both cultural and linguistic perception and practice.

Capturing these interconnections in lexicographic materials requires grounding in the cognitive dimensions of language—particularly in the domain of semantics—and combines lexical data with ethnographic information relevant to the cultural context(s) of the data and a critical, use-driven approach to lexicographic recording. Exploring the parameters of this process and its potential applications forms the core of this paper. The individual concepts highlighted in this discussion have been implicated in academic commentary for a decade or more, but the contexts and combinations in which they appear here are innovative. They serve to illustrate how different synthetic perspectives may point to interesting new approaches. Color terms in Miskito, a Misulmalpan language spoken in Honduras and Nicaragua, are considered as a case study.

2 Lexicographic Inheritances: Cognitive, Critical, and Ethnographic Perspectives

Lexicography has occupied anthropologists, historians, linguists, philologists, and others since before the dawn of the first millennium AD. The earliest known lexicographic materials appeared in China (Li, 2006; Yong & Peng, 2008), India (Hanks, 2013b; Vogel, 1979), and Persia (Hanks, 2013b); these were soon followed by similar kinds of compilations in Greece (Stathi, 2006), Rome (Ferri, 2011), and the Middle East (Ali, 2005; Haywood, 1965; Krenkow, 1924). By the Middle Ages, Hanks (2013b, p. 8) notes that "lexicography originated (or rather, re-invented itself) in the form of interlinear vernacular glosses on words in medieval Latin manuscripts". These glosses were eventually compiled into alphabetized volumes, many of which were used in monasteries (2013b; Castro, 1991; Hanks, 2006; Kramer, 2006; Murray, 1900). The invention of the printing press led to the development and broader dissemination of dictionaries similar to those produced in modern times (see Hanks, 2010,

2013a). These included monolingual materials such as de Covarrubias' (1611) *Tesoro de la lengua castellano o española* as well as bilingual compilations such as Estienne's (1552) *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum* and multilingual materials such as Calepino's Dictionarium, which "evolved into the first polyglot dictionary" (Fried, 2007).

By the Enlightenment, a desire to standardize Europe's vernacular languages led to increased numbers of dictionaries for living languages. Hanks (2013a, p. 13) notes that "[t]hese standards were based on…assumptions that earlier forms of a language are somehow more "correct" than contemporary forms and that etymology guarantees meaning", illustrating both the genesis of vernacular lexicography and the ways in which historical linguistics and philology shaped approaches to the study of extant linguistic varieties. For these reasons, "[t]he notion that etymology guarantees meaning was prevalent in Europe as the Renaissance developed into the Enlightenment…[and] was responsible for some remarkably fine scholarly lexicography" and persisted even after Johnson (1755) refuted it (ibid.). Efforts to "fix" vernacular languages and their vocabularies through lexicographic standardization are apparent in the *Dictionnaire of the Académie Française* (1640), in productions of the Real Academia Española, and in the original design of Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755). Johnson's opinions changed while preparing his manuscript, however, and in the preface of the final version he noted that

> [t]hose who have been persuaded to think well of my design require that it should fix our language, and put a stop to those alterations which time and chance have hitherto been suffered to make in it without opposition. With this consequence I will confess that I flattered myself for a while; but now begin to fear that I have indulged expectation which neither reason nor experience can justify…may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, shall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay (Johnson, 1755).

These observations were not immediately popular, and many nineteenth century dictionaries continued to emphasize etymologies and historical connections. However, a slightly different trajectory emerged in Russia, where lexicography was closely connected to linguistic theory (see e.g., Apresjan, 1973, 2000; Harris & Hutton, 2014; Mel'čuk, 2006), and in the synchronic traditions that emerged in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Spain, and elsewhere (see Harris & Hutton, 2014 for an expanded discussion).

Modern approaches to lexicographic practice are markedly varied (see, e.g., Chen, 2019; Finatto, 2014; Josselin-Leray & Roberts, 2005; Kraft, 1975; Tomaszczyk & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1990). A full summary of this fascinating work is not possible here, but a few of trends are particularly relevant for the ethnocognitive approach considered here. These include cognitive lexicography, particularly as it is formulated in Ostermann (2015) and as it relates to notions of frame semantics (see Fillmore, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985) and Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (see Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). They also include ethno-lexicography (e.g., Allan, 1992; Bolinger, 1980; Silverstein, 2006), critical lexicography (e.g., Kahane & Kahane, 1992; Pérez, 2005; Rodriguez Barcia, 2018), and the closely related Critical

Lexicographical Discourse Studies (e.g., Chen, 2015, 2019). Each of these will be briefly reviewed.

2.1 Cognitive Lexicography

Cognitive lexicography describes "the application of cognitive linguistic theories to traditional lexicographic practice…[and focuses] on a language description according to theories and findings from cognitive linguistics" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 67). Its aim is to produce:

> new dictionary features and word definitions and or arrange entries in a more accessible way in line with findings of how users conceptualise language. This assures a psychologically more plausible conception, and hence description, of language…One of the main functions…is to produce dictionaries that users, i.e., linguistic lay people or the man on the street, understand better (Ostermann, 2015, p. 204).

Cognitive lexicography thus addresses Rundell's (2012, p. 48) call for a complete and systematic approach to lexicography that aligns with observations of use such that "reliance on intuition and subjective judgements is kept to a minimum". It offers "a conception of semantic structure that is…more realistic than what many other semantic theories (in particular, theories of a structuralist persuasion) can provide" (Geeraerts, 2007, p. 1168) and attempts to capture the networked relationships of lexical items vis-à-vis their associated semantics.

Creating new dictionary features through the adaptation and application of one or more cognitive linguistic theories is the primary means of accomplishing these aims in the cognitive lexicography framework. Ostermann (2015) emphasizes the potential variability of these features and the fact that different dictionaries or lexicographic fields may utilize different aspects of cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics is an important component of this approach, partially due to its relatively natural fit with lexicography—which focuses on words and word meanings—and partially because such frameworks are predicated on "an encyclopedic meaning representation[s] and an embodied cognition" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 64). However, its successful application, and the development of appropriate dictionary features, requires cognizance of the structural and content differences between the mental lexicon—"an extendable network with interrelations between its nodes, organized in semantic fields and accessed via their auditory images"—and book dictionaries, which "follow a strict alphabetical order in which content is countable and fixed, and where neither semantic nor phonological similarities play a role, but only the written word" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 50). By conceptualizing lexical items and entries as access points to underlying cognitive structures, cognitive lexicography addresses these differences by developing "an encyclopedic view of meaning and conceptualization in which knowledge of lexical items is more than knowledge about word meaning…[and] activates a whole underlying network of structured knowledge" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 66). Cognitive grammar frameworks can also be incorporated, though cognitive semantics are primary.

Ostermann (2015) utilizes three dimensions of cognitive semantics: frame semantics, Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy theory, and cognitive perspectives on the arrangement of particles. Frame semantics – the assumption that, on hearing a lexical item, other related items are evoked and associated at the same time (see, e.g., Fillmore, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985)—is explored in relation to person-denoting nouns, particularly in the examples associated with them in dictionary entries. In this view, "words represent categorizations of experience, and each of these categories is underlain by a motivating situation occurring against a background of knowledge and experience" (Fillmore, 1985, p. 223). These frames capture the "world knowledge and experience and functioning" that form the conceptual and experiential context in which "a word and its related lexical units are activated, processed and understood" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 69) and can be used to develop frame example sections for dictionary entries—small texts that complement or replace traditional example sentences in dictionary entries—that activate the whole frame.

Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (see Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) helps develop a new defining structure and cognitive definitions for emotion terms. In this approach, metaphor—"understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 5)—and metonymy—a cognitive mapping process in which "we are using one entity to refer to another that is related to it" (ibid.; see also Ostermann, 2015)—are foundational to descriptions of emotion terms and as reflections of how language relates to other dimensions of human cognition (Grady, 2007; Kövecses, 2000). Since emotion terms are highly metaphorical and metonymic, lexicographic definitions of emotion terms conditioned by the application of this perspective are more reflective of how speakers process and verbalize emotions and help to describe the meanings of these words in a more natural and accessible way (Ostermann, 2015). Cognitive perspectives on particles—particularly prepositions—are used to create dictionary entries that are (i) more accessible to speakers and users, and (ii) capable of accounting for the different senses of particles in a systematic, coherent, and motivated way (ibid.). These entries are devised in an Inductive Cluster Approach, which "consists of a bottom-up analysis of a comprehensive set of language samples from a particle" through which the senses of a particle are identified and their relationships and motivations are described (Ostermann, 2015, p. 179).

2.2 Ethno-Lexicography

Ethno-lexicography asserts that language and linguistic meaning(s) are inextricably bound to their social and contexts of use. This means that "semantic representations need to be correlated with human experience as it is ordinarily expressed in natural language", since

> [i]f we are to say anything worthwhile about their meanings, the contents of the senses of certain words must draw on background information about the entities spoken or written of: this information may be based on any or all of experience, convention, custom, myth,

and language use....[i]nfluence is exerted from a host of imagistic, associative and formal as well as pragmatic factors that coalesce and mutually reinforce one another. (Allan, 1992, pp. 371–372)

Put another way, "[i]f semantics is to go beyond translating symbols into yet more esoteric symbols, it must begin to reflect the richness of human experience that is intrinsic to language understanding…semantics should start to represent what intelligent reflective layfolk understand by "meaning" in language" (ibid.). As Bolinger (1980, p. 1) notes, "[i]n language there are no licensed practitioners, but the woods are full of midwives, herbalists, colonic irrigationists, bone setters, and general-purpose witch-doctors". Although lexicographers working outside of the relevant culture may lump these together under the term *shaman* (ibid.), a more accurate understanding of the relevant linguistic and cultural semantics can only be developed—and, by extension, lexicographically represented—by incorporating cultural knowledge and patterns of use.

Ethno-lexicography overlaps with the cognitive semantic perspectives of cognitive lexicography in interesting ways. Fillmore (1994, p. 28) observes that the meanings within the semantic frame of a word—"[t]he background conceptual structure behind the meaning of a word (in a given sense) or a group of semantically related words" – can only be fully described if its "frame-external" and "frame-internal" aspects are considered together. Frame-external aspects provide information about the frame itself; frame-internal elements specify "the categorizing, identifying, or describing role which the word has within its frame" (ibid.). Identifying and describing the frame-external aspects of a word's meaning can be viewed as ethnography, since "[w]hat needs to be discovered is the system of beliefs, experiences, or ready-made conceptualizations on the part of the speakers of the language…the necessary underpinnings of the ways they speak" (ibid.). The underlying conceptual structures and knowledge

> are indexed – revealed to native users of the language – by how someone communicates using conceptual labels, lexicalized terms, in the flow of discourse that is produced and interpreted with implicit measures of coherence licensed by the locally relevant conceptual knowledge…[underlying] one's ability to produce and to interpret discourse constructed with the domain-specific terms. (Silverstein, 2006, p. 488)

Cultural conceptualizations and knowledge can thus be viewed as "points of relational conceptual distinction in knowledge structures" (ibid.). Lexical items cue cultural knowledge, and the ability to access this knowledge marks a speaker or listener as belonging to the relevant cultural group (ibid.); "language used in particular contexts comes to form…a lexicosyntactic register with generative properties…the mastery of which is part of demonstrating identity as such, and hence in-group/out-group distinctions across social boundaries" (Silverstein, 2006, p. 491).

Ethno-lexicographic trends are robust in Slavic studies, where Tolstaya (1997, p. 53) notes that "ethnolinguistic lexicography has become an independent discipline…representing an integral approach to language and culture" (see e.g., Babunova, 2004; Bartmínski, 2014; Ivanishcheva, 2016). The same perspectives also appear frequently in several other regions (see e.g., Chebanne, 2010; Field,

2009). In Oceania, Mosel (2004, p. 40; 2011) draws on her work with Samoan and Teop to propose a complementary thesaurus "covering the greatest possible variety of semantic fields such as kinship terms, animal and plant names, terms relating to the natural environment, the material culture and the social structure as well as all kinds of activities, states of being and properties". Vamarasi (2014) includes all lexical items pertaining to culture in her dictionary of Rotuman, and Cablitz (2011) incorporates cultural knowledge into her dictionary of Marquesan and Tuamotuan by documenting the semantics of lexical domains organized into folk-taxonomies and ethno-ontologies. The cultural unit of the Samoan government has produced topical dictionaries pertaining to Samoan culture (see, e.g., Vamarasi, 2014).

2.3   Critical Lexicography

McArthur (in Zgusta et al., 1995) observes that "the multivalences in culture, ideology and dictionary occur within the very bounds of lexicographical scholarship itself". This captures the motivations of critical lexicography, which seeks to explore and expose the ideologies and biases of both the lexicographic process and the materials it creates. This perspective is:

> enmarcada en los estudios etnolexicográficos, que se ocupa del estudio y análisis de la ideología en los diccionarios desde una perspectiva comprometida con las minorías y los grupos minorizados, por lo que su crítica se refiere especialmente a las ideologías dominantes. Los ejes temáticos principales sobre los que pivota la crítica suelen ser la religión, la política, el sexo, la raza, la clase social y las cuestiones de género (Rodriguez Barcia, 2018, pp. 188–189).

It views dictionaries as a social and cultural products foundational to the development and maintenance of culture because of their "carácter de memoria social y como partícipe en la construcción de la sociedad" (Rodriguez Barcia, 2018, p. 189). These lexicographic materials—and, by extension, the lexica that they contain—reflect "the attitudes of a society, as expressed in the word, toward the dominant problems of the ever-changing here and now" (Kahane & Kahane, 1992, p. 20). By extension, the context(s) of the lexicographer motivate and guide their work (ibid.); Lévi-Strauss (in Eribon, 1991, p. 86) notes that "[t]he dictionary is probably just as necessary for the people who work on it as for those who consult the end product".

When these views combine with perceptions of dictionaries as infallible and truth-bearing, it becomes necessary to approach their study from a critical perspective accounts for the dominant ideologies (Rodriguez Barcia, 2018, p. 189; see also Kachru & Kahane, 1995). Dictionaries are widely viewed as authoritative sources of linguistic and cultural information; the sacralizing character of the language within a dictionary encourages "la creencia generalizada [de que] los vocablos no registrados por el diccionario terminan no existiendo en la lengua, aunque los hablantes los empleen a diario" (Pérez, 2005, p. 13). Hausmann (1977) suggests the two main functions of a dictionary—answering queries about the lexicon of a language and serving as a tool for linguistic learning—contribute to these perceptions and ascribe

a referential and liminal character to dictionaries that cause them to function as a kind of access door to language, with all that this entails.

Critical Lexicographical Discourse Studies is an approach to critical lexicography "devoted to the informed critiques of lexicography, which is grounded in a synergy perspective from Critical (social) Theory, Critical Discourse Studies and Postcolonial Studies" (Chen, 2019, p. 368). It focuses on identifying and remedying social and cultural inequalities and injustices and is based on two assumptions: (i) lexicography is a recontextualizing practice and (ii) the dictionary, as recontextualized discourse, is associated with other social/discursive practices and a site where ideological and social struggles take place (ibid). Consequently, dictionaries do not simply replicate their sources or "transport" meaning but instead create—and rewrite—meaning in potentially new ways (Chen, 2015). They erode the polyvalence of their source(s) and may deliberately maintain or disrupt existing power relations through processes of meaning relocation (Chen, 2019).

By exploring these processes, Critical Lexicographical Discourse Studies can elucidate sociolinguistic and sociopolitical agency vis-à-vis lexicographic transfers from one location to another. Chen (2019, p. 373) notes that "power that decides which words are to be included in a dictionary, how those words should be defined and which meaning of a word is central" and that this power "restricts the plenitude of potential meanings of a word". Thus,

> the objectivity and authority of the dictionary [is seen as] as a discursive construct, a social fact rather than a natural fact…[Critical Lexicographical Discourse Studies] tends to reject universalism, essentialism, and exceptionalism in defining meaning, and – instead – aims to prioritize specificity, context, and history. However, it does not follow that CLDS denies that there is meaning shared by people. Rather, it is suggested that the dictionary does not start out "possessing" meaning, and that there is a discursive, political, and cultural process by which meaning has come to be "fixed", an idea that is obscured in the dictionary as a product. Meanings are created and contested through negotiation, and are liable to change. (ibid.)

Consequently, Critical Lexicographical Discourse Studies—and, by extension, critical lexicography—tries to expose how the discourses of lexicography (re)formulate meanings and produce or perpetuate power dynamics (ibid.; see also Mumby & Clair, 1997). Lexicography is cast as a power struggle between multiple interest groups within these perspectives and as "a product of the socio-political and historical context in which it exists" (Chen, 2019, p. 373).

3   Putting the Pieces Together: Ethnocognitive Lexicography

Ethnocognitive lexicography is predicated on the observation that culture interacts with cognition and language in ways that are not easily separable for speakers. It does not assume that one of these systems determines the contours of the others or advance the principles of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in either its strong or weak

forms. Instead, ethnocognitive lexicography posits that the dynamics between cognitive, cultural, and linguistic systems are interactive in ways that shape cultural and linguistic perception and practice. It is a hybridizing perspective and seeks to build on the intersections of language, lexicography, ethnography, and cognition to develop a more socioculturally contextualized approach to Ostermann's (2015) cognitive lexicography framework. It also attempts to facilitate the development of lexicographic materials that are culturally appropriate, emically oriented, and rooted in use-based perspectives by combining aspects of cognitive lexicography, ethno-lexicography, and critical lexicography into a new hybridized approach.

From cognitive lexicography, ethnocognitive lexicography draws primarily on frame semantics as it is realized in Ostermann's (2015) analysis. This differs from many earlier attempts to apply frame-based approaches to dictionary-making processes (see, e.g., Bublitz & Bednarek, 2004; Fillmore & Atkins, 1994; Martin, 2006) and focuses on the example section of dictionary entries, which Ostermann (2015, p. 75) describes as "[t]he element from a traditional dictionary entry that could best be used for a new cognitive feature…a cognitive frame example section" and Atkins (1995, pp. 39–41) says "constitute an integral part of the description of meaning…[that] must systematically exemplify all the lexically relevant facts of the frame". Cognitive frame example sections:

> add a cognitive representation of a frame to the dictionary entries of the participating lexical items, which functions at the same time as a trigger for vocabulary acquisition of the lexical realisations of the frame elements and which helps a user's encoding purposes in an onomasiological approach. (Ostermann, 2015, p. 75)

They also addresses the need for frame-based dictionaries or other lexicographic materials in which the various senses of a word, and the relationships among the senses of related words, are associated with each other and with the relevant cognitive structures (see, e.g., Fillmore & Atkins, 1992).

In ethnocognitive lexicography, frame semantics similarly motivate the form and content of examples in dictionary entries. These examples, like those in Ostermann's framework, attempt to link words belonging to the same frame within the example and connect them with underlying knowledge structures. They are:

> small paragraphs of text and verbalise the frame of the respective lemma…[and] contain exemplification on all the elements of a frame linking them, and they are identical in a given perspective in the entries of all the main frame elements…all dictionary entries belonging to one frame are connected on a macrostructural level. (Ostermann, 2015, p. 78)

These examples define families of words connected by a particular frame (see Fillmore, 2003) and reflect the kind of holistic approach suggested by Atkins (1995). They focus on activating "concepts and the lexical realisations of frame elements" and describe "prototypical scenes in which agents denoted by the participating lexemes play a role" (Ostermann, 2015, p. 79). In ethnocognitive lexicography they are also culturally rooted. This aligns with Ostermann's (2015) warning that examples should not rely on the lexicographer's intuitions but instead be based on elicited data, though it emphasizes the concurrent use of ethnographic and linguistic elicitations. It also facilitates recognition of the relevant prototype—"a fairly large slice of the

surrounding culture against which the meaning of a word is defined and understood"
(Petruck, 1996, p. 2)—and its description.

Semantic frames are also applicable, in a more restricted way, to the definitions
within ethnocognitive dictionary entries. Traditional definitions are typically analyt-
ical (i.e., lexicographic) and somewhat minimalist; typical formats include the "X is
a member of the class Y distinguished from other members by feature(s) N" structure
common for nouns (Hartmann & James, 1998, p. 36). Articulating definitions with
the relevant semantic frame moves beyond this descriptive approach and requires
a more encyclopedic orientation. This entails incorporating knowledge in addition
to words (Hartmann & James, 1998, p. 49), which in turn requires reference to the
cultural contexts and features that generate meaning. The result is that definitions and
examples are co-referential, with each drawing on the relevant semantic frame. The
definition situates the lexeme within the semantic frame and provides an account of its
meaning that references it and the relevant aspects of the cultural system; the example
illustrates the practical functioning of this meaning and attempts to capture its associ-
ation with related words and practices in both the semantic frame and its associated
culture. The ethnocognitive approach thus blurs the lines between traditional and
cultural dictionaries by emphasizing the cultural dimensions of the semantic frame,
approaching lexicography as an inherently cultural process, and viewing dictionaries
as repositories of both cultural and linguistic information.

This leads naturally to ethno-lexicography, to which ethnocognitive lexicography
is closely related and from which it takes a colloquial and use-based view of meaning.
The belief that language and linguistic meaning(s) are inextricably bound to their
sociocultural contexts of use is foundational to this approach, since an accurate
understanding of the relevant linguistic and cultural semantics requires engagement
with its associated cultural knowledge, contexts, and patterns of use. By extension,
adopting these perspectives requires ethnocognitive lexicography to be cognizant of
the close connections between language and identity. The use of a particular language
and particular lexical items is one way of marking group membership and cultural
affiliation. It is also a means of asserting the validity and legitimacy of a social
or cultural group. The authority ascribed to dictionaries and other lexicographic
productions requires that they recognize and reflect these connections, since failing
to do so can be viewed as a kind of negative commentary or judgement vis-à-vis the
associated identity categories and social groups.

This has implications for the lexicographic process and the materials it produces.
Ethnocognitive lexicography requires that the acquisition and composition of
lexical data incorporates ethnographic fieldwork—or, at the least, ethnographic data
acquired during such fieldwork—in addition to linguistic fieldwork and/or data from
previous dictionaries or other lexicographic materials. This facilitates the recogni-
tion of semantic frames within the relevant cultural context (i.e., the context(s) of
users rather than the lexicographer) and their sociocultural contextualization. Conse-
quently, it produces more detailed understandings of the meaning(s) of a lexeme—
as it is conceptualized and understood by speakers—and the cultural features and
contexts that contribute to it. These are the "frame-external" aspects of Fillmore
(1994); their successful identification and description requires an ethnographic
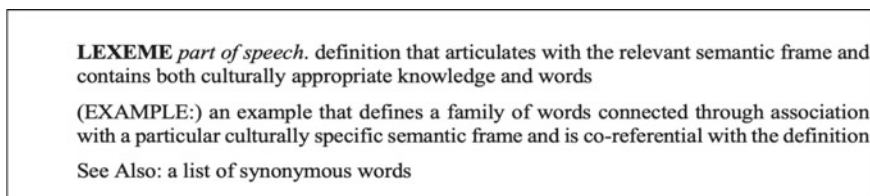
LEXEME *part of speech.* definition that articulates with the relevant semantic frame and contains both culturally appropriate knowledge and words

(EXAMPLE:) an example that defines a family of words connected through association with a particular culturally specific semantic frame and is co-referential with the definition

See Also: a list of synonymous words

Fig. 1 A template for entries in ethnocognitive dictionaries

approach in which "the system of beliefs, experiences, or ready-made conceptualizations" relevant to speakers can be ascertained and contextualized from a more emic perspective. (Fillmore, 1994, p. 28). Combining these data with the results of linguistic elicitations and with data from previous lexicographic work on the target language enables the development of more colloquial, contextualized, and use-based materials.

The implications for these materials affect both the content of dictionary entries and their arrangement within lexicographic materials. As described previously, the ethnocognitive framework incorporates cultural information in both the definitions of lexemes and in the examples associated with them. Consequently, every dictionary entry contains up to five components: (i) a lexeme or lexical head, (ii) a part of speech identifier, (iii) a definition that articulates with the relevant semantic frame and contains culturally appropriate knowledge and words, (iv) a labeled or unlabeled example defining a family of words connected through association with a particular and culturally specific semantic frame, and (v) a list of synonymous words. A template for ethnocognitive dictionary entries is in Fig. 1.

The arrangement of these entries can also be affected by an ethnocognitive approach. It is common for lexicographic materials, including those with an ethnocognitive orientation, to be alphabetically structured. This arrangement is familiar to many dictionary users, but it is often reflective of a distinctly Western and literacy-based approach to linguistic knowledge that is not easily applicable to all orthographic and cultural contexts. If the target community of users utilizes alphabetical schema elsewhere, or if that is the format preferred by the target community, then it is the structure that the lexicographer should use. However, a different arrangement is also possible.

Developing this alternative approach—which can be conceptualized as a nested structure—draws on the cultural orientation of ethno-lexicography, the use of semantic frames in cognitive lexicography, and the ideological awareness of critical lexicography. The contribution from critical lexicography is key, since it views dictionaries as social and cultural products that reflect "the attitudes of a society, as expressed in the word" (Kahane & Kahane, 1992, p. 20). These attitudes affect both the content and structure of a dictionary, since how speakers conceptualize their world—and relate these conceptualizations to their language—is closely associated with how they engage with lexicographic materials that seek to capture them. Nested structures are designed to organize lexicographic entries in a way that reflects these

conceptual linkages as accurately as possible. This does not necessarily require abandoning an alphabetical arrangement—though that may be the best option for some speaker groups—but instead provides a means of modifying this structure in ways that align with the cultural conceptualizations and knowledge of the intended user group.

In a nested structure, words that are related through membership in a shared semantic frame, through a common root or morphological component (e.g., a common classifier), or through some other culturally-specified association are presented together. This is based on the belief that, just as letters provide locators or reference points in alphabetical structures, concepts and words can orient users within a lexicographic context. These orienting or reference words—called category lexemes—are treated as head words that mark the beginning of a nested structure. Their entries are the same as those in non-nested structures and contain a lexeme or lexical head, a part of speech identifier, a definition, a labeled or unlabeled example, and a list of synonymous words. Entries for related or derived words—the member lexemes—follow the category lexeme. These can be indented to visually mark the nested structure; their entries include a lexeme or lexical head, a part of speech identifier, a definition, and a labeled or unlabeled example. A list of synonymous words is not necessarily included but it can be incorporated as needed (Fig. 2).

When nested structures are used in alphabetical dictionaries, they are incorporated at the level of the category lexeme. This word occurs in its alphabetical place; the

CATEGORY LEXEME *part of speech*. definition of the organizing category word that articulates with the relevant semantic frame and contains both culturally appropriate knowledge and words

(EXAMPLE:) an example including the organizing category word that defines a family of words connected through association with a particular culturally specific semantic frame and is co-referential with the definition

See Also: a list of synonymous words

> **MEMBER LEXEME 1** *part of speech*. definition of the first category member word that articulates with the relevant semantic frame and contains both culturally appropriate knowledge and words
>
> (EXAMPLE:) an example including the first category member word that defines a family of words connected through association with a particular culturally specific semantic frame and is co-referential with the definition
>
> **MEMBER LEXEME 2** *part of speech*. definition of the second category member word that articulates with the relevant semantic frame and contains both culturally appropriate knowledge and words
>
> (EXAMPLE:) an example including the second category member word that defines a family of words connected through association with a particular culturally specific semantic frame and is co-referential with the definition
>
> ...

Fig. 2 A template illustrating a nested structure for dictionary entries

associated member lexemes follow it and are set off by their indentation. It is also possible for a dictionary to be entirely or almost entirely nested. In these cases, the category lexemes may be arranged alphabetically, thematically, or in a structure tailors to the needs of the target user community.

This nested structure is conceptually analogous to the root structure concept proposed by Kövecses and Csábi (2014), who suggest that word roots may provide an alternate organizational principle for Hungarian dictionaries. In discussing the motivations for this approach, Kövecses and Csábi (2014, p. 122) note that:

> [i]n alphabetically arranged dictionaries of the Hungarian language…we find that more than one hundred headwords begin with the element *es-*, including the verb *esik* ("fall") and the noun *esés* ("fall[ing]")…[when] reading through the list of such words, we intuitively assign the meaning "esés" ("fall[ing]") to the element *es-* in most of these cases, given that the words *esik* and *esés* containing it have that meaning. This way, we intuitively and automatically identify a morpheme that has the sound shape *es-* and the meaning "esés" ("fall[ing]"). We can call this morpheme the root (or stem) *es-*, which provides a major part of the meaning.

This approach relates words by virtue of having a shared root. These roots, like the category lexemes of the nested approach, serve as locators or reference points that orient dictionary users in a lexicographic space. Kövecses and Csábi (2014, p. 122) observe that "[t]he role of roots in Hungarian bilingual dictionaries is very important" and posit that the structure and motivations of roots in Hungarian "may open up the possibility of rearranging headwords according to roots and their motivations…creating revolutionary conceptually-based dictionaries in the future" (ibid.). This structure, like the nested arrangement or other alternative approaches, has the potential to more accurately capture how speakers conceptualize their world, relate these conceptualizations to their language, and engage with lexicographic materials.

More generally, the awareness of dictionaries as sociocultural productions conditioned by—and reflective of—ideologies that permeate critical lexicography is crucial for ethnocognitive lexicography's emphasis on the ideologies of the lexicographer and how they condition lexicographic processes and products. This aligns generally with the perspectives of Critical Lexicographical Discourse Studies and critically considers how academic and Western ideologies affect the work of lexicographers. In particular, it examines alterations or reductions in meaning when words are interpreted through western ontological perspectives and orthodox academic notions about the structures of knowledge. These approaches result in dictionaries that are thoroughly etic. A more emic approach is needed to transform dictionary production and the field of lexicography, minimally by removing some of the legacies of Colonial academic frameworks.

4   Applying Ethno-Lexicography: A Case Study

The utility of ethnocognitive lexicography can be illustrated by examining its possible applications to color terminology in Miskito, a Misumalpan language spoken in Honduras and Nicaragua. Many of these lexemes are created through a derivational

(a)	*pi(h)* = the beach *pihni* = white (color)	(e)	*sang* = transparency; transparent *sangni* = blue, clear (colors)
(b)	*pau* = reddish *pauni* = red (color)	(f)	*siak* = a kind of turtle *siakni* = green, blue (colors)
(c)	*lalah* = money; currency; gold *lalahni* = yellow (color)	(g)	*krabu tang* = nance tree flower *krabu tangni* = orange (color)
(d)	*pupu(t)* = sardine species *puputni* = grey, black (colors)		

Fig. 3 Derived color terms in Miskito (from von Wattenwyl and Zollinger (1978) and Keogh (2008)

process in which nominal roots are converted to adjectives by the suffix *–ni* or adjectival roots are converted into color-naming adjectives through combination with *–ni*. These roots typically denote something that manifests the color being described, as attested in data from von Wattenwyl and Zollinger (1978) and Keogh (2008) (Fig. 3).

There are exceptions to the *–ni* affixation pattern for coining color words in Miskito. Some are alternatives to words formed with the *-ni* suffix; for example, *kakamuk batanka* ("orange iguana blubber"), *andris* ("orange (fruit)"), *kaki/kapi* ("khaki pants"), and *paura taya* ("the skin of a person from Pauaya") can be used in addition to *krabu tangni* for "orange". *Siksa*, meaning "black", is also the word for small bananas that turn black when they become ripe. *Tusi* ("pink") also refers to both a shrub with pinkish leaves and an avocado with dark purplish skin. *Kafe* ("brown") is a loan word referring to the color of coffee.

These non-derived color terms have multiple referents and can function as adjectives or nouns. Separate entries—with definitions that articulate with the relevant semantic frame, reference the nominal base (see, e.g., Mel'čuk & Polguère, 2018), and contain culturally appropriate information—can be created for each meaning; the associated examples should attempt to incorporate the associated meanings since these meanings are associated with a single semantic frame. For example, *andris* has two entries—one for its adjectival meaning ("orange") and a second for its nominal referent ("orange (fruit)")—that are co-referential in their examples (Fig. 4). It should

ANDRIS *adjective*. orange (color), specifically something with the color of orange fruit

EXAMPLE: This small flower is ANDRIS, it is the same as the color of the ANDRIS that I picked from our orange tree.

See Also: kakamuk batanka, krabu tangni, paura taya

ANDRIS *noun*. orange (fruit)

EXAMPLE: The ANDRIS is my favorite food, it grows on the orange tree next to my house. Its color is ANDRIS, just like some of the flowers, and it has a lot of juice inside.

Fig. 4 *Sample entries for* andris, *including one for the adjectival form and another for the nominal form*

be noted that, in this and all illustrative examples presented here, English is used for everything except the sample lexemes to illustrate the underlying principals and structures. A Miskito medium—or bilingual Miskito-Spanish format—would be used in materials intended for actual use.

Ethnocognitive lexicography may also affect the positioning of these entries. In dictionaries utilizing an alphabet-based format, they can be placed in the appropriate positions vis-a-vis alphabetical order.

These entries can also be arranged in nested structures. In this format, the lexicographer—in collaboration with the speaker community—must decide whether the adjectival or nominal form serves as the category lexeme and, by extension, which

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ANDRIS *adjective*. orange (color), specifically the color of an orange fruit

EXAMPLE: This small flower is ANDRIS, it is the same as the color of the ANDRIS that I picked from our orange tree.

See Also: kakamuk batanka, kaki (kapi), krabu tangni, paura taya

KAFE *adjective*. brown (color), specifically the color of coffee

EXAMPLE: That girl has beautiful dark hair, it is KAFE. It looks like the color of the coffee that my mom likes to drink!

KAKAMUK BATANKA *adjective*. orange (color), specifically the color of iguana fat

EXAMPLE: This shirt is KAKAMUK BATANKA, just like the fat from the iguana that we found by the side of the road.

See Also: andris, kaki (kapi), krabu tangni, paura taya

KAKI (KAPI) *adjective*. orange or brown-orange (color), specifically the color of khaki pants

EXAMPLE: My new shoes are KAKI (KAPI). Their color is the same as the khaki pants that my father wears when he goes to work in the city.

See Also: andris, kakamuk batanka, krabu tangni, paura taya

PAURA TAYA *adjective*. orange (color), specifically the color of the skin of people from Pauaya

EXAMPLE: My basket is PAURA TAYA, it is the same beautiful color as people from Pauaya.

See Also: andris, kakamuk batanka, kaki (kapi), krabu tangni

SISKA *adjective*. black (color), specifically the color of small ripe bananas

EXAMPLE: My dog is SISKA, she is the color of the small ripe bananas. When she sleeps on the ground she looks like a banana with legs!

See Also: puputni

TUSI *adjective*. pink (color), specifically the color of the leaves of the tusi shrub or the color of the skin of avocados

EXAMPLE: My flower is TUSI, it has the same color as the leaves of the Tusi shrub. Your flower is also TUSI, its color looks like the skin of that avocado.

Fig. 5 An illustration of an alphabetical arrangement of non-derived color terms in Miskito

KAFE *noun*. coffee, a beverage made by brewing ground coffee beans that can be served with milk, sweeteners, and additives

EXAMPLE: I like to drink KAFE. I grind the beans and then I brew them with hot water. I add a little bit of sugar and milk and then I drink it! It is hot and its color is KAFE.

>**KAFE** *adjective*. brown (color), specifically the color of coffee
>
>EXAMPLE: That girl has beautiful dark hair, it is KAFE. It is the color of the KAFE that my mom drinks in the mornings!

KAFE *adjective*. brown (color), specifically the color of coffee

EXAMPLE: That girl has beautiful dark hair, it is KAFE. It looks like the color of the KAFE that my mom drinks in the mornings!

>**KAFE** *noun*. coffee, a beverage made by brewing ground coffee beans that can be served with milk, sweeteners, and additives
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>EXAMPLE: I like to drink KAFE. I grind the beans and then I brew them with hot water. I add a little bit of sugar and milk and then I drink it! It is hot and its color is KAFE.

Fig. 6 *The two possible arrangements of* kafe *dictionary entries in a nested structure*

forms are is member lexemes. This requires ethnographic fieldwork or, at the least, ethnographic data, since these culturally contextualized data can elucidate which meaning is primary in the conceptualizations and semantic frameworks of the speaker community. For example, the category lexeme for *kafe* could be either the nominal referring to coffee or the adjective describing something with a brown, coffee-like color (Fig. 6).

Similarly, the category lexeme for *tusi* could be either of the two nominal forms—referring to a shrub with pinkish leaves and an avocado with dark purplish skin—or the adjective form denoting something with a pink color (Fig. 7).

In both cases, addressing the issue of directionality—determining whether the color of the relevant noun(s) is generalized in the creation of the adjective forms or whether the color word is appropriated in the naming of objects with the appropriate hue—requires understanding the conceptualizations salient in the cultural context(s) of the target user community. Applying ethnocognitive lexicography to the creation and arrangement of lexicographic entries is thus rooted simultaneously in ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork. The selection of a lexicographic arrangement, like the development of dictionary definitions and examples, must be culturally contextualized and tailored to the needs and perspectives of the target user community.

With derived color terms formed with the *-ni* suffix, ethnocognitive lexicography again conditions the definitions and examples associated with the lexemes. It may also affect their placement and can trigger one of three possible arrangements. The first and most intuitive of these, at least for etically situated lexicographers, treats the nominal from which a color term is derived as the category lexeme and the derived

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TUSI *noun*. a shrub that has pinkish leaves

EXAMPLE: There is a small TUSI plant growing near my house. The color of the leaves is TUSI, it is like the color of the skin of the TUSI avocado.

> **TUSI** *noun*. a kind of avocado with dark purplish skin
>
> EXAMPLE: I have a TUSI. Its skin is TUSI - the color is beautiful! It is like the color of the TUSI leaves.
>
> **TUSI** *adjective*. pink (color), specifically the color of the leaves of the tusi shrub or the color of the skin of avocados
>
> EXAMPLE: My flower is TUSI, it has the same color as the leaves of the Tusi shrub. Your flower is also TUSI, its color looks like the skin of that avocado.

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TUSI *noun*. a kind of avocado with dark purplish skin

EXAMPLE: I have a TUSI. Its skin is TUSI - the color is beautiful! It is like the color of the TUSI leaves.

> **TUSI** *noun*. a shrub that has pinkish leaves
>
> EXAMPLE: There is a small TUSI plant growing near my house. The color of the leaves is TUSI, it is like the color of the skin of the TUSI avocado.
>
> **TUSI** *adjective*. pink (color), specifically the color of the leaves of the tusi shrub or the color of the skin of avocados
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> EXAMPLE: My flower is TUSI, it has the same color as the leaves of the Tusi shrub. Your flower is also TUSI, its color looks like the skin of that avocado.

- -

TUSI *adjective*. pink (color), specifically the color of the leaves of the tusi shrub or the color of the skin of avocados

EXAMPLE: My flower is TUSI, it has the same color as the leaves of the Tusi shrub. Your flower is also TUSI, its color looks like the skin of that avocado.

> **TUSI** *noun*. a kind of avocado with dark purplish skin
>
> EXAMPLE: I have a TUSI. Its skin is TUSI - the color is beautiful! It is like the color of the TUSI leaves.
>
> **TUSI** *noun*. a shrub that has pinkish leaves
>
> EXAMPLE: There is a small TUSI plant growing near my house. The color of the leaves is TUSI, it is like the color of the skin of the TUSI avocado.

Fig. 7 *The three possible arrangements of* tusi *dictionary entries in a nested structure*

color-marking adjective as a member lexeme within a nested set associated with the noun (Fig. 8).

The second possible arrangement makes *-ni* a distinct lexicographic entry and treats it as a category lexeme. In this approach, the color terms derived with *-ni* are nested within this entry; the nouns from which they are derived are separate entries within the dictionary. In this case it is necessary to decide if *-ni* is defined

> **LALAH** *noun.* money or currency; also refers to gold, which was used for early currencies
> EXAMPLE: I have some LALAH. My coins are LALAHNI, they are very shiny and heavy.
>
>> **LALAHNI** *adjective.* yellow (color), specifically the color of gold and gold currency
>> EXAMPLE: I found a feather on the ground. It is LALAHNI and it looks like LALAH!

Fig. 8 *A nested structure for* lalah *entries in which the nominal form is the category lexeme*

comprehensively, such that all of its possible uses (color referring or otherwise) are incorporated within a single definition and all derivations formed with it are included as member lexemes, or defined more narrowly on the basis of specific derivational functions. If the second approach is chosen, the *-ni* entry relevant to this discussion would be defined in terms of its ability to indicate the color of the affixed noun; this is the structure in the example below (Fig. 9). Other uses of the suffix would be distinct category lexemes and reflected in separate entries.

The third possible arrangement is alphabetical. In this approach, each derived color word is given a separate entry and placed in the appropriate alphabetical position. Choosing among these possibilities requires consultation with the target user community and consideration of both ethnographic and linguistic data. As with non-derived color words, the selection of a lexicographic arrangement for derived color terminology must be culturally rooted and tailored to the needs and perspectives of the user community.

5   Concluding Remarks

Ethnocognitive lexicography is situated at the intersection of culture, cognition, and language. It does not assume that one of these systems determines the contours of the others but instead posits that the dynamics between them are interactive in ways that shape cultural and linguistic perception and practice. It is a hybridizing perspective rooted in the intersections of language, lexicography, ethnography, and cognition and focused on developing a more socioculturally contextualized approach to cognitive lexicography. By combining insights from cognitive lexicography, ethnolexicography, and critical lexicography, ethnocognitive lexicography encourages the development of lexicographic materials that are culturally appropriate, emic in their orientation, and driven by use-based perspectives. Culture interacts with cognition and with language in ways that are not easily separable for speakers of a language or other individuals who use of lexicographic productions. Capturing these interconnections in lexicographic materials requires rooting in the cognitive dimensions of language—particularly in the domain of semantics—and combines lexical data with ethnographic information and a critical, use-driven approach to lexicographic recording.

-ni *suffix*. a derivational suffix that can be attached to a noun to create a color word that describes the color of the item indicated by the noun

EXAMPLE: This is a KRABU TANG flower, it grows on the nance tree. Its color is KRABU TANGNI.

> **KRABU TANGNI** *adjective*. orange (color), specifically the color of the krabu tang flower that grows on the nance tree
>
> EXAMPLE: This is a KRABU TANG flower, it grows on the nance tree. Its color is KRABU TANGNI.
>
> See Also: andris, kakamuk batanka, kaki (kapi), krabu tangni, paura taya
>
> **LALAHNI** *adjective*. yellow (color), specifically the color of gold and gold currency
>
> EXAMPLE: I found a feather on the ground. It is LALAHNI and it looks like LALAH!
>
> **PAUNI** *adjective*. red (color), specifically something that has a reddish color
>
> EXAMPLE: This flower is PAUNI, it is PAU and I think that it is very beautiful!
>
> **PIHNI** *adjective*. white (color), specifically the color of the beach and the beach sand
>
> EXAMPLE: This seashell is PIHNI, it has the same color as the PIH where I found it.
>
> **PUPUTNI** *adjective*. grey (color) and black (color), specifically the color of a pupu(t) sardine
>
> EXAMPLE: I found a rock by my house. Its color is PUPUTNI and reminds of the PUPU(T) that I saw in the ocean.
>
> See Also: siska
>
> **SANGNI** *adjective*. blue (color) and clear (color), like the color of something transparent
>
> EXAMPLE: There are no clouds today and the sky is SANGNI! It looks SANG.
>
> **SIAKNI** *adjective*. green (color) and blue (color), specifically the color of siak turtles
>
> EXAMPLE: The plants in my garden are SIAKNI. Their color is the same as the SIAK and I think that it is beautiful.

Fig. 9 *A nested structure for derived color terms in Miskito in which* -ni *is the category lexeme*

The contextualization inherent in ethnocognitive lexicography is significant for lexicographic efforts focused on languages undergoing attrition or change. Although many working in situations of attrition agree with Corris et al., (2000, p. 2) that "dictionaries for endangered languages…differ mostly in the *amount* of information in certain parts of the microstructure", there are growing numbers of others (e.g., Cablitz, 2011; Field, 2009; Ivanishcheva, 2016) who advocate for more contextually and culturally sensitive approaches in which dictionaries of endangered languages also differ in the nature of their information and structure. In these analyses, the form and content of dictionaries should reflect the cultural, linguistic, and sociopolitical worlds of the relevant speaker population(s) and capture the "cultural constructs embedded and reflected in the…language" (Field, 2009, p. 296). They should also

strive to preserve "unique facts about the culture, and language as part of the culture, of an indigenous minority" (Ivanishcheva, 2016, p. 83) and incorporate the emic perspectives that animate a linguistic tradition (see Cablitz, 2011; Haviland, 2006; Pike, 1967) while reflecting standardized—or standardizing—patterns of change significant to the relevant speaker populations. Ethnocognitive lexicography is well suited to addressing these aims.

   The perspectives of ethnocognitive lexicography are also potentially relevant to historical linguistic analyses, which are often driven by lexical materials such as wordlists. Although it is not possible to incorporate ethnography in the traditional sense without living informants, it is plausible that—in some cases—contextual and cultural information available in the historical record could fulfill a similar role. Ethnocognitive lexicography also articulates with anthropology, particularly in the context of ethnographic fieldwork and research, and with related fields such as ethnobotany, ethnozoology, folklore studies, and history. These interdisciplinary connections are particularly relevant for the creation of specialized dictionaries (e.g., botanical dictionaries) but are also beneficial for more general lexicographic endeavors and can help develop more robust cultural contextualizations. These benefits flow in both directions; ethnography and other related fields also benefit considerations of ethnocognitive lexicography. This is especially true for fieldwork and research methodologies, which can be enhanced by considerations of the kinds of issues and perspectives that underlie ethnocognitive lexicographic endeavors. These considerations, like the consideration of ethnocognitive perspectives in other contexts, allows for the development of more culturally contextualized approach to lexicography and—by extension—a richer vantage point from which to explore what it means to be human.

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Dimensions of Discourse

#StopCallingMeMurzyn: Empathy and Political Correctness Among Polish Internet Users

Marta Falkowska

Abstract This paper provides insights into the semantic relations between the concepts EMPATIA ("empathy") and POPRAWNOŚĆ POLITYCZNA ("political correctness") in present-day Polish. The author analyzed internet comments pertaining to the expert opinion formulated in August 2020 by a member of the Council for the Polish Language concerning the usage of the word *Murzyn* ("black (person), Negro") as a potentially offensive term. The opinion was then extensively cited (albeit often misquoted and twisted) by the mass media, which triggered a substantial debate about the connotations of the word *Murzyn*, and the degree to which the word may be seen as derogatory. The dataset for the analysis was compiled using the Monco search engine and news monitoring service. While some internet users expressed their willingness to give up the term *Murzyn*, on account of their empathy and solidarity with black people, others felt that the word should not be construed as an insult, and that they were being censored in their speech and pressured by political correctness. The semantic relations between the two concepts studied depend largely on the diverse ideological alignments of the various speakers. It can also be postulated that the way in which the cited opinion was conceptually framed influenced the tone of the internet comments on the issue and triggered a considerable number of defensive responses.

Keywords Lexical semantics · Internet discourse · Ideology · Empatia ("empathy") · Poprawność polityczna ("political correctness") · The Council for the Polish Language · *Murzyn*

1 Introduction

In addition to a raging COVID-19 pandemic, the year 2020 saw a surge of social protests across the USA. The massive Black Lives Matter protests against police brutality and systemic racism started in May 2020, triggered by the death of George

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Floyd, a black man from Minneapolis, who was suffocated to death by a police officer kneeling on his neck during the process of arresting him. Many people worldwide have expressed their solidarity with the BLM movement, and debates around the issues of racism and racial inequality have become vivid. In Poland, a photo of a young black girl carrying a placard with a slogan "Stop Calling Me Murzyn", taken on June 4th during solidarity protests in Warsaw, quickly went viral. Around the same time, a group of young Polish women of color initiated an action aimed at exposing the pejorative value of the noun *Murzyn*, raising awareness that it may be perceived as offensive. That action involved a YouTube video entitled #*dontcallmemurzyn* (published on June 9th), interviews, and a petition to the Council for the Polish Language. The Council was also asked for their views on the evaluative components of the word *Murzyn* in a letter from one of the language users, and Marek Łaziński (known for his previous studies, e.g., Łaziński, 2007, 2009) was tasked with preparing an expert opinion on that subject. The document issued in August 2020 listed a number of linguistic facts confirming that the word *Murzyn* may indeed by deemed offensive in contemporary Polish, and consequently should be avoided in public discourse. The expert opinion was then extensively cited by the media, which revived a substantial debate on the denotation and connotative value of the word *Murzyn*.[1] The biggest misconceptions in this debate included the fact that Łaziński's expert opinion was ascribed the status of an official ruling of the Council (while in fact it was not until October 26th 2020 that it was approved during a plenary session of the Council). Moreover, the rationale of the text was often misread or twisted by the media: in reality, the Council has no legal basis to prohibit the use of certain words, however, press releases often framed Łaziński's description and clear recommendation as a ban imposed on Polish language users and an instance of excessive language control if not censorship.[2]

The heated debate about the word *Murzyn* offers insight into the ways Polish journalists and internet users construe the concepts of EMPATHY and POLITICAL CORRECTNESS (see also Falkowska, 2016). Both concepts have been lexicalized in Polish for some time. The former has been entrenched since the 1960s in the noun *empatia* and its derivatives (e.g., *empatyczny*, *empatyk*, *empatyzować*), and the latter has been attested in Polish for more than 30 years as a loan translation from English (*poprawność polityczna*; see Markowski, 2018, pp. 113–114). The goal of this paper is to study semantic relations between the two concepts and the ways in which they build a foundation for referential and rhetorical strategies, rooted in opposing ideological and axiological attitudes, and manifested in public discourse. The illustrative material was gathered by means of the Monco PL search engine and reference corpus (Pęzik, 2020), which allowed the author to diversify the sources, and include both local and nationwide media.[3] The data for the analysis come from summer 2020

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[1] See substantial linguistic contributions to the debate voiced earlier (Łaziński, 2014; Ohia, 2013).

[2] The misconceptions were addressed in the Council's statement, available at the website https://rjp.pan.pl/.

[3] All the quoted examples were given in their original form as far as the syntax, spelling, and punctuation are concerned. If not otherwise specified, all emphasis in quotations and all translations

(from June 1st until September 30th). Out of 1607 hits provided by the Monco PL search engine, I discarded those that did not display the metalinguistic criterion (i.e., they concerned issues other than the status of the word *Murzyn*), as well as those comments that were obscene or represented nothing but hate speech.

2 Empathy-Driven Referential Strategies

As stated before, the 2020 debate concerning the word *Murzyn* is actually a revival of ongoing discussions. For instance, in 2011, a group of authors representing the Polish African community published a guide aimed at debunking stereotypes about Africa. One of the authors explicitly alluded to the category of empathy as a guiding principle for any form of interpersonal communication:

> There is an ongoing argument about how to address people of color. The proponents of *Murzyn* are insistent, claiming that the etymology of the word is entirely "innocent". However, it is not only lexicon that we use in any interpersonal relations – *we also activate our reservoirs of intelligence and sensitivity, we think and feel, we employ empathy, reason, we exhibit propriety.* […] The arguments of people who declare that they use the term in question in a friendly and non-offensive way are simply unconvincing. We need to remember that apart from our own thoughts and intentions *there is another person in front of us, with their emotions*, and this person does not want to be referenced with a term that they do not identify with, and that may be denigrating for them. (Karamalla, 2011, pp. 16–17)

Likewise, a number of Polish linguists have pointed out that that referential strategies should be founded on respect, benevolence, and empathy. In 2017, Katarzyna Kłosińska addressed the issue in an online language counselling service, stating that even if one personally does not regard the word *Murzyn* as derogatory, it is necessary to take into account the feelings of others who may be affected by the word:

> I am aware that a number of black Poles deem [the word *Murzyn* – M.F.] inappropriate, offensive or even hurtful. Knowing that, I try to refrain from using the word in their presence – not in the name of political correctness, but because of simple human kindness. (Kłosińska, 2017)

Ewa Kołodziejek in turn (2020, p. 6) underlined the need for more empathy and understanding in communication, which would lead to choosing empathetic descriptors and other non-stigmatizing and non-derogatory expressions.

Empathy-driven referential strategies also find proponents among internet users, as attested in the material gathered for this analysis. The texts (1)–(7) depicting these strategies suggest that only the potential referents of a word may legitimately decide whether the word is offensive:

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from Polish are mine. In accordance with the recommendations of the Association of Internet Researchers, I excluded from the quotes any personal data about the authors (Franzke et al., 2020). I also chose to preserve the word *Murzyn* in the English translations of examples (in a material supposition), primarily because any choice that the translator could make here would either bring forward the negative connotations of the Polish term (in the case of the English n-words used as an equivalent of the Polish term), or neutralize it (if we were to say e.g., *a black person*).

(1) Aby stwierdzić czy słowo "murzyn" jest rasistowskie/negatywne to powinniśmy też *zapytać się o to samych osób ciemnoskórych* które mieszkają w Polsce. *Na pewno nie jest to dla nich miłe* jak ktoś ich nazywa murzyn. *Pomyślcie sobie sami jakbyście się czuli* jeżeli ktoś nazwał was murzynem. (wykop.pl)

"To see if the word *Murzyn* is indeed racist/negative, we should also directly ask the people of color who live in Poland. Surely it is not nice for them to be called *Murzyn*. Just think about how would you feel if somebody called you that".

(2) Jak ktoś do ciebie powie "proszę, nie nazywaj mnie murzynem, dla mnie to słowo jest obraźliwe i sprawia mi przykrość" to wy odpowiadacie na to "MURZYN MURZYN MURZYN" to jest niesamowite jak *ciasne muszą być wasze główki*, że taka *podstawa kultury i dobrego wychowania* jak nienazywanie ludzi określeniami, których nie chcą słyszeć, was przerasta. (wykop.pl)

"If someone says to you 'Please, don't call me *Murzyn*, this word is offensive to me, and it makes me feel bad,' and you respond with '*MURZYN, MURZYN, MURZYN*,' then how utterly narrow-minded you must be: basic propriety and good upbringing, an attitude consisting in not calling people names they don't want to hear, are simply beyond you".

(3) Skoro *wiem, że dla pewnej grupy ludzi dane określenie jest uznawane jako obraźliwe*, nie widzę powodu dlaczego miałbym tego nie *uszanować. I znam takie osoby, które tak to słowo odbierają* – bo tego nauczyło ich życie w naszym kraju. […] Ludzie *więcej empatii*. (wykop.pl)

"If I realize that a certain group of people regards an expression as offensive, I can think of no reason not to respect that. And I know people who feel that way about this word – because living in our country has taught them that. […] Guys, more empathy, please".

(4) […] wydaje mi się, że *jeśli ktoś sobie nie życzy*, że go jakoś nazywać to człowiek mający *minimalna ilość empatii* go tak po prostu nie nazywa i przechodzi nad tym do porządku dziennego. (wykop.pl)

"[…] it seems to me that if a person doesn't want to be called a certain name, then somebody with a minimal empathy simply does not call them that, and moves on".

(5) Kobiety w przeciwieństwie do mężczyzn *mają w sobie trochę empatii i wiedzą że dla osoby czarnoskórej* bycie nazywanym murzynem *to nic przyjemnego*. (wykop.pl)

"Unlike men, women have a bit of empathy and they know that for a black person to be called *Murzyn* is not a pleasant thing at all".

(6) Jeśli ktoś tego *nie rozumie* i wbrew czyjejś woli będzie kogoś tak nazywać, bo "według naukowców jest spoko", to według mnie jest *zwyczajnym chamem pozbawionym empatii*. (wykop.pl)

"If someone doesn't get it and insists on calling someone *Murzyn* against the person's will, just because 'some scientists said it's ok,' than I think they are a complete moron with no empathy"

(7) Skoro *im to przeszkadza*, dlaczego mamy być dla nich w ten sposób *niemili*. (polsat-news.pl)

"If it bothers them, then why would we want to be mean to them".

The utterances representing this category show that the speakers are willing to denounce any power over the language (lexical items) they employ, and turn this power over to the potential referents of the linguistic signs in order to avoid hurting them, even if unwillingly. The speakers do not contemplate whether the offensiveness of the word is objectively verifiable; the judgement of the potential referent(s) is the only valid reference point for them. Hence, they often call for considering the voice of the group directly affected by the words in question and using linguistic signals

of epistemic modality to weaken the categoricity of their own judgments (e.g., *tak mi się wydaje* "so it appears to me", *może* "maybe", *co im się wydaje* "what they deem"), for example:

(8) Jeszcze tylko dodam – słowo "Murzyn" i tak odchodzi do lamusa, zastępowane jest albo politycznie poprawnym "czarnoskóry", albo bardziej obraźliwym – tak mi się przynajmniej wydaje, ale *warto by było zapytać osoby zainteresowane* – słowem "czarny". (joemonster.org)

"Let me just add – the word *Murzyn* has been getting obsolete anyway, it's being replaced either by a politically correct *czarnoskóry* ('of color'), or by a more offensive – at least so it appears to me, it would be good to ask the people who are the most interested – word *czarny* 'black'".

(9) Może *warto by przemówili oni sami*, bo z tego co widzimy 0 info od ciemnoskórych, sami *białoskórzy wstawiają to co im się wydaje dobre lub złe. A jak jest czarnoskóry niech się wypowie sam za siebie.* (polsatnews.pl)

"Maybe it would be good if they spoke for themselves, cause – as far as we can see – there is zero information from people of color, only white people present what they deem right or wrong. So if you're black, you should speak up for yourself".

Another argument voiced in internet discussions concerns the allegedly reifying quality of the word *Murzyn:*

(10) *Osoba czarnoskóra, ciemnoskóra, człowiek ciemnoskóry itp to jedyne dojrzałe, niejanuszowe* określenia, bo ciągle wiadomo że przynajmniej o człowieku się mówi, a nie murzyn z dupy, *jak jakaś rzecz.* (wykop.pl)

"A person of color, a dark-skinned person, a black man etc. – these are the only decent descriptions, not in a Joe Sixpack style. At least one knows that we talk about a person, and not some half-assed *Murzyn*, as if they were a thing"

Although there is no linguistic evidence that the use of the word *Murzyn* entails such an implication in the mind of the hearer, the author of this utterance opts for using expressions containing the noun *osoba* ("person") or *człowiek* ("man, human being"). This is in line with the promulgation of *person-first language*, found also in many Polish recommendations concerning ethical speaking, whose authors suggest using general analytical descriptions (such as *osoba z niepełnosprawnością*, *człowiek żyjący z depresją*, or *pacjent z diagnozą schizofrenii*) to avoid a presupposition that the highlighted property exhaustively defines the person and determines their identity (Bańko et al., 2020; Doroszewska et al., 2020; Kołodziejek, 2020).

It comes as no surprise that empathy-driven argumentation was often used by speakers who claimed to have had personal experiences with black people living in Poland, and had been able to witness their reactions to the word *Murzyn*. These people, drawing on past experiences, seem reluctant to accept that the word is not offensive; to the contrary, they point to concrete instances of human pain or damage that it contributed to:

(11) Do wszystkich, którzy uważają, że słowo nie jest obraźliwe. *Porozmawiajcie z dziećmi z ciemniejsza skórą*, wychowywanymi w Polsce, bądź znającymi dobrze język, gdy ktoś mówi na nie: "murzyn". (polsatnews.pl)

"To everyone who thinks that the word is not offensive. Just ask dark-skinned children brought up in Poland or having a good command of Polish how they feel when someone calls them *Murzyn*".

(12) *Chodziłem do klasy z dziećmi Nigeryjczyka*, który zresztą był u nas nauczycielem angielskiego. Nigdy ani ja ani nikt z osób w klasie nie użył w stosunku do nich słowa murzyn i nie potrzebowaliśmy do tego żadnego filmu na yt, aby *wiedzieć, że może to sprawić im przykrość*. Z kolei jeżdżąc na wycieczki itd, nie raz się zdarzało, że ktoś z ulicy rzucał w ich kierunku głośno: o murzyn! O patrzcie murzyny przyjechały itd itd. W mniemaniu tych krzykaczy, prawdopodobnie myśleli, że mówią coś niezwykle śmiesznego i zabawnego, a praktyce po prostu *sprawiali przykrość drugiej osobie*. (wykop.pl)

"I used to go to school with children of a Nigerian who also happened to be our English teacher. Neither I nor anyone else in the class did ever call them that, and we didn't even need a YT video to know that it might hurt them. And yet, when we were going out on excursions, people in the street would repeatedly holler: "*Murzyn*! Look, *Murzyny*[4] came!", and so on and so forth. Evidently, the loudmouthed people thought it was hilarious, while in reality they were simply hurting another person".

(13) Ja biorę udział w tej dyskusji bo *byłem świadkiem nagminnego nadużywania tego słowa i widziałem ile krzywdy może wyrządzić*. Ty stosujesz demagogie opartą na swoich personalnych odczuciach, a *ja na wychowywaniu się z tymi dzieciakami od małego i obserwacjach jak to wygląda w praktyce*. A w praktyce skończyło się tak, że obecnie już jako dorośli ludzie nie mieszkają już w Polsce, pomimo, że się tutaj urodzili i zdobyli świetne wykształcenie. Mogli budować naszą gospodarkę i wpływać na rozwój kraju, ale wyjechali bo tam gdzie teraz są nikt nie zwraca uwagi na ich kolor skóry i mogą być po prostu sobą. Ale *żeby zrozumieć ten problem trzeba mieć w sobie chociaż trochę empatii i inteligencji emocjonalnej*. (wykop.pl)

"I am taking part in this discussion because I've witnessed people repeatedly overuse the word, and I've seen the harm it can cause. You exhibit demagoguery based on your personal fancy, while I grew up with these children and I observed it in real life. And in real life, they ended up not living in Poland any more as grown-ups, even though they were born here and got excellent education. They could have contributed to the growth of our economy and the development of the country, but they left because – where they are now – no one pays attention to the color of their skin, and they can simply be themselves. But to understand the problem, you need at least a little bit of empathy and emotional intelligence".

In the texts composed by proponents of empathetic referencing practices, we can find lexical cues pertaining to perspective-taking and values, as shown in Table 1.

The first group of expressions communicates predominantly the speaker's empathetic other-oriented *perspective-taking*—an imaginative process whereby "a person represents the other's situation from the other person's point of view and thus attempts to simulate the target individual's experiences as though she were the target individual" (Coplan, 2011, p. 10). The simulation process results in knowing (signaled by forms of the verb *wiedzieć* "to know") or conjecturing (*na pewno* "for sure") what the target individual thinks and feels. Another rhetorical strategy used here is grounded in a slightly different form of empathetic identification: putting yourself conceptually in the other's place (*pomyślcie sobie sami, jakbyście się czuli)* in order to extrapolate from the feelings aroused in oneself by that simulation to those of others. The subtle difference between the two forms of empathetic identification is

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[4] In Polish, masculine personal nouns such as *Murzyn* form two alternate inflectional plural forms: a non-derogatory one (*Murzyni*) and a derogatory one (*Murzyny*). The latter was used in the cited example, which foregrounds the offensiveness of the expression even more strongly.

Table 1 Lexical signals pertaining to perspective-taking and values

perspective-taking	other-oriented perspective-taking	• *Na pewno nie jest to dla nich miłe…* • *…wiem, że dla pewnej grupy ludzi dane określenie jest uznawane jako obraźliwe…* • *…wiedzą że dla osoby czarnoskórej […] to nic przyjemnego* • *…nie potrzebowaliśmy do tego żadnego filmu na yt, aby wiedzieć, że może to sprawić im przykrość…*
	self-oriented perspective-taking	• *Pomyślcie sobie sami jakbyście się czuli…*
values	positive	• *podstawa kultury i dobrego wychowania* • *uszanować* • *więcej empatii* • *trzeba mieć w sobie chociaż trochę empatii i inteligencji emocjonalnej* • *dojrzałe, niejanuszowe określenie*
	negative	• *ciasne muszą być wasze główki* • *cham* • *niemili*

that, in the self-oriented process, a person mentally and emotionally places themselves in the position of another individual, while in the other-oriented simulation, imagines *being* the target individual (with their values and life experiences) in the position of the target individual, thus the subject leaves behind their own perspective for, as much as possible, the point of view typical of another person. Coplan further argues that other-oriented perspective-taking is more challenging, while self-oriented perspective-taking is "our default mode of mentalizing" (Coplan, 2011, p. 10).

Within the empathy-driven rhetoric, positive value is assigned to empathy for others, emotional intelligence, respect, personal maturity, propriety, and good upbringing.[5] Negatively loaded expressions refer to a lack of intelligence or imagination (narrow-mindedness), rudeness, or malice. The speakers criticize the attitude of absolutizing one's own opinions and unilaterally assuming the right to act and speak in ways that disregard the feelings of others.

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[5] Linde-Usiekniewicz and Michalak (2021) propose a more fine-grained division of the speakers' attitudes. They point out that that while speakers guided by empathy perceive The Other as an autotelic value, focusing on politeness (signalled by words alluding to propriety and good breeding) marks a passage from concern for primarily moral issues towards a linguistic savoir vivre.

3 Opposing Political Correctness

As stated earlier, the Polish expression *poprawność polityczna* is mediated by English (see Hughes, 2010 on the history of the concept in English). Hence the conviction of many Polish speakers that political correctness consists of conformity with regulations concerning English, and results from imposing the cultural and linguistic practices of the English-speaking nations (especially the USA) on other communities, who do not share the same history of racial segregation and slavery. In line with this conviction is the repeatedly quoted argument that the Polish word has been assessed not in and of itself, but as a potential translational equivalent of the offensive English "n-word":

> (14) A może problemem […] jest samo słowo „Murzyn", które ostatnio wyjątkowo nieudolnie lansowane jest na wyraz brzydki czy wręcz obelżywy? Jednostki głoszące swoją tolerancję i głęboką troskę o szacunek dla obcokrajowców często popełniają błąd, *sugerując, że określenie to jest odpowiednikiem angielskojęzycznego słowa „nigger"*. Świadczy to tylko o ignorancji tych osób, albowiem dosłowne tłumaczenie tego terminu istnieje przecież w języku polskim i brzmi ono „czarnuch". (joemonster.org)
>
> "And maybe the problem lies in the very word *Murzyn*, which lately has been extremely ineptly pushed as a bad or even offensive word? Those who declare that they are tolerant, and they care so deeply about respecting foreigners, often make a mistake by suggesting that this expression is the equivalent of the English n-word. In fact, it's a testimony of their ignorance, because there is a literal translation of the term in Polish – *czarnuch*.[6]"

A number of speakers postulate that political correctness originates from the USA and is currently being disseminated in Poland:

> (15) […] któraś z wykladowczyń wmawiała na zajęciach że murzyn jest określeniem rasistowskim… Obawiam się że polskie uczelnie też czeka *atak politycznej poprawności rodem z USA*. (wykop.pl)
>
> "[…] one of the professors tried to persuade us that *Murzyn* is a racist expression. I'm afraid that Polish universities will be attacked by a tide of political correctness born in the USA, too".
>
> (16) To my mamy *dostosowywać język polski do sytuacji w USA*? (wykop.pl)
>
> "Does it mean that we are supposed to adjust the Polish language to the current situation in the USA"?.

In a number of the excerpts, the speakers express a conviction that it is not only the USA that is to blame for the enforced language change, but the whole of the Western civilization. Polish language users are thought to experience the burden of non-Poles' guilt and misdeeds towards the black community. The Council's recommendation concerning the word *Murzyn* is construed as an Orwellian act of unjustly seizing power over language and its users in an attempt to impose new attitudes about reality:

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[6] The noun is derived from the adjective *czarny* "black" by means of a stylistically and emotionally marked suffix *-uch*. The suffix forms colloquial and expressive (pejorative, derogatory) *nomina attributiva* (e.g., *leniuch* "lazybones", *staruch* "a dirty old man", *dzieciuch* "brat", *obżartuch* "glutton"). Other offensive descriptors referring to black people have been covered by Anna Pajdzińska (2001, pp. 51–52).

(17) Zachód próbuje *przeszczepić nam swoje kompleksy*. Niektóre nasze wady wyolbrzymiają, inne sami wymyślili, a teraz jeszcze *chcą byśmy korzyli się za ich błędy* – temu służy zmiana języka. Już Orwell przewidział w „1984″, że najważniejsza jest *władza nad językiem* – wiele słów trzeba ze słowników usunąć, a innym pozmieniać znaczenie. (nczas.com)

"The West is trying to transfer their own complexes onto us. They have blown some of our faults out of proportion, they have also made up some faults of ours, and now they want to humble us for their own mistakes – that's what the language change is bound to do. And it was Orwell who predicted in '1984' that control over language is essential – some words have to be erased from dictionaries, other words need to have their meanings altered".

(18) Nie można dopuścić do tego, aby zostały nam narzucone jakieś *white guilt, i niby jakąś nasza wina Polaków za to że czarni gdzieś tam zbierali bawełnę w Ameryce.* (wykop.pl)

"We cannot agree to have some sort of white guilt imposed on us, an alleged fault of the Polish people that black people used to pick cotton somewhere in America".

For many speakers, another source of political correctness (albeit closely related to the aforementioned) is left-wing politics and ideology. In fact, in many examples the speakers allude to a concurrent influence of the USA and "leftist ideology":

(19) Murzyn nie jest słowem obraźliwym, może dla *lewaków* ze spranymi przez poprawność polityczną beretami. (wykop.pl)

"*Murzyn* is not an offensive word, except maybe for extreme lefties who have a cog loose because of political correctness".

(20) *Skrajna lewica* zaczęła domagać się zakazania słowa „murzyn", *tak jak w USA*, nie wolno (nie wypada) używać słowa „nigger". (nczas.com)

"The radical left has begun to demand a ban on the word *Murzyn*, just like in the USA you may not (you should not) use the word 'nigger'".

(21) RJP poddała się *lewicowemu dyktatowi*, który siłowo wpychają Polakom oraz innym nacjom *czarnoskórzy z USA*. (nczas.com)

"The Council for the Polish Language succumbed to the left-wing dictatorship, forced upon the Poles and other nations by black people from the USA".

(22) Mówiłem, mówię i będę mówił murzyn a *lewak i z RJP* nie będzie kształtował mojego języka! (polsatnews.pl)

"I have been saying that, and I will continue to say *Murzyn*, and no leftie (even) from the Council / nor the Council[7] [of the Polish Language] will ever shape my language".

The material above shows that those who oppose political correctness in language regard the recommendations concerning the word *Murzyn* as an attempt at controlling the language and promoting left-wing ideology in a covert or overt way. This is reflected in the vocabulary they choose to describe ongoing ideological disputes (e.g., the verbs *wmawiać*, *wpychać*, *domagać się*, which all refer to forcing on others something the speaker deems false or detrimental). The clash of ideas and attitudes is often framed as a war (see (15)—*atak politycznej poprawności*), censorship, or brain washing:

(23) *Tresura* poprawnościowa działa super. (wpolityce.pl)

"The political correctness drill works great".

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[7] The structure of the Polish utterance is unclear, so I have provided two possible English renditions.

(24) Polityczna poprawność nową formą *cenzury.* (polsatnews.pl)

"Political correctness is new form of censorship".

(25) 21 wiek i są *słowa których wymowic nie wolno.* (wykop.pl)

"It's the twenty-first century, and there are still words you are not allowed to say".

Some of the discussants voiced concerns that prohibiting the word *Murzyn* will result in an attempt to purge well-known Polish literary works of the word; the most often cited was Julian Tuwim's children's poem *Murzynek Bambo*:

(26) To w szkole *nie powinno się już uczyć* wierszyk „murzynek bambo". Fałszywa poprawność polityczna. (polsatnews.pl)

"That means that the poem *Murzynek Bambo* should not be taught at schools any more. False political correctness".

Many press reports covering the issue of the word *Murzyn* amplified the problem, framing the linguistic facts as they were presented in the expert opinion, as a legal ban on the word altogether. This is illustrated by a number of headlines and leads from electronic press articles:

(27) Burza i kontrowersje wokół rzeczownika "Murzyn". *Wolno używać czy nie?* (gazetawroclawska.pl)

"Storm and controversies around the noun *Murzyn.* Are we allowed to use it or not?*".

(28) Polityczna poprawność dosięga i naszą ojczystą mowę. *Czy już nie będziemy mogli używać słowa „Murzyn"?!* (wpolityce.pl)

"Political correctness affects our native tongue, too. Will we not be allowed to use the word *Murzyn* anymore"?.

(29) Cejrowski o *zakazanym słowie „murzyn"* (nczas.com)

"Cejrowski on the forbidden word *Murzyn*"

(30) Nieoficjalny werdykt zapadł: „Murzyn" to słowo obraźliwe (joemonster.org)

"Unofficial verdict passed: *Murzyn* is an offensive word"

(31) W pierwszej połowie sierpnia media obiegła informacja, że *słowo „murzyn" zostanie zakazane.* (wgospodarce.pl)

"By mid-August the news that the word *Murzyn* is going to be prohibited spread across the media"

This way of representing the expert opinion reflects the meanings often attributed to the expression *poprawność polityczna* in Polish, and noted also by linguists: Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak regards political correctness as "a form of artificial language transformation, put to the service of ideological purposes" (2011, p. 64), whereas Anna Cegieła perceives it as a system controlling language (2013, p. 60). It seems that many speakers who disregard the negative evaluative components of the word *Murzyn* fight back against what they consider to be a language regulation imposed on them, a directive made elsewhere and ideologically motivated. Drawing attention to the offensiveness of the word may also be felt as condemnation of those who might use the word, even without conscious intention of hurting anyone, and as suggesting that they might be racist. This is probably why some speakers underline their neutral/positive attitude towards people of color, or include a disclaimer like *I don't mean to sound racist but…* (Nowicka, 2018).

(32) Spór jest o "newspeek" [sic! – M.F.], i niezgodę ludzi, którym *daleko do rasizmu, czy nacjonalizmu* na ten rodzaj zamordyzmu.

"The ongoing argument concerns the 'newspeak,' and it's about people who are nowhere near racism nor nationalism, but who strongly oppose this kind of despotism".

(33) Nie wiem, dlaczego uznano, że nazwa Murzyn jest obraźliwa. Dla mnie to *po prostu nazwa osoby czarnoskórej.* (studioopinii.pl)

"I don't know why it was decided that the word *Murzyn* is offensive. For me, it's simply a name for a black person".

(34) *Dla mnie obraźliwe nie jest* i jeśli *nie mówię tak, żeby kogoś obrazić, to to są tylko litery. Lubię murzynów,* lubię to słowo, a kto chce, ten niech się obraża, jeśli mu brak dystansu do świata. (joemonster.org)

"For me, it's not offensive at all, and if I don't use it to hurt somebody, then these are just letters. I like black people, I like the word, but feel free to take offense, if you cannot put things in perspective".

A repeated motif in the analyzed material involves citing opinions of black people who live (or used to live) in Poland and do not mind being called *Murzyn*, or claiming that within the American black community it is acceptable to use the word *nigger* (often in the form *niggah* or *nigga*).

(35) Aondo-Akaa przypomina też czarnoskórych Polakach – bohaterach narodowych. Co by sobie dziś pomyśleli, gdyby się dowiedzieli, że słowo „Murzyn" jest dziś obraźliwe? *Niektórzy z nich sami się tak określali,* bo, jak każdy, mieli prawo do bycia dumnymi z tego kim są. (nczas.pl)

"Aondo-Akaa evokes black Poles – national heroes. What would they think today if they learnt that the word *Murzyn* is offensive now? Some of them called themselves that, because – just as any other person – they had the right to be proud of who they are".

(36) Obywatele USA wywodzący się z Afryki *bardzo często mówią do siebie N…a* i nikt nie robi z tego afery. Jeśli jednak powie to biały zaraz larum że rasizm… to jak w końcu jest to słowo jest obraźliwe czy nie? (wykop.pl)

"American citizens of African origin very often address themselves as *n*…. and no scandal erupts over it. But if a white person uses the word, there's suddenly an uproar about it being racist. So in the end is this word offensive or not"?

These texts may be seen as instances of *argumentum ad verecundiam* (argument from authority). Bawer Aondo-Akaa, a black Polish journalist and social activist, is extensively quoted in the right-wing press as a person of color familiar with Polish history and believed to bear credible testimony to the way Polish people have treated black people. As for the taboo *n*-word, it may indeed be used within a specific group (in-group usage only), as a term that has been reappropriated by the black community, and which can serve a variety of pragmatic functions:

Like the self-identifying label *black*, *nigger* has been reclaimed in recent decades as a positive, empowering term by some stakeholders. However, there are many important caveats for its acceptable usage, the chief among these being that the word is *only* acceptable when used by people from the in-group. When used by the in-group, the word can have many different positive meanings. It can be used in a jocular way as part of banter or good-humored teasing. It can be used to show familiarity and solidarity, and also to express a shared history and values. The reclaimed word is usually spelled and pronounced differently as *nigga* or *niggah*, in order to clearly differentiate it from *nigger* and its historical baggage. […] Of

course, it can also be used as an insult within the inside group. But even within the black community the word can be perceived as offensive in every context. Some black people consider it to be a word that should never be said or written. The word is never acceptable when used by people from an outside group. (Stollznow, 2020, pp. 20–21; emphasis original)

Another point raised by opponents of political correctness is that they feel their linguistic identity is being threatened and suppressed. Apparently they deny single persons or minority groups (especially ones they view as inspired by "foreign" ideologies and traditions) any right to enforce language change:

(37) Lewacy przystąpili do systemowego *niszczenia języka.* (nczas.com)

"Lefties set about destroying our language systematically"

(38) To jest niedorzeczne żeby ktoś przyjeżdżał do naszego kraju i mówił nam *jak mamy mówić w naszym własnym języku.* (wykop.pl)

"It's ridiculous for someone to come to our country and tell us how we are supposed to speak our own language".

(39) Jakaś mała grupka ludzi próbuje *wymusić zmianę w języku*, którym posługuje się 40 milionów osób, bo w ich główkach to słowo jest obraźliwe? (wykop.pl)

"A small group of people is trying to enforce a change in the language used by 40 million people, just because in their tiny little heads the word is offensive"?

(40) *Cały naród ma przestać używać słowa* murzyn bo jakąś gówniarę to obraża. (wykop.pl)

"The whole nation has to stop using the word *Murzyn* because some snotty-nosed brat takes offense".

However, there are also voices saying that, while people carry reservations towards language change they perceive as enforced, they would be willing to reconsider the issue if asked their own opinion or if addressed privately by a black person. It follows that the opposition to the Council's recommendation concerning the word *Murzyn* might have been (at least partly) avoided or weakened had the issue not been presented by the media as if it were a legal regulation (ban):

(41) Nie interesuje mnie, co sobie ktoś uznał. […] Idąc tą drogą codziennie ktoś może sobie coś uznawać i każe mi się dostosować i jakoś mówić lub jakoś nie mówić – a temu na pewno będę się przeciwstawiać. Nie obchodzi mnie, co sobie ktoś uznaje i co mi każe – *może ewentualnie mnie poprosić, wtedy się zastanowię.* (joemonster.org)

"I don't care what someone out there judged to be right. […] If we follow down that road, someone may judge something to be right every day, and they will order me to adjust: to speak in this way or the other – and I will definitely oppose that. I don't care what anybody thinks, and what they tell me to do – they may ask me, however, and if they do it, I will think about it".

(42) W tym wszystkim nie chodzi nawet o to, że jakiś konkretny murzyn nie chce, żeby go tak nazywać. Jest *różnica* między "hej, nie nazywaj mnie murzynem stary, bo źle się z tym czuję", a *wymuszaniem zmiany języka.* Jeśli za nazwanie murzyna murzynem mogę *dostać gdzieś bana*, to nie idzie to w dobrą stronę. (wykop.pl)

"It's not really about a specific black person who doesn't want to be called *Murzyn*. There's a difference between "Hey, don't call me *Murzyn*, bro, because I feel bad" and enforcing a language change. If I can be banned from someplace for calling a black person *Murzyn*, then we are not heading in the right direction".

While the empathy-driven rhetoric is centered around "The Other", the opponents of politically correct language change foreground the cost incurred by language users. For instance, people feel compelled to constantly watch their words and self-censor their language (or have it censored by others), at a loss to know exactly which words are unacceptable in a given context. Even if they intend no harm, they are required to give up their own judgments and freedom of speech for the sake of political correctness.

(43) Dziś przy naszych współczesnych strażnikach poprawności politycznej w sferze języka człowiek nowoczesny i postępowy *ma być wciąż czujny*, bo nie wie jakie są aktualne konteksty jego słów. (dorzeczy.pl)

"Today, facing our modern-day upholders of political correctness in language, a modern, progressive person has to be constantly on their guard because they don't know the exact context of their own words".

(44) To jakaś taka kultura że muszą być zakazane słowa: n-word, l-word, g-word, x,y,z-words podejrzewam że chodzi o to że przyzwoity człowiek nie chce nikogo urazić ani zranić i *czuje się niepewnie jak na polu minowym*. (wykop.pl)

"This is a culture that needs to have some forbidden words: n-word, l-word, g-word, x,y,z-words. I assume it's all about the fact that a decent person doesn't want to offend or hurt anyone, and feels insecure, as if they were navigating a minefield".

(45) Olisadebe urodził się czarny. Ja biały. Żyjemy sobie i zarówno ja, jak i on, robimy dobre i złe rzeczy – jako ludzie, na jednej planecie. *Trochę męczące jest, że trzeba na to patrzeć jakoś inaczej, uważać na dobór słów* itd. (wykop.pl)

"Olisadebe[8] was born black. Me, I was born white. Both of us live on, we do good things and bad things – being people, on the same planet. It's a bit tiresome that one has to look at this differently, watch out for the words we choose, etc".

These cited excerpts do not focus on the inner states of people called *Murzyn*, but rather on the thoughts, intentions, and perceptions of those who would use the term. Unlike in examples (1)-(13), we can distinguish no exponents of perspective-taking: the speakers do not try to put themselves in others' places or take into account the feelings of The Other. Quite the opposite: we learn only about their own feelings, namely that the attention to potentially hurtful or offensive words in public discourse, which they see as constant, is difficult and tiresome.

4 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper shows that while one side of the debate about politically correct language focuses on empathy for black people and is willing to give up the word *Murzyn* for the sake of the psychological well-being of its referents, the other side perceives the recommended language change as a sign of threatening political correctness, which they feel is destructive to their identity and to the Polish language itself. Moreover, the recommendation to suppress the word is seen as an example of slavishly following patterns imported from the USA, representative of

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[8] Emmanuel Olisadebe, former Polish football player of Nigerian origin.

left-wing ideology. The concepts of EMPATHY and POLITICAL CORRECTNESS are discursively construed as dissociated (e.g., while empathy is perceived as a natural, innate human capacity, political correctness is regarded as an ideology-based tool promoting certain linguistic behaviors). However, one may also perceive them as complementary phenomena in the sense that empathy gives rise to behaviors consistent with political correctness. It is noteworthy that in the material gathered for this analysis, there were no examples of anyone disavowing empathy itself.

Jadwiga Linde-Usiekniewicz and Dominika Michalak (2021) have applied, to the debate concerning the word *Murzyn,* the concept of *linguistic well-being*, defined as:

> […] a good mental state caused by interacting with linguistically accepted utterances or by recognizing (though not necessarily in a form of direct statement) an act of language usage as self-evident. (Kłosińska et al., 2017, p. 18)

Linde-Usiekniewicz and Michalak examined various cases of disrupting people's linguistic well-being. In the case of the debate analyzed in this paper, we can see that the linguistic well-being of referents of the word *Murzyn* is disrupted when they are confronted with a descriptor they find offensive and hurtful. Empathy-driven referential strategies aim chiefly at preserving the well-being of the referents. However, the well-being of the speaker is also at stake: those who are willing to eradicate the word *Murzyn* from their vocabulary may experience a positive mental state (resulting from their conviction that it is a right thing to do), but people who oppose the change or have doubts about it experience a negative one (if they feel that their linguistic identity is being forsaken, that they are being forced to act and talk in a specific way or that they are overtly/covertly being condemned as racists). Some of the speakers opposing the recommendation point to the fact that the change is not exactly costless and effortless for them: they experience insecurity and feel that their cultural and linguistic identities are endangered. This insecurity can also be enhanced by the fact that some studies on racism have promulgated the concept of *microaggressions,* defined as:

> […] brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group. (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273)

The notion of *microaggression* is relevant not only for psychology and sociology, but also for linguistics: microaggressions can be detected in everyday communication, they are culturally entrenched in that they draw on stereotypes and are often based on the pragmatic implications of utterances. Moreover, they may be dissociated from speakers' intentions; a speaker may not be aware that their words and actions are perceived as harmful. This is also the case for the word *Murzyn*: some speakers of Polish do not see it as derogatory, and they deny any conscious bad intentions behind their own use of it. If we are to address properly this vital social and linguistic issue in Polish society, we need to take into account all sides of this debate—a debate that is far from over.

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Brothers in Populism. A Comparative Analysis of Donald Trump's and Jarosław Kaczyński's Re-Election Campaign Agendas

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Abstract Poland's *Law and Justice* party is widely seen as one of Donald Trump's closest ideological allies. Based on a textual analysis of Trump's 2020 spots and Jarosław Kaczyński's major 2019 policy convention speech, this study examines to what extent the US President's agenda and rhetoric overlap with those of PiS. It finds highly divergent preferences for the role of government in domestic economic affairs, with PiS opting for a strong government and income redistribution while Trump stresses low taxes, job creation, and limited government. Otherwise, advocated policies come closer with both parties subscribing to conservative social values, albeit highly prioritized by Kaczyński in his introduction, devoted to axiology, and downplayed by Trump. Also, the two parties' messages converge in a clear preference for the national interest, particularly in foreign policy. The populist elements largely overlap and are twofold. One is the elite vs. the people cleavage. The other is external and ethnic (Trump) or internal and axiological (Kaczyński) minority xenophobia. Trump is also found to make a clear distinction between internal and external Other(s). Thus, Donald Trump is found to be a pragmatic, opportunistic, authoritarian populist while Kaczyński—a culturally traditionalist and economically etatistic populist.

Keywords Populism · Donald Trump · Jarosław Kaczyński · USA · Poland · Campaign agenda · Agenda-setting · Framing · Nationalism · In-groups · Out-groups · Social divisions · Xenophobia

1 Introduction

Liberalism has been in for a considerable amount of criticism since its inception. However, since Zakaria's seminal book on illiberal democracy (first ed. 2003), there has been a rising concern with a possible illiberal backlash. The last decade in particular—with Trump's election and Brexit—sees a rapid increase in the number of

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academic publications devoted to the demise of liberalism as an ideology, political philosophy, and policy practice in the Western world (Lilla, 2017; Murray, 2017, 2020). Arguably, illiberal democracy is an oxymoron since all democracies are liberal; otherwise, they are not democracies. Consequently, most of that end-of-liberalism literature is simultaneously end-of-democracy literature (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018; Runciman, 2018). Much of it points towards populism.

There is no established definition of populism (Aslandis, 2016; Müller, 2017), its intensity changes (Bimes & Mulroy, 2004). Arguably, demagoguery has always been part of American politics (Posner, 2020). George Wallace inevitably comes to mind as a post-war example of a US populist Presidential candidate (Lesher, 1994). Over half a century ago, Hofstadter famously analyzed what he called the "paranoid style of American politics" (1967). Nevertheless, there is an agreement that populism is on the rise in the early twenty-first century, with such diverse countries as the US, UK, Poland, Hungary, Turkey, and Brazil resorting to some form of populist rhetoric and policy (Moffitt, 2016). The origins are variously described, ranging from the 2008 economic crisis (Judis, 2018) to a political revolt (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018) to cultural backlash (Norris & Inglehart, 2019), which only enriches the social sciences.

Given that language is a crucial tool of populists, the various subdivisions of political communication, including rhetoric, are also coming to grips with the populist turn with studies focused internationally (Blassnig et al., 2019; Moffitt, 2016; Rowiński, 2021; Stępińska, 2020; Wodak et al., 2012). Most definitions highlight crowd-pleasing, anti-establishment or anti-elite motifs. The left-wing variety generally focuses on economic inequalities between the haves and the have-nots. The right-wing brand directs its attention towards nationalism (Anderson, 1983) and critique of ethnic, religious, or gender minorities.

Poland offers an interesting case. For over two decades, the poster child for a liberal economic, political, and cultural transformation, under *Law and Justice*'s (PiS) second attempt (the first one taking place briefly between 2005–2007), Poland has seen a spectacular dismantling of democratic political and legal institutions in a matter of four years (Sadurski, 2019). An unashamedly pro-American country in Europe, it welcomed Trump's victory and appeared to have close relations (Płudowski, 2021). Given the two countries' shared populist media image, this study aims to find similarities and differences between Trump's and Kaczyński's varieties.

2   Methodology

This study analyzes Donald Trump's and Jarosław Kaczyński's re-election campaign agenda. The sample includes 21 prominent audiovisual spots from the 2020 US general re-election campaign. The author believes them to offer a better insight into election campaign strategies, stands on issues, and rhetoric than the candidate's somewhat sketchy and accidental, if not forthright chaotic, debate, Twitter, or press conference utterances.

Formally, despite all political system differences, US President's equivalent in Poland is Andrzej Duda. However, under the *Law and Justice* rule, Poland is widely believed to be ruled single-handedly by Jarosław Kaczyński, formally a rank-and-file Member of the Parliament and leader of the victorious governing party. The highest state position he has taken as of early 2021 is Deputy Prime Minister (starting October 6, 2020). However, his real role is far more crucial—Kaczyński makes all critical decisions, whether personnel- or policy-related. Specifically, he not only brought Andrzej Duda out of mere obscurity but nominated him to run for President as the representative of the right-wing coalition, *United Right* (*Zjednoczona Prawica*). Thus, it only makes sense to look up to Kaczyński for ideas on electoral policy and rhetoric.

During the 2019–2021 period, Poland held four elections in quick succession. Putting local and European elections aside, we can safely argue that the Parliamentary elections of 2019 were of uttermost importance given the country's parliamentary-cabinet system. Andrzej Duda's 2020 Presidential victory completed the systemic take-over, handing the *Law and Justice* control over the executive, legislative and Presidential powers.

Since political spots are not as widespread in Poland, their best equivalent is either the debate or the convention speech. Arguably, the main speech of that long campaign cycle was Jarosław Kaczyński's Lublin convention appearance on September 7, 2019. Over 40 min long, it contained a clear, detailed, and defining vision of their proposed government, as well as of their past, 2005–2007, rule, and—finally—of ideological (primarily axiological and economic) differences between them and their opponents. Like most convention speeches, the speech was broadcast during weekend primetime by all three major 24-h news channels. In Kaczyński's own words, it was "that major policy convention". Thus, it offers comprehensive insight and is quite representative not just of PiS rhetoric and platform but also their subsequent actions. Thus, based on both types of re-election communication, the study identifies similarities and differences in agendas, looking at overarching themes and target groups. The presentation follows the campaign material chronologically, particularly in point 5, given the linear nature of the convention speech. The intention is to present both politicians' campaign agendas at length rather than just the themes limited to populism per se. For that reason, ads are analyzed in their entirety rather than through smaller units of analysis, for example, words or sentences. Due to spots' brevity, a single message often addresses several themes and each is categorized based on its dominant theme. Discussion in point 6 goes across the most prominent themes in a comparative way, drawing more general conclusions.

3 Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 *Agenda-Setting*

Research finds that most citizens have political preferences prior to election campaigns, which makes campaign persuasion less likely than it is widely believed. Less sophisticated or informed voters follow the bandwagon effect, opinion leaders or candidate image. Most decided follow their long-term political preferences. Campaigns are important as they help define the choice facing voters by providing political agendas, such as themes, issues, and candidate stands. Decided voters' preferences are usually reinforced through campaigns while undecided voters can make their minds based on finding a candidate whose stand on issues matches theirs. That is where campaign agendas are functional.

According to agenda-setting theory, during an election, politicians compete with the media, and the electorate, but mostly with one another, in determining what voters consider important as they cast their vote (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). That, in turn, influences their choice.

3.2 *Framing*

Framing refers to the way information is presented by providing definitions, making connections between facts, and assigning responsibility for past and future actions and outcomes. While agenda-setting theory is concerned with the what of the campaign, framing analyzes the how. The two perspectives are frequently combined as they complement each other (Scheufele, 2000; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Weaver, 2007).

4 Donald Trump's Electoral Agenda

The 45th president of the United States had a diverse agenda. As communicated through the medium of the audiovisual spot, it can be divided into 5 major themes, (1) negative framing of the opponent's ticket; (2) identifying and framing the sociological Other(s) in society; (3) responding to the most pressing current event—Covid-19; (4) defining his vision of the role of government in society; and (5) running against the elites. Items 2 and 5 are clearly populist or xenophobic, in part or entirely. The others are more varied, containing a number of themes scattered repetitively throughout spots, in particular related to the economy (job creation, which hints at the preferred role of government in society), directly criticizing socialism and other left-wing politics, and, again, populist anti-immigrant motifs.

4.1   Framing the Challenger(s)

As in any campaign, part of the communication effort aims to define the opponent—both Joe Biden and Kamala Harris (who is the object of a full ad)—and self-define own ticket, both in terms of candidate character and policy. In 2020, as much as a quarter of all Trump messages under study (5 out of 21 prominent ads analyzed here) were negative, targeting the Democratic ticket. A whole negative spot was devoted to Kamala Harris, originally aired on August 11, 2020 (all further dates also refer to original airing days even though ads were broadcast repeatedly in various markets and had additional exposure and prolonged lives online). Most of the negative messages focus on character, framing Harris as less than genuine and Biden as not having full mental capabilities for the office. In fact, the above spot manages to depict both negatively: "Voters rejected Harris; they smartly spotted a phony. But not Joe Biden, he's not that smart" (*Meet Phony Kamala Harris!).

Biden's credibility is questioned as he is accused of lying about his son's business deal:

> A Ukrainian company hands Hunter Biden a lucrative deal. 'If your last name wasn't Biden, do you think you would have been asked to be on board of Burisma?' 'Probably not.' Joe Biden said he knew nothing. Turns out he lied. Biden met personally with a Ukrainian executive after they hired his son. Joe Biden lied to the American people about his family making themselves rich off of the vice presidency. What else is he lying about? (*Biden Lied*, October 16, 2020)

The GOP campaign intertwines character themes with ones devoted to policy in those negative ads, with many repetitions, which allows determining Trump's emphasized themes of choice. One of the main ones is visible in the above quote—a juxtaposition between the people and the elites, one of the benchmarks of populist rhetoric. Namely, the people were smart to see through Harris right away while Joe Biden, long part of the establishment, is not.

47 Years of Failure, aired on August 17, 2020, can be safely considered the epitome of the Trump 2020 campaign, his definition of Biden. As such, it combines several overarching themes, some typically Republican—such as linking Democrats with high taxes and job outsourcing—others populist, xenophobic, and seemingly un-American, such as criticizing illegal immigration. The much-repeated cluster is "radical left" which is a novelty in recent Presidential discourse. Specifically, *47 Years of Failures* declares: "Now Biden's embraced the failed policies of the radical left, the biggest tax increase ever, massive job-killing regulations, amnesty for illegal immigrants". The above-mentioned Harris ad says:

> Kamala Harris ran for President by rushing to the radical left, embracing Bernie's plan for socialized medicine, calling for trillions in new taxes, attacking Joe Biden for racist policies. Biden calls himself a transition candidate. He is handing over the reins to Kamala while they jointly embrace the radical left.

Take-over repeats the accusation:

> Joe Biden has embraced the policies of the radical left. Trillions in new taxes crushing middle-class families. If he's elected, your taxes are going to be raised, not cut. Amnesty

for 11 million illegal immigrants; citizenship for 11 million undocumented folks. Reducing police funding. Yes, absolutely: the radical left has taken over Joe Biden and the Democratic party. Don't let them take over America.

Trump consequently frames Biden and the Democratic Party as extremely radical, also by association. For example, *Text "BORDER" to 88,022*, broadcast early in the campaign (January 5, 2019), focuses on immigration through a series of fear appeals:

Drugs, terrorists, violent criminals, and child traffickers trying to enter our country, but Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer care more about the radical left than keeping us safe. The consequences: drugs, deaths, violent murder, gang violence – we must not allow it. Every country defends their borders; President Trump wants to defend ours. The Democrats must stop playing politics and support real border security now. Liberals care more about illegal immigrants than they do about our own citizens. It's time to put America first.

Overall, the cluster "radical left" appears seven times in 5 different ads. This high frequency speaks to the Trump campaign's effort to redefine Biden as an extremist even though he has been part of the moderate center of the Democratic Party, criticized by the likes of Bernie Sanders and Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez from definitely more progressive positions. The only other use of the adjective "radical" in Trump's campaign involves terrorists, thus likening the Democratic candidate, the radical left, and Islamic terrorism through highly nationalistic stands:

From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. It's going to be only American First. Buy American and hire American. Nothing can match the heart and fire and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again. We will rebuild old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth. (*America First! #MAGA*, August 20, 2020)

4.2   The Other(s)

The most significant portion of Trump's message is devoted to various Others, mostly ethnic minorities and illegal immigrants, already mentioned above. Trump's treatment of the Other(s) is two-fold. His campaign clearly distinguishes between ingroup and out-group Others. Both women and the vague-sounding "minorities" are included, which is only pragmatic. External minorities, mostly new immigrants, form the basis of populist fear appeals in several ads. Typically, these messages combine economic incentives with xenophobia; both fear appeals:

Joe Biden says, 'If you elect me, your taxes are gonna be raised, not cut.' That means middle-class families, small businesses, and seniors pay higher taxes. It's the biggest tax increase in history. 'Citizenship for eleven million undocumented folks.' That means eleven million illegal immigrants competing for American jobs, eligible for free health care, social security, and Medicare. (*America Can't Afford Biden*, August 11, 2020)

Two months later, *The Real Biden Plan* repeats the double fear appeal of economic incentives and external xenophobia:

> What would Joe Biden's plan do for you? Biden's plan is a fourteen percent tax hike on middle-class families. Eighty-two percent of Americans would pay more. And Biden's plan gives illegal immigrants amnesty and health care. Joe Biden's a career politician who spent decades raising taxes. […] So, what would the Biden plan do for you? Raise your taxes. That's it. (October 18, 2020)

Simultaneously, Trump reaches out to traditionally Democratic ethnic-minority demographics on internal Others. To appeal to the Latino community—traditionally Democratic, but in Florida, a strongly anti-Communist swing-state, leaning pro-Republican—Trump compares Biden to Communist dictators, such as Castro and Chavez, through intertwining Biden's use of the term "progressive" with historic footage of Latin Communist uses of "progresivismo". They are rendered sinister connotations primarily through the cultural and political context Latinos personally ran away from when emigrating to the United States, the country they considered "leader of the free world". Moreover, the purely linguistic, radical context of such terms as "revolutionary" and "socialist" enforces this negative impact:

> I'm gonna go down as one of the most progressive presidents in American history … Nuestros gobineros progresistas ... Las ideas progresistas ... Las ideas del socialismo ... Este nuevo eje progresista tendría aliados poderisísimos ... one of the most progressive presidents in American history … Progresistas de izquierda revolucionaria ... most progressive presidents in American history … La revolución socialista en...los estados unidos. (*Progresista*, Latinos for Trump, August 03, 2020)

Immigrant Latinos were targeted with yet another Spanish-language ad, in which Latinos spoke as a community, juxtaposing the homeland they sacrificed, with the American Dream—el sueño americano—they came to live. President Trump's recovery from covid is framed here as an inspiration to overcome obstacles and a source of hope:

> Porque vinimos aquí? Porque sacrificamos todo para empezar de nuevo? Porque aquí todos tenemos la oportunidad de vivir nuestros sueños y darles a nuestras familias un futuro mejor? Hoy decidiremos si salvamos el sueño americano o si dejamos que la pandemia amenace nuestro propio destino, y como el Presidente Trump vamos a ganar. (*Por que*, October 20, 2020)

Apart from the Latino community, Trump also targeted another traditionally Democratic demographic—blacks, including underprivileged ones. Here the tactic was two-fold. For one thing, Trump pitted one minority against the other, playing on long-existing mutual animosity and competition between the two. Simultaneously, blacks were being discouraged from continuing their affiliation with the Democrats for personal reasons. Namely, Biden was framed as racist towards blacks and having a preference towards Latinos. Trump achieves this through bringing up past quotes from the Senator's long career:

> Unlike the African American community with notable exceptions, the Latino community is an incredibly diverse community. If you have a problem figuring out whether you are for me or Trump, then you ain't black. Apologize for what? (*The Joe Biden They Are Hiding from You*, August 07, 2020)

Moreover, Trump's pro-black rhetoric is framed in GOP-owned terms, economic rather than social welfare, the latter being a Democrat-owned issue (Płudowski, 2018). *Second Chance* (the name reminiscent of the 1992 Bill Clinton ad reframing welfare as "second chance, not a way of life") promises to help poor blacks through investment and job creation:

> I'm an Army vet. I was homeless. I was sleeping in my car and didn't have any home for a long time. Then, Tony Rankin was offered a second chance. President Trump's opportunity zones gave new investments to neglected communities. And jobs are coming back. Life is good, now. Life is worth living. The president does want to help people like myself to be lifted back up in these low-income communities. (October 05, 2020)

This is not to say that covert xenophobia towards internal Others is absent from Trump's messages. It is simply implied visually rather than verbal. Namely, the Republican campaign portrays blacks as a source of threat without identifying them verbally as such. His campaign simply shows them behave violently, and their riots, accompanied by fires, form a backdrop for featuring Democratic politicians as they deny the apparent violence. This mediated violence plays to white fears and white stereotypes of black violence—as was the case in George H. Bush's 1988 *Willie Horton* ad—but on the verbal level, solely appears to question the Democratic politicians' credibility:

> [Harris:] [unclear] … and *peaceful* protestors. [Biden:] The vast majority of the protestors have been *peaceful*. [Rice:] And they're going and just pulling people off the street to make it seem like there are problems going on when all that's happening are *peaceful* protests. [Rosenblum:] …and our *peaceful* protester's ability to get out at night. [Baker:] Most of these protests have been *peaceful*. [Brown:] I *applaud* these protestors. [McCaskill:] The majority of these protestors are *peaceful*. They have been *peaceful* for weeks. [Johnson:] It has continued, for the most part, *peaceful*. [Durkan:] It's *peaceful*, we had a number of *peaceful* protests. (*Don't Let Them Ruin America*, August 17, 2020)

4.3 Current Events—Pandemic

Given the urgency of the ongoing pandemic crisis and management failure, the issue is present, yet framed in GOP-owned terms while reaching out to typical Democrat demographics. Namely, three other larger and traditionally Democratic voter groups—women, minorities, and seniors—are addressed with a pandemic-themed ad. Here too, Trump combines targeting traditionally Democrat social demographics with an agenda based on GOP-owned economic issue of job-creation:

> President Trump built a great economy, and amidst a global pandemic he's doing it again. The Great American Comeback. Three months of job growth. An incredible 9.3 million jobs added. Devastated industries adding back hundreds of thousands of jobs. Women and minorities going back to work in record numbers. Unemployment dropping again. President Trump's renewing, rebuilding, restoring our economy, and the best is yet to come. (*Record Smashing*, August 13, 2020)

The pandemic plays a significant role in Trump's campaign, considering the circumstances, mainly that he downplayed it for a long time only to become infected

himself. Rather than take responsibility or explain, he combines a direct appeal to those giving precedence to jobs and the economy over security, with an indirect, implied message to Covid sceptics through economic security-based fear appeals:

> In the race for a vaccine, the finish line is approaching. Safety protocols in place. And the greatest economy the world has ever seen coming back to life. But Joe Biden wants to change that. 'I will shut it down.' Why would we ever let Joe Biden kill countless American businesses, jobs, and our economic future when President Trump's Great American Comeback is now underway? (*Great American Comeback*, September 08, 2020)

In *Carefully*, Trump, in turn, addresses seniors, through pandemic references:

> President Trump is recovering from the coronavirus. And so is America. Together we rose to meet the challenge. Protecting our seniors, getting them life-saving drugs in record time. Sparing no expense. President Trump tackled the virus head on, as leaders should. Fauci: 'I can't imagine that anybody could be doing more.' We'll get through this together. We'll live carefully. Not afraid. (October 10, 2020)

Overall, Trump grabs the pandemic as an opportunity to present his plan—*Vision for America*—framing it yet again in pro-business terms, in contrast to Biden, framed as a lockdown candidate:

> The results: jobs were created […] Covid-19. While others criticize without solutions, President Trump's swift actions saved lives. As leading Democrats want to keep businesses closed down, our President is leading the way for a full economic recovery. (August 25, 2020)

4.4   The Role of the State

Even though typically Republicans advocate limited government, they also support strong security forces, including the military. Since Trump took pride in being exceptional by not starting a single war while in office (except for a trade war with China), it is no wonder the military is not a prominent theme in his campaign rhetoric. However, fear of violence and desire for order—another populist trademark—are present, admittedly, with responsibility implicitly assigned to the Democrats:

> You have reached the 911 police emergency line. Due to the defunding of the police department, we're sorry but no one is here to take your call. If you're calling to report a rape, please press one. To report a murder, press two. To report a home invasion, press three. For all other crimes, leave your name and number, and someone will get back to you. Our estimated wait time is currently five days. Goodbye. (*Defund the Police*, July 08, 2020)

4.5   Anti-Elitism

Highly pronounced throughout Trump's rhetoric is the opposition *people vs. the elite*, although the term of preference is the establishment or Washington rather than elite. On August 8, 2020 Trump aired one of his crucial messages, entitled *America First! #MAGA*, built around this fundamental populist juxtaposition:

For too long, Washington flourished, politicians prospered, the establishment protected itself. But not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs. That all changes starting right here and right now. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. It's going to be only American First. Buy American and hire American. Nothing can match the heart and fire, and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again. We will rebuild old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth. (August 20, 2020)

5 Jarosław Kaczyński's Electoral Agenda

Very well-structured and delivered, Kaczyński's convention speech was divided into three parts: (1) Axiology, which hints at the Other(s) more indirectly than Trump; (2) framing the main challenger, which is a mandatory element in every democratic race given the competitive nature of the choice; (3) the role of the state. This agenda is more methodical than Trump's, primarily due to the nature of the convention speech itself, but also as a result of Kaczyński's intellectual ambitions as a public speaker. The speech contains prominent elements of economic populism towards the end. Interestingly, it strongly attacks left-wing politics on axiological grounds while promoting it in the area of economics.

5.1 Axiology

The extended, introductory part is crucial and ambitious by being axiological in nature:

> Every organized group has some plan, and at the foundations of that plan, in a more or less conscious way, lies some value system. The plan can change along with accompanying circumstances, the general context, but the value system remains the same.

Kaczyński's rhetoric in this section draws on the agenda and reasoning and the Polish Catholic Church, particularly on life, euthanasia, abortion, and family, admittedly with some academic references.

According to Kaczyński:

> our value system is built around what we all, I think, treat as most important – around the inherent dignity of man. The dignity of man and his life, because a man must be alive to be dignified (to have dignity). Furthermore, we treat that protection of life very broadly. It is protection from various kinds of oppression, including oppression coming from a person's state. However, it is also protection from euthanasia, from abortion on request, from all that ideology that today undermines, questions human life's value. We strongly believe that this value is unquestionable.

He goes on to endorse what he calls "heroic values", in other words, defending homeland against enemies. Then, Kaczyński brings up freedom in its two varieties, going back to the liberal philosopher Isaiah Berlin's 1958 inaugural lecture at

Oxford University, albeit unnamed as an inspiration. Namely, the distinction between freedom from (oppression and prohibitions) and freedom to (act). He points to positive freedom as forming a constitutive element of Polish history, although Polish history is mostly about shedding foreign rule, in other words, about winning negative freedom. Since the two—positive and negative freedom—are more intertwined than it is believed or admitted, at least at face value, the difference is not worth mulling over.

At this point, Kaczyński paints a large, long-range, historical, national canvas. He also touches upon the extension of rights—a variation on the *people vs. the elite* populist theme—when he says somewhat vaguely that "at the beginning that freedom used to be ascribed to just one social group, one class. Then, it expanded". He brings up "Solidarity" as "the finale of this process. […] It made our nation free and equal. Moreover, this freedom must be protected. That is why, I mentioned those heroic values".

These epistemological musings bring Kaczyński to conclude that four values are of uttermost importance, and they are intertwined: freedom, equality, solidarity, and justice. He declares: "We want justice! We want a just Poland, but we also want a just state".

PiS leader then proceeds to sociology, stating—after Aronson (2018), although again without mentioning his name—that:

> man is a social being and builds communities. Two stand out: family and nation. The family should be limited to one man, one woman, and children, as advocated by the church, the only source of values for all, be they religious or not. Otherwise, one falls victim to nihilism that 'destroys everything'.

The other crucial type of community is the nation, he maintains. However, contrary to recent right-wing rhetoric, Kaczyński insists there is no reason to juxtapose Polishness to Europeanness. The rationale behind his statement is that European culture is:

> rich with diversity and one of the big European nations is the Polish nation. Polishness is a particular variation of Europeanness, one connected with freedom. Poland will remain an island of freedom.

5.2   Framing of Self & the Challenger

The remaining part of the speech provides his vision of Polish politics, past, present, and future. Built on a series of juxtapositions, it contrasts PiS with what Kaczyński (and the polls) consider their primary opponent or alternative: Tusk's *Civic Platform* or its current incarnation, *Civic Coalition*. In other words, he delineates the us vs. them of that campaign (cycle).

Kaczyński defines us as "rejecting late post-communism" as a system that took shape at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. It involved laying the foundations for the market and democratic institutions to operate. What was missing was "a new state

apparatus" and "a new social hierarchy". As a result, post-communist nomenclature started taking over state property while co-opting former Solidarity groups. Consequently, due to the negative staff selection mechanism's ongoing process, both the market and the democracy were "fictitious". That system was durable and susceptible to foreign or external influence, due to its members' connections to "various external factors".

Under the rule of "them" (that is, the coalition of the *Civic Platform* and the PSL), the society was ignored and targeted with various social engineering campaigns or image politics, which led to social disorientation. "We, who wanted change, were portrayed as evil-doers".

The state was also being privatized, also by "outsourcing certain state functions to private companies". Foreign policy was conducted based on client relations while all political decisions were meant to meet Prime Minister Tusk's expectations, which Kaczyński calls "privatization of personnel decisions". The state also backed away from provincial Poland, for instance, by closing police or train stations. All the above-mentioned aspects of privatization stemmed from the fact that "those authorities do not like the state".

Kaczyński's description of the previous and potential opposition governments is highly damaging and, to no small degree, personal by being focused on Donald Tusk:

> That government was about playing authority. Good wines, cigars, as they said, playing footie. It is all fine and dandy, but one needs to know how to govern, and they had no idea. They did not even want to try, which is quite characteristic of that system.

Kaczyński links that to what he calls "an incredible abundance of scandals". Real life was carried out behind the curtain. Finally, towards the end of the second term "post-communism turned left, towards moral leftism, that was its last phase. They lost".

Kaczyński's self-definition is naturally the opposite of the above-presented picture:

> One has to ask if we rejected post-communism. We are the opposite in every way. We are pro *publico bono*. We must overcome them. We must override the return of that anti-democratic system. I have missed examples of human rights violations.

5.3 The Role of the State

Kaczyński believes the state to be indispensable as "an institution of security: from external enemies, individual security, social, proprietary. Only the state can be a terrain, one could say, a sphere, of freedom in both senses, freedom from and to". These theoretical considerations bring him back to the reality and practice of recent Polish constitutional conflicts as he says the judiciary must "execute laws".

Towards the end of the speech, in what can be considered a separate section, looking into the future, and calling on voters to act, Kaczyński specifies several clear goals. Laying down foundations for this finale, he stresses the need for credibility

and delivering on campaign promises ("it strengthens us and weakens them"). He then moves on to define their primary goals: "our goal is building a Polish version of the welfare state". Drawing a comparison with India and the welfare state as "a certain redistributive structure of the state", he boldly declares a crucial, pragmatic difference:

> But we are concerned with real prosperity (in Polish, prosperity and welfare are one word in this context, as opposed to the expression 'being on welfare'). We must focus on the growth of salaries in society. And this growth must be supported by decisions at the state level.

Then, he promises minimum salaries to reach 3.000 Polish złoty by the end of 2021 and 4.000 zloty by the end of 2023. Besides, "in 2021, an overwhelming majority of seniors will receive another 13th salary, so not one 13th salary but two 13th salaries"! Finally, "farmers will finally receive full subsidies per hectare, at the full European level".

In his view, these goals require reforming the Polish state, tax collection services and the judiciary. Changes aimed at serving justice and providing citizens with better services are necessary. Kaczyński even reaches for the feminist term "breaking a glass ceiling", albeit in a vaguer and more general context of overcoming a series of limitations to "tap the enormous potential of our nation". Resorting to the eternal competition between Germany and Poland, he promises:

> and then, in 14 years, we can catch up with the EU average and in 21 years catch up with the German average, and not today's but the one in 21 years. That is our plan for Poland. [...] However, in order for that to happen, we have to win.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

This analysis finds that both Donald Trump and Jarosław Kaczyński make frequent juxtapositions between the people and the establishment, claiming to represent the former against the latter. While Trump criticizes Washington, the media, or the Democratic Party, the latter mostly focuses on all governments since 1989, primarily on the *Civic Platform* and Donald Tusk, linking them with the post-communist establishment.

Both employ nationalist rhetoric, putting their countries first. For the Polish leader, foreign influence takes on sinister tones, reminiscent of a loss of independence. To Trump, international organizations and alliances tie the US down and are mostly a source of prohibitive costs. In both cases, the politicians' stand can be explained historically—Poland was often invaded by its neighbors while the US was originally an isolationist country.

Given that traditionally the most significant barometer for ideological differences is economic, it may come as a surprise that Trump and Kaczyński represent stark differences in the state's role. While the PiS leader considers the state indispensable and argues at length against "privatizing" large sectors of social life under Tusk's PO government, the US President is unapologetically capitalist.

Where they overlap again is their attitudes to the Other(s). In Trump's rhetoric, in-groups are referred to euphemistically as people "like me". Concerning out-groups, he makes a distinction between internal and external minorities. While the first ones are offered assistance in the form of incentives for job creation, particularly in case of underprivileged black Americans, he portrays illegal or non-resident immigrants, primarily Latinos, as a threat.

Similarly, Kaczyński offers political cleavages based on cultural differences, but moral- rather than ethnicity-based. His distinctions draw on culture wars, where the dividing line is between traditional, Catholic Poland and "those who question it", which hints at a number of pressing, current debates conducted in Poland—gender and LGBT rights and proponents of the separation of church and state, including strong critics of the church's lack of responsibility for hiding and tolerating pedophilia.

In both cases, the threat is external to the community. In the US variant, it comes from unwanted, undocumented immigrants, while in Poland, the enemy is unwanted foreign influence, whether political (Germany-controlled EU) or cultural (un-Polish moral fads coming from the West).

Admittedly, despite his America First rhetoric, Donald Trump looks outside with expansionist ambitions, for example, to fight Islamic terrorism. In contrast, Jarosław Kaczyński is intensely inward-looking and sees the outside world mostly as a threat rather than an opportunity. The difference is easily explainable—at the international level, the US is a global superpower, albeit in decline, while Poland is a medium-sized, peripheral, European country that has been either isolated or invaded by its neighbors for most of the last two centuries.

Overall, the unifying theme running through both leaders' rhetoric is the bold claim to represent the people against the establishment or the elite, which is their most pronounced populist trait. Where they differ is in their other binding ideological cleavage. In case of the American President, it is economic—free market vs. socialism—while for the Polish leader, it is cultural and religious—traditional Catholic values against modernity or what Pope John Paul II called "the civilization of death". Thus, Trump's approach is more pragmatic, trespassing into opponent-majoritarian demographics framed in owned terms, for instance, targeting Latinos with anti-communist rhetoric and African Americans with job incentives rather than social welfare promises. In contrast, the *Law and Justice* leader remains a more pronounced cultural traditionalist, arguing against minority rights in Poland—acquired by US citizens decades ago—and protecting church privileges.

In short, Kaczyński offers a majoritarian vision of democracy, where minorities have no choice but to submit to the majority's will, in this case culturally and morally. Trump is a conservative too, but he avoids religion or gender issues, targeting women with pandemic-related job-creation messages rather than traditional family role models. The explanation lies in the civil rights movements of the 1960s that were much weaker in Poland and had mostly anti-communist contexts. Although both leaders are self-declared social conservatives, Donald Trump leaves that out of his advertising message for the most part while the PiS leader puts a much higher,

direct emphasis on "a strong family", additionally overtly playing the anti-LGBT card, particularly during the last month of the presidential campaign.

To conclude, despite divergent views on the government's role in the state, the two populist agendas share much, namely nationalism, anti-elitism, and anti-immigrant xenophobia. As a pragmatic salesperson and performer, as well as an outsider within the GOP, Trump is also much less bound by ideology or past party practice—reaching out to new, minority voters. That effort is accomplished through a distinction between internal and external outgroups. Kaczyński, in turn, is much more traditionalist—where the enemy is whoever and whatever threatens the status quo of the Catholic Church—so his variety can be considered etatist, traditionalist, religious and cultural populism. Trump's is economically *laissez-faire* and ethnically xenophobic but more flexible, pragmatic, and inclusive, very much like the country itself.

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"GET SMART U.S.". A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Populist Discourse on Twitter

Ester Di Silvestro

Abstract This paper is a case study about Donald J. Trump's populist discourse on Twitter during the last three months of electoral campaign and the first seven months of his presidency. Specifically, the analysis aims to highlight how Donald J. Trump represented immigrants and refugees, the United States and U.S. foreign relationships with Europe and Mexico. Although the analysis focuses mainly on Twitter, ten traditional speeches were analysed as well in order to investigate the evolution of populist discourse.

Keywords CDA · Populism · Social media · Donald Trump · Twitter

1 Introduction

Russia is thought to be the place where the populist phenomenon was born in the nineteenth century (Canovan, 1981). However, during the last decades of this century populism was present in the United States as well. Indeed, the populist phenomenon has been present in the United States since the Agrarian Revolt and the establishment of the People's Party in 1891 (Canovan, 1981). Later, in the twenty-first century, populism was still present with the movements Occupy Wall Street and Tea Party (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 22). Moreover, during the following years both Democratic and Republican presidential candidates have been defined as *populists* (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 1). Donald Trump has been labelled as a populist presidential candidate (and as a populist leader during his one-term presidency) since he announced his first presidential candidacy in 2015. This labeling could be surprising considering that populism is based on the fundamental and well-known dichotomy *people vs. elite.* Although Trump is part of the (economic) elite, he has been able to present himself as an outsider. Indeed, the populist dichotomy *people vs. elite* focuses more on morality rather than on social and economic status (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017, pp. 70–71).

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Since the announcement of Donald Trump's presidential candidacy in 2015, his peculiar and unique language style has been investigated by many researchers (Enli, 2017; Kreis, 2017; Ott, 2017). Moreover, the interest in Donald Trump's language style is combined with his particular and massive use of social media such as Twitter (Kreis, 2017). The employment of social media by politicians confirms that these platforms are currently not only part of our everyday life, but also of the political sphere playing a crucial role. Nowadays both populist and non-populist politicians are able to use social media in a clever way (Postill, 2018) at their own advantage. However, it is important to emphasise the existence of a perfect synergy between social media such as Twitter and populist discourse (Ott, 2017).

The existence of this perfect synergy is due to the peculiarities and constrains of Twitter that are well-suited for the simple and aggressive populist language style of communication. Indeed, Donald Trump used this social network during and after the presidential campaign of 2016 as a direct source of news (Enli, 2017, pp. 50–51) to address the electorate without the help of traditional media (van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). He also used Twitter to easily disseminate his ideology with a direct, provocative and informal style of communication (Kreis, 2017, p. 607); more precisely, he strategically employed a very simple and repetitive language style (Wang & Liu, 2018, p. 299) perfectly in line with the limitation of characters of Twitter.

The following section describes the collection of the data, the corpus building, the methodological approach and the research questions. The results of the analysis are showed and discussed in Sect. 3. The last section is dedicated to conclusions and further research.

2   Corpus Building and Methodological Approach

The data were collected during the timespan that goes from the 1st September 2016 to the 31st July 2017. Specifically, the timespan covers the last three months of electoral campaign and the first seven months of Donald Trump's Presidency including the transition period. These data were organised into two corpora: the Tweet Corpus and the Traditional Corpus. The tweets were collected on the website *Trump Twitter Archive* and were organised in a corpus that counts 2,253 tweets. In order to analyse qualitatively the tweets, I created a sub-corpus that counts 50 tweets. I reduced the original Tweet Corpus through specific keywords such as *Europe*, *E.U.*, *west*, *border*, *immigration*, *immigrant/s*, *refugee/s*, *Mexico* and *wall* that are connected to the research questions (see 2.1 Research Questions). I also used other keywords such as *ISIS*, *security*, *travel ban* and *China* in order to have a complete and clearer picture. In addition, I used the name of every European nation, every European capital, and the name of each Prime Minister as a keyword. Trump's traditional speeches were collected on the website *The American Presidency Project* and were organised in a corpus that counts 10 traditional speeches.

The analysis focuses on three major aspects: metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Musolff, 2017), *topoi* (Wodak, 2015), and representational

strategies (van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008). The combination of these three aspects should contribute to provide a clear picture about the linguistic strategies used by Donald Trump in the representation of social actors (see 2.1 Research Questions). More precisely, metaphors are deeply involved in the human cognitive process of shaping and understanding the world since they are a source of conceptualisation (Chilton, 2004, p. 51). *Topoi* are commonly defined as *content-related warrants* (Wodak, 2015, p. 76) and they were theorised by Wodak (2015) in her Discourse Historical Approach. *Topoi* are argumentative strategies; for this reason, through their employment politicians are able to legitimise statements useful in the strategical (and often negative) representation of social actors. Regarding the representational strategies, I used mainly van Leeuwen's (2008) influential classification based upon a socio-semantic perspective (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23).

Both selected tweets and traditional speeches were uploaded on the software UAM Corpus Tool[1] (O' Donnell, 2008) and were analysed qualitatively using the Critical Discourse Analysis approach (Machin & Mayr, 2012). After the creation of three different layers that are respectively dedicated to each aspect of the analysis (metaphors, *topoi* and representational strategies), the data were manually annotated paying particular attention to the representation of immigrants and refugees, Europe, Mexico and the United States.

In order to make clear the manual annotation on UAM Corpus Tool, I chose a tweet (Fig. 1) to explain what kind of words I associated to the layers. In Fig. 1, concerning the layer of the representational strategies, the words *550% more Syrian immigrants* were annotated as aggregation strategy; while the words *Hillary has called for 550% more Syrian immigrants, but won't even mention "radical Islamic terrorists."* were annotated as an explicit association to terrorism. Regarding the layer of *topoi*, the words *Hillary has called for 550% more Syrian immigrants, but won't even mention "radical Islamic terrorists."* were annotated as danger, threat and fear (DTF) *topos*. Moreover, the words *550% more Syrian immigrants* were annotated as invasion *topos* (which is a sub-category of the DTF *topos*).

2.1 Research Questions

In light of these premises, this analysis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What metaphors, *topoi* and representational strategies are used by Donald Trump to describe Europe, Mexico and the United States, immigrants and refugees?
2. Are there any differences between the linguistic strategies used in tweets and traditional speeches?

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[1] It is a software that allows users to annotate texts through the creation of layers.

Fig. 1 Trump's tweet

3   Results and Discussion

The following four sub-sections are structured following the same order, that is each sub-section begins showing the metaphorical source domains employed by Donald Trump in the representation of social actors. Metaphors are followed by Trump's employment of *topoi*. Each sub-section ends showing the different representational strategies used by Donald Trump. Finally, it is important to mention that all the (UAM Corpus Tool) percentages present in this section include both the results of tweets and traditional speeches.

3.1   *Europe*

Metaphors regarding Europe count 5 occurrences and they are present just in the Tweet Corpus. These metaphors are all structural and positive. The source domains taken into consideration during the analysis are religion, war, nature, container and building. However, as shown in Table 1, Trump does not use building and container

Table 1 Europe source domains percentages

	Building	Container	Nature	Religion	War
Europe	—	—	20%	40%	40%

as source domains in the metaphorical representation of Europe, but he uses just the source domains of religion (40%), war (40%) and nature (20%).

1. THE WEST WILL NEVER BE BROKEN. Our values will *PREVAIL*. Our people will *THRIVE* and our civilization will *TRIUMPH*! [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 6 July 2017).

Example 1 includes both the source domains of war and nature. This tweet is an extract of a speech that Trump delivered in Poland. It is essential to highlight that this metaphorical representation does not involve just Europe since Trump talks more generally about the *west* (he implies Europe and the United States). Indeed, during the speech he recalled the historical alliance between the U.S. and Poland (among other European countries) during the Second World War and the Cold War. He specified that now there are no longer communist threats but these threats have been replaced by terrorism. In this way, he opposes the western world to the Muslim one; specifically, the verbs *prevail* and *triumph* clearly recall this opposition that has been reinforced during the years that followed 9/11. These verbs belong to the source domain of war and they are used by Trump to describe and perpetuate this conflict that involves religions, values ad cultures. We should notice that Trump often tries to remind the dangerousness of immigration because of a possible connection to terrorism (e.g., Example 2). For this reason, Trump remarks the opposition between cultures and values through a metaphorical expression that presents this opposition as an armed conflict. It is also interesting to emphasise that there is a suppression of the *other world* since Trump does not even mention it. The verb *thrive* metaphorically represents western society as a garden (McCallum-Bayliss, 2019, p. 244) that resists to the (terrorist) attacks and will flourish after the defeat of the enemy.

In both corpora there are no *topoi* used by Trump to represent Europe nor representational strategies. However, Trump often mentions Europe to talk about the immigration phenomenon.

2. *ISIS has infiltrated countries all over Europe by posing as refugees*, and @HillaryClinton will allow it to happen here, too! #BigLeagueTruth [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 20 October 2016).
3. *A new radical Islamic terrorist* has just attacked in Louvre Museum in *Paris*. Tourists were locked down. France on edge again. *GET SMART U.S.* [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 3 February 2017).
4. Give the public a break—The FAKE NEWS media is trying to say that *large scale immigration in Sweden is working out just beautifully. NOT!* [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 20 February 2017).

As shown in the examples above, Donald Trump tweets about Europe mainly in order to communicate the happening of terrorist attacks to remark the connection between radical Islamic terrorism (ISIS) and refugees present in Europe, and to comment the catastrophic effect of mass immigration on the old continent. Trump's main aim is to highlight the possible threats that the United States have to face if they do not *get smart* adopting different immigration policies. More precisely, he warns his followers about the dangerous possibility that terrorists can hide among refugees and enter into the country.

3.2   *Mexico*

In both corpora Donald Trump does not employ metaphors nor *topoi* in the representation of Mexico. Moreover, it is important to emphasise that he never talks about Mexican people, but just about Mexico as a country. This choice clearly implies a suppression of Mexican people as social actors and consequently a lack of empathy towards them.

Trump represents Mexico with an explicit connection (there is just one occurrence) to crime in the Tweet Corpus.

5. *Mexico* was just ranked the *second deadliest country in the world*, after only Syria. *Drug trade* is largely the cause. We will BUILD THE WALL! [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 23 June 2017).
6. The dishonest media does not report that any *money* spent on *building the Great Wall* (for sake of speed), *will be paid back by Mexico* later! [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 6 January 2017).

Trump underlines the dangerousness of Mexican cartels in order to support the building of the Wall, as shown in Examples 5 and 6. Specifically, Example 6 involves the *topos* of the dishonest media, a populist narrative that Trump uses very often. This strategy allows Trump to describe himself as a victim of the corrupt system as any other American citizen and to recall the populist opposition *people vs. elite* (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). As already mentioned above, Trump also employs this strategy in order to legitimise his immigration policies and the building of the *Great Wall* (Demata, 2017). The threats connected to crime and terrorism are the justification to completely bypass the complex phenomenon of immigration and resolve it with the physical exclusion of immigrants and refugees through the building of the Wall. In this case the Wall is strictly connected to immigration that comes from South America, but it represents much more than that because walls are symbols as well. Indeed, the same approach is extended to all immigrants and refugees since in 2017 Trump emanated a Travel ban for *dangerous countries*.

In addition to crime, Trump talks about Mexico in both tweets and traditional speeches because of economic deals, trades and delocalisation.

7. *Toyota Motor said will build a new plant in Baja, Mexico*, to build Corolla cars for U.S. NO WAY! Build plant in U.S. or *pay big border tax*. [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 5 January 2017).

8. We've rebuilt other countries at the expense of our own. Companies like Carrier, General Electric, Motorola, Mattel, Fiat Chrysler, and so many others *are moving their jobs to Mexico*, and to other countries. And now, *Ford has announced it's moving all of its small car production to Mexico* also. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).

In Example 8 it possible to notice that the narrative regarding the delocalisation is connected to the representation of the United States as a victim (see Sect. 3.4) through the respective *topos*. On the other hand, Example 7 includes a warning and threatening speech act (Chilton, 2004). In this way, Donald Trump tries to portray himself as a firm statesman whose credibility in terms of economic matters is legitimised because he is a successful businessman.

3.3 Immigrants and R*efugees*

During the analysis immigrants and refugees were considered as one category since the distinction between these social actors is often blurred (Baker et al., 2008).

The analysis of the metaphorical representation of immigrants and refugees investigated several source domains such as water, nature, and object and merchandise. According to the qualitative results, Donald Trump uses just one metaphor (structural and negative) in his Traditional Corpus. Specifically, this metaphor is used just to describe refugees.

9. I am going to end illegal immigration, stop the *massive inflow of refugees*, keep jobs from pouring out of our country, renegotiate our disastrous trade deals, and massively reduce taxes and regulations on our workers and our small businesses. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).

This means that Trump uses a very common and well-known metaphor to suggest the potential dangerousness of refugees (Reisigl & Wodak, 2000, pp. 26–59). Indeed, water is a dangerous force of nature that allows Trump to metaphorically describe refugees as an unstoppable, strong and powerful flow that could enter and destroy the United States. In addition, the word *massive* gets worse this perception because it suggests a huge number of people that continuously enter into the country with no way to stop them.

Trump uses several *topoi* as well to describe immigrants and refugees; more precisely, he uses the *topoi* of danger, threat and fear (83%), burden (10%) and invasion (7%) (Table 2).

Table 2 Immigrants and refugees' *topoi* percentages

	Burden	Danger-threat-fear	Invasion	Victim
Immigrants and refugees	10%	83%	7%	—

10. Hillary has called for *550% more Syrian immigrants*, but won't even mention "*radical Islamic terrorists.*" #Debate #BigLeagueTruth [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 20 October 2016).
11. Thousands of *refugees* are being admitted, with no way to screen them, and *are instantly made eligible for welfare* and *free healthcare*—even as our own Veterans die waiting for the medical care they need. […] On top of that, *illegal immigration costs our country more than $113 billion a year*. For the money we are going to spend on illegal immigration over the next ten years, we could provide one million at-risk students with a school voucher. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).
12. Do you believe it? The Obama Administration *agreed to take thousands of illegal immigrants from Australia.* Why? I will study this dumb deal! [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 2 February 2017).

Trump employs the *topos* of danger, threat and fear in both tweets (44%) and traditional speeches (56%). Specifically, Example 10 shows how Trump combines the *topos* of danger, threat and fear and the *topos* of invasion since he associates the increase of Syrian immigrants to the dangers of terrorism. It is important to mention that the combination of these two *topoi* is very common because the *topos* of invasion could be considered as a sub-category of the *topos* of danger, threat and fear. The *topos* of invasion is present in both the Tweet Corpus (67%) and the Traditional Corpus (33%). It is also possible to find this *topos* in Example 12, where it is combined (it happens also in Example 10) with the aggregation strategy (see Table 3) that helps Trump to depict a dangerous invasion and at the same time to delegitimises Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. The *topos* of burden was found just in traditional speeches where it counts 3 occurrences. Example 11 shows how refugees and immigrants are represented as an economic burden and simultaneously as a privileged group of social actors, especially if compared to other ones such as veterans. In this example Donald Trump combines other two *topoi*. Indeed, he uses the *topos* of invasion talking about thousands of refugees who are entering into the

Table 3 Immigrants and refugees' representational strategies percentages

	Aggregation	Crime and terrorism	Genericisation	Opposition	Suppression
Immigrants and refugees	32%	41%	11%	11%	5%

United States and the *topos* of danger, threat and fear since all these refugees are being admitted in the country without any type of control.

In addition to metaphors and *topoi*, Trump employs representational strategies in both tweets (48%) and traditional speeches (52%) where there are totally 56 occurrences. Specifically, he uses more the association to crime and terrorism (41%) followed by the aggregation strategy (32%), the genericisation and opposition strategies (11%), and the suppression strategy (5%) (Table 3).

13. Also among the victims of the Obama-Clinton open borders policies was Grant Ronnebeck, a 21 year-old convenience store clerk in Mesa, Arizona. He was *murdered* by *an illegal immigrant* gang member previously convicted of burglary who had also been released from Federal Custody. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).

14. Wow, just came out on secret tape that Crooked Hillary wants *to take in as many Syrians as possible.* We cannot let this happen—*ISIS!* [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 24 October 2016).

15. Hillary has called for *550% more Syrian immigrants*, but won't even mention *"radical Islamic terrorists."* #Debate #BigLeagueTruth (@realDonaldTrump 20 October 2016) [emphasis added].

16. *ISIS* is taking credit for the terrible stabbing attack at Ohio State University by *a Somali refugee* who should not have been in our country. [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 30 November 2016).

17. Thousands of *refugees* are being admitted, with no way to screen them, and *are instantly made eligible for welfare* and *free healthcare*—even as *our own Veterans die waiting for the medical care they need*. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).

18. We want to make sure that anyone who seeks to join our country *shares our values* and has the capacity to love our people. [emphasis added] (Remarks at a "Celebrate Freedom" Rally 1 July 2017).

19. ISIS is on the run & will soon be wiped out of Syria & Iraq, *illegal border crossings* are way down (75%) & MS 13 gangs are being removed. [emphasis added] (@realDonaldTrump 12 July 2017).

The association to crime and terrorism is used both in tweets (62%) and traditional speeches (38%). Moreover, Trump makes this association implicitly for the 29% and explicitly for the 71%. This strategy is showed in Example 13 where Trump talks about a murder perpetrated by *an illegal immigrant*. The connection to crime is explicit and it is combined with the genericisation strategy since Trump refers to a generic illegal immigrant; in this way, his supporters will probably believe that any immigrant is a potential threat capable to do the same in the future. Furthermore, in this extract he aims to delegitimise Hilary Clinton and the immigration policies that she supports with Barack Obama. Example 14 focuses on the connection between Syrian refugees and terrorism, in combination with the *topoi* of invasion and danger, threat and fear. Indeed, it is important to specify that the representational strategy that

connects immigrants and refugees to crime and terrorism is strictly connected to the *topos* of danger, threat and fear. During the analysis, this connection was particular useful in the identification of the *topos* and vice versa.

Trump uses the aggregation strategy in both tweets (44%) and traditional speeches (56%). The aggregation strategy implies a lack of empathy because social actors are described in terms of numbers, percentages or statistics. It is possible to understand how Donald Trump employs this strategy in Examples 14 (*as many*) 15 (*550%*), 17 (*thousands*) and 19 (*75%*).

The genericisation strategy was found in both the Tweet Corpus (33%) and the Traditional Corpus (67%). This strategy is used in Example 13 (as mentioned before) to describe *an immigrant* and in Example 16 to indicate *a refugee*. The genericisation is often used in combination to other strategies especially the *topos* of danger, threat and fear and the association to crime and terrorism. On the one hand, Example 13 focuses on the connection between immigrants who come from South America (especially from Mexico) and criminality. On the other hand, Example 16 focuses on the connection between refugees (generally form Middle East) and terrorism. This combination allows Trump to reinforce the representation of these people as potential threats and at the same time to legitimise his strict immigration policies. Indeed, in Example 16 Trump also specifies the ethnicity of the refugee. He comes from Somalia that was one of the countries included in Trump's travel ban.

The opposition strategy counts 6 occurrences just in the Traditional Corpus. Moreover, Trump uses more the cultural and religious opposition (83%) more than the opposition between suffering social actors (17%). Example 17 is a clear example of the opposition that depicts refugees as privileged social actors who have free access to healthcare in comparison to veterans who have risked their lives to fight for the country and still wait for the same medical care. The aim of this strategy is to trigger some feelings such as anger and dissatisfaction since refugees are not only privileged over U.S citizens, but they are also a social and economic cost (*topos* of burden).

Finally, the suppression strategy is used by Trump just in traditional speeches (3 occurrences). This strategy contributes to dehumanise immigrants and refugees and to create a lack of empathy in their representation. Example 19 shows how Trump ambiguously assimilates immigrants to criminals and reduces immigrants' lives to *illegal border crossings*.

3.4 The United States

The analysis focused also on the representation of the United States because it is crucial to understand how Donald Trump represents his own country. Moreover, it is interesting to highlight how the strategies used to represent the United States are often strictly connected to other strategies used to describe immigration and other countries. This combination used by Trump could be effective in influencing the perception that U.S. citizens have of their own country.

Metaphors regarding the United States count 43 occurrences. They were found in both tweets (9%) and traditional speeches (91%), and they are all structural. Moreover, these metaphors are positive for the 70%, negative for the 23% and neutral for the 6%. As shown in Table 4, Trump uses mainly the building (35%) and the saviour-warrior (21%) source domains in order to represent the United States.

20. But really, you're the backbone of America. With the talent in this room, we can build any city at any time, and we can build it better than anyone. But we're going to do even better than that. Together, we are going to *rebuild* our Nation. [emphasis added] (Remarks at the North America's Building Trades Unions 2017 Legislative Conference 4 April 2017).

21. *Americans fought* and died *to liberate Europe from the evils of Nazism*—you know that—and *fascism. American military power helped to free* the world from the oppression of *communism.* And today, *Americans* like you *are battling* the sinister forces of *terrorism* throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and the world. [emphasis added] (Remarks to United States Troops at Naval Air Station Sigonella, Italy 27 May 2017).

22. The era of *economic surrender* has come to an end. It's come to an end**.** *We have surrendered*, as a country, to outside interests. The era of economic victory for our country has just begun. [emphasis added] (Remarks at the North America's Building Trades Unions 2017 Legislative Conference 4 April 2017).

23. Our border is wide open, and drugs and criminal cartels are *pouring* into the country. […] At the same time, our country is being *infiltrated* by terrorists. [emphasis added] (Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona 4 October 2016).

24. America will *flourish* as long as our liberty—and in particular, our religious liberty—is allowed to flourish. [emphasis added] (Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast 2 February 2017).

25. […] *they [Democrats] were clogging up the veins of our country* with the environmental impact statements and all of the rules and regulations. [emphasis added] (Remarks at a "Make America Great Again" Rally in Melbourne, Florida 18 February 2017).

Example 20 shows one of the most common source domains in the representation of the United States; indeed, Trump represents the United States as a building that needs to be rebuilt and renovated. The saviour-warrior source domain is present just in the Traditional Corpus and it is employed by Trump for several purposes to indicate both the country and the U.S. citizens. Firstly, the United States are represented as the country that protected its citizens and some other European countries during the horrors of the war (e.g., the Second World War) and still protect them from radical

Table 4 United States' source domains percentages

	Building	Container	Nature	Saviour-Warrior	War
United States	35%	16%	12%	21%	16%

Islamic terrorism (see Example 21). Secondly, this source domain is also used in the representation of veterans since they fought to protect their compatriots—and to free other countries—and now they are the ones who need to be protected by the United States. Thirdly, the saviour-warrior source domain is used by Trump to indicate how the United States protect and will protect its own citizens. The source domain of war is strictly connected to the source domain of saviour-warrior since it involves the United States' military protection. However, the war source domain it is also used to describe the United States' economic downfall (Example 22). Example 23 shows how the United States are represented as a container. Specifically, drug and criminal cartels are described as *fluids* that are able to enter and fill the container because the border is completely open. The United States' container has also been *infiltrated* by terrorist who are described as fluids as well. The representation of crime and terrorism in terms of fluids is particularly helpful to create the perception of an imminent, unstoppable and dangerous threat. In Example 24 it is possible to notice how the then President represents his country and, more precisely, American society as a garden that can thrive when the threats to religious liberty will be definitely defeated. Finally, Example 25 shows the personification of the United States through the metaphorical representation of the country as a human being. Indeed, Donald Trump thinks that the Democrats are leading the United States to death because of environmental regulations that have effect on U.S. economy.

During the analysis of Donald Trump's representation of the United States, representational strategies were not found. However, it was possible to identify the employment of two *topoi*. Donald Trump uses the *topoi* of the victim (71%) and the container (29%). It is important to highlight that these two *topoi* are strictly connected to some source domains (the identification of the *topoi* was useful in the identification of these source domains and vice versa). It is possible to find the *topos* of the victim in Example 25, where the *topos* is strictly connected to the personification of the United States since the country is represented as a mistreated human being who is dying because its veins are clogged up. Indeed, the *topos* of the victim is used by Trump to represent the United States as the victim of unfair and wrong regulations (especially environmental ones). In addition, this *topos* is employed by Trump to underline how foreign countries take (economic) advantage over the United States. In both cases, it is clear that Trump uses the *topos* of the victim to emphasise the need for the United States to get free from regulations and to lead towards (economic) protectionism in order to reconquer its hegemonic position in the world and be *great again*. Finally, Example 23 shows the *topos* of the container that it is strictly connected to the homonymous source domain. The representation of the United States as a container through this *topos* (reinforced by the source domain) helps Donald Trump to legitimise his strict immigration policies. Indeed, the U.S. are represented as an uncovered (with open borders) container that is vulnerable to terrorist *infiltrations* and to be filled up by criminals and drugs.

4   Conclusions

Regarding the first research question, this analysis has shown that Trump uses several types of metaphors, *topoi* and representational strategies in order to describe, Europe, Mexico and the United States, immigrants and refugees. Europe is used by Donald Trump mainly as a comparative example. The United States must be *smart* and avoid becoming a (European) *horrible mess*. Indeed, in Trump's tweets Europe is strictly connected to the immigration phenomenon and its negative possible implications such as crime and terrorism. Mexico is treated differently from Europe because of historical and economic reasons. It seems that Donald Trump does not use particular strategies to describe this country; the only exceptions are the connections to crime and economic matters in order to represent Mexico as a dangerous and unfair neighbour. The United States are represented as a *victim* who has to be protected—by Trump who presents himself as the *saviour*—from those who seek to take (economic and social) advantage. More precisely, according to Donald Trump immigrants and refugees are a social and economic burden (e.g., refugees take advantage of their healthcare) while Mexico and other countries seeks to take an economic advantage over the U.S.

Immigrants and refugees are the only social actors to be represented through each type of strategy considered during the analysis. Firstly, Trump metaphorically represents refugees as a dangerous dehumanised force through the source domain of water. Secondly, both immigrants are refugees are always represented as potential criminal and terrorist threats through several *topoi* and representational strategies. In this regard, it should be emphasised that the topic of immigration is pervasive in Donald Trump's discourse; indeed, a lot of strategies that are used to represent Europe, Mexico and the United States are at the same time linked to the representation of immigrants and refugees as dangerous people connected to crime and terrorism. Furthermore, it is important to underline that all the strategies used by Donald Trump aim obviously to legitimise his policies regarding immigration, foreign and domestic affairs. For instance, the construction of the *Great Wall* has implications on both economic and immigration policies. On the one hand, he represents immigrants and refugees as threats to trigger the need of security that will be satisfied through the building of Trump Wall. On the other hand, the Wall has also some economic implications since Trump talks about a *big border tax* that will punish those who want to delocalise their factories in Mexico. To sum up, the overall isolationist and protectionist policy promoted by Donald Trump regards economy, but at the same time this approach has some implications on his immigration policy that aim to physically exclude immigrants and refugees.

Finally, we should notice Donald Trump's style of communication (in particular on Twitter). As the then President of the United States, it was expected of him—especially after his election—to use a professional and institutional style of language. However, even after his election Donald Trump continued to use his peculiar, unprofessional and aggressive style of communication.

The second research question has a positive answer since there are some differences between the strategies used by Donald Trump in tweets and traditional speeches. First of all, the evaluation of metaphors seems to be more heterogeneous in traditional speeches (positive 80%, neutral 3% and negative 17%) in comparison to tweets (positive 90% and neutral 10%). Moreover, some metaphors are present just in one of the two corpora. Specifically, metaphors regarding immigrants and refugees are present just in the Traditional Corpus while metaphors about Europe are present just in the Tweet Corpus. A possible reason why there is a lack of metaphors in the representation of Europe in the Traditional Corpus could be due to the fact that Trump—in his traditional speeches—does not mention very often Europe or the European Union and focuses his attention just on the United States. In this regard, it is also possible to notice a different employment of metaphors in the representation of the United States since they are more present in traditional speeches (60%) in comparison to tweets (40%). Secondly, there are no particular differences regarding the employment of *topoi* in both corpora. The *topoi* used to describe the United States are the only exception; indeed, they are evidently more present in traditional speeches (92%) rather than in tweets (8%). Thirdly, the representational strategies are used by Donald Trump just to describe immigrants and refugees (and Mexico just once in his Tweet Corpus) in both tweets (48%) and traditional speeches (52%).

In further research I will expand the timespan taken into consideration for this analysis and I will combine the qualitative approach to the quantitative one (Baker, 2006; Partington et al., 2013) in order to verify these qualitative results. Moreover, I plan to expand my research looking at transitivity as well.

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Polish Multimodal Far-Right Discourse. Election Spots of Grzegorz Braun

Marcin Kosman

Abstract The present paper discusses the discourse of Grzegorz Braun, one of the leaders of Confederation Liberty of Independence and the founder of Confederation of the Polish Crown—a reactionary and openly monarchist formation. In the paper, three election spots were analyzed: two recorded during the 2015 presidential campaign, one—during the 2019 Gdańsk mayoral campaign. In order to investigate Braun's discourse, Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) was applied. This approach allows for the inclusion of socio-historical contexts into the analysis. A special attention was devoted to visual rhetoric and multimodality as scholars have recently emphasized the need of expanding research to multimodal artifacts (Kress, 2012; Leeuwen, 2017). In order to investigate Braun's rhetorical and visual strategies with regard to his discursive ethos, Ahuactzin Martínez's et al., (2015, 2017, 2020) methodology was applied. The results indicate that Grzegorz Braun discourse was fairly consistent and he focused on positive self-presentation and delegitimizing his opponents among who are LGBT communities, mainstream politicians, and bureaucracy.

Keywords Confederation Liberty and Independence · Discursive ethos · Far-right discourse · Grzegorz Braun · Multimodal discourse

1 Introduction

Confederation Liberty and Independence (henceforth referred to as Confederation) is a Polish right-wing coalition which in the 2019 parliamentary elections managed to obtain 11 seats in the parliament. In the next election campaign, the party's nominee, Krzysztof Bosak, finished in fourth place as he received over 1.3 million votes (which amounted to 6.8%). Both results were seen as a success and enabled the party to strengthen its position on the Polish political scene. Despite its growing significance, little research has been conducted as regards the discourse of the party. The success

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of Confederation is in line with the rise of far-right parties in contemporary Europe as there have been numerous parties of similar ideological profile that play a major role in their respective countries (Halikiopoulou & Vlandas, 2019).

The present paper discusses the discourse of Grzegorz Braun, one of the leaders of Confederation and the founder of Confederation of the Polish Crown—a reactionary and openly monarchist formation. Braun is one of the most important members of the coalition and he is a well-known politician who has taken part in numerous elections. Braun's first significant political activity was the 2015 presidential campaign when he gained notoriety as a strong opponent of the European Union and a proponent of monarchy and the enthronement of Jesus as the King of Poland (Kozub-Karkut, 2016). While he obtained just 0.83% of the votes cast, he gained enough popularity to form his own grassroots formation called Wake-Up Call (Polish: *Pobudka*) and the God Bless! Committee (*Komitet Wyborczy Szczęść Boże!*) which took part in the 2015 parliamentary elections. Then, Braun was one of the first politicians that joined Confederation in 2019 and afterwards he participated in the 2019 Gdańsk mayoral elections which took place after the assassination of mayor Paweł Adamowicz. Ultimately, Grzegorz Braun received 11.86% of the votes, obtaining a second place after the winner Aleksandra Dulkiewicz, former deputy mayor. While Braun did not win the elections, his second place and the number of votes he got were seen as a surprise and success. In the 2019–2020 Confederation presidential primary, Grzegorz Braun was a runner-up to Krzysztof Bosak. In the final round, he amassed 47.2% of the votes cast. Braun's results signify that by 2019 he had been one of the most important politicians of Confederation who could be considered one of their main representatives.

2 Discourse Historical Approach

An approach often implemented in research on political discourse is Critical Discourse Analysis. Scholars who use a CDA methodology are mostly preoccupied with relationships between discourse, ideology, and power; they analyze instances of symbolic power in language and discrimination practices (Fairclough, 1995).

A branch of CDA particularly useful for analyzing (far) right-wing discourse is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). DHA was created and developed by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues at the University of Vienna. Wodak (2015) points out that the first research project to use DHA was a study on the construction of stereotypical images with anti-Semitic overtones in public space, which took place during the presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in 1986. Wodak (2003) emphasizes a reciprocal relationship between discourse and society, as institutions and organizations create discourse, but at the same time discourse can also determine social action. Discourse is not a confined space—DHA scholars see it as an open and diverse system (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Discourse consists not only of spoken but also written language; attention is also paid to the growing role of other channels of communication and diverse genres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89).

A genre is understood by DHA scholars as a structured way of using language that is subject to certain conventions (Wodak, 2003). Genres are created, structured, and transformed in institutional spheres over a long period of time. In turn, institutions spend years developing, maintaining, and appropriately adapting generic forms to changing social conditions. As genres develop within specific groups or institutions, and therefore within specific interests, they manifest an inherent axiological basis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, pp. 12–13). The same genre (e.g., a presidential campaign speech) can be used by politicians whose ideological orientations are not similar to one another, refer to different values, use different tropes, etc.

DHA also distinguishes between five fundamental types of discursive strategies. They are defined *as a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices), adopted in order to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 94). They are called nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and mitigation/intensification. Due to space constraints, the paper will discuss the first two strategies only.

The strategy of nomination is used for a discursive construction of social actors. This can be achieved by tropes such as metaphors, synecdoches, metonymies. A question to approach regarding this strategy is how social actors (or objects, phenomena, events, etc.) are referred to linguistically. On the other hand, predication strategies may be realized through evaluative attributions of positive or negative characteristics, explicit comparisons, presuppositions, allusions, implicatures, etc. A question relevant to this strategy concerns qualities that are attributed to social actors (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, pp. 112–114).

3   Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) is a branch of Critical Discourse Analysis has its roots in the 1990s when a group of researchers (among whom are Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, James Martin, and Robert Hodge) established the principles of their approach, known as social semiotics (Rose, 2012, p. 209). The researchers mainly drew on M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, which perceives language as a product of social processes (Jewitt & Henriksen, 2017, p. 146).

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, Multimodal Discourse Analysis allows for a deeper description of the processes of communication. This is done through analyzing various modes and investigating how they form a coherent meaning (2006). Modes are defined as *a set of socially and culturally shaped resources for making meaning. Modes, rather than fixed, are created through social processes, and thus fluid and context-dependent* (Lyons, 2016, p. 268). In MDA, any mode is perceived as based on a set of principles and any kind of communication is based on rules. Researchers working within this framework are focused on describing and discovering principles of communication which use different modes than written language (Machin & Mayr, 2012, pp. 18–19). Kress (2012, p. 38) points out that multimodality

researchers operate under the assumption that written language is simply one of many resources that can be used for making meaning. In fact, all modes are equal and reducing meaning to solely language would be an extremely simplistic approach (Iedema, 2003, p. 33). Moreover, modes interact with one another and in order to provide a comprehensive analysis, researchers have to integrate different aspects of communication (Oostendorp, 2015, pp. 42–43).

In recent years, discourse researchers have conducted various analyses as regards (audio)visual rhetoric and persuasion. John Richardson and Monica Colombo (2013) investigated posters of *Lega Nord* (the Northern League) from campaigns between 2001 and 2008 in order to verify whether the party's discourse was consistent. They demonstrated that the Italian party proposes anti-immigrant arguments by combining visual and linguistic arguments in the posters, depicting immigrants generically (not as individual people, but as groups and stereotypically) and from a distance, which is a strategy of disempowerment, communicating to the viewers that the actors depicted do not belong to the same group and are generally inferior to them (cf. van Leeuwen, 2008).

Furthermore, Lina Klymenko (2017) analyzed billboards of various Ukrainian parties during the 2014 elections. Klymenko observed that with the help of the billboards the parties were able to condense their messages which appealed mostly to emotions. As regards the composition of the billboards, they usually employed top–bottom and left–right dimensions. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 180–87) highlight that as regards the former type of visual composition, the information presented on the top is perceived as ideal, and the bottom part is seen as more down-to-earth. Concerning the latter, what is shown on the left is known to the viewer, whereas the information on the right is new and conveys a significant meaning. In the case of the Ukrainian billboards new and ideal information (such as Petro Poroshenko's call for unity) was placed on the top and on the right; on the other hand, what was known and accepted by the audience was placed on the bottom and on the left (e.g. Vladimir Putin being portrayed as an evil character) (Klymenko, 2017, pp. 446−451).

In addition, Andrew S. Ross and Aditi Bhatia (2020) investigated UKIP's (the United Kingdom Independence Party) Brexit campaign. It was revealed that the materials of Nigel Farage's party used categorization (immigrants were shown as wearing stereotypical clothes) and depicted newcomers from a distant perspective, which reinforced the "us-them" dichotomy. The sentence *We need to break free from the EU and take back control of our borders* at the bottom of the photograph also resonated with the visual text, implying that Britain was being invaded by foreigners at the time. Furthermore, a Brussels official was shown sitting on a throne and holding a shield with the EU flag in his right hand. In the center of the picture, the caption *They ruled Britain* was placed in large type and, below it, the smaller caption *75% of our laws are passed in Brussels*, evoking the viewer's sense of being under the power of the EU and its officials.

Thus, multimodality researchers have investigated a plethora of genres of political action, proving that all of them can contribute to creating meaning and persuading the electorate.

With regard to election spots, Julien Danero Iglesias (2015) analyzed campaign clips produced by Moldovan parties for the 2009 campaign. The author concludes that the parties created a strong *us* versus *them* dichotomy and concentrated on evoking patriotic feelings among Moldovans. Also, special attention was devoted to identity politics as the Party of the Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM) depicted Russians as friends and allies (e.g., showing a Soviet folk dance group in one of the spots) whereas the Democratic Party of Moldova ridiculed that rhetoric by showing children dancing to a clichéd melody played on a panpipe (which resembles classic Soviet folk songs). This sequence ends rather abruptly with a torn red flag. Then a sign "Protecting the Homeland"? or "protecting their party"? appears; the letter *p* in the word *Party* is written in Cyrillic which implies that for PCRM the Moldovan interests are of secondary importance. Furthermore, using Mackay's (2015) six-layer framework, Dimitrios Chaidas (2018) analyzed Antonis Samaras' legitimation strategies which he employed in his spots. According to the researcher, Samaras attempted to legitimize his politics by presenting himself as a reliable, truthful, and pro-European Union candidate, while simultaneously delegitimizing his main rival, Alexis Tsipras, by presenting him in negative light, as a person devoid of the positive values that Samaras possesses.

The present paper will rely on the methodology provided by Carlos Enrique Ahuactzin Martínez et al., (2015), which combines elements of Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) multimodal social semiotics, François Rastier's (1987) interpretative semantics, and Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1969) new rhetoric. In his research, Ahuactzin Martínez concentrates on three levels: (a) contextualization of discursive phenomena; (b) composition of multimodal discourse; (c) rhetorical strategies aimed at (de)legitimizing certain social actors.

Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 137−41) observes that social actors can be (de)legitimized not only linguistically, but also through visual materials. Namely, he discusses the relationship between the image and the viewer. In his theory, he mentions three dimensions: social distance (people shown in a long shot are perceived as strangers; those shown close to the viewer are seen as members of the same group), social relation (the oblique angle implies detachment; the frontal angle signifies involvement), and social interaction (not looking at the viewer equals low symbolic power; addressing them in the eye is a form of direct address and equality in status).

Also, van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 14−48) investigates five strategies of depicting people: exclusion (not including certain social actors in a given context, e.g., not showing black soldiers on a photograph showing veterans), roles (depicting people according to a stereotype), specific/generic (depicting a single person or focusing on what makes him or her belong into a certain social type), individuals/groups (intensifying or diminishing one's individual qualities), and categorization (emphasizing cultural or biological strategies).

Ahuactzin Martínez also incorporates a fundamental concept of Rastier's interpretative semantics into his methodology. Isotopy is understood as a recurrence of semantic units that enable constructing of meaning and/or meanings of discourse (Ahuactzin Martínez et al., 2015, p. 471). Thus, in this approach isotopy is a fundamental phenomenon that guarantees the coherence of an utterance. Distinguishing

isotopies is therefore a fundamental interpretative process that enables the researcher to comment on the meaning of a text (Kourdis, 2012, p. 107).

At the level of rhetorical strategies, Ahuactzin Martínez and colleagues (2015, p. 465) stress two key argumentative strategies for the purposes of political discourse that are adapted from Perelman's (1969) framework: (a) argumentation by example, and (b) reasoning by analogy. In the case of the former, the conditions for argumentation are based on example which illustrates premises or judgments that need to be reinforced to strengthen the level of verisimilitude of the discourse; regarding the latter, the relations between terms are made explicit: the characteristics of an object X constitute the attributes of an object Y, through different levels of semantic and rhetorical association, as well as through a metaphor that constitutes possible imagery. (Ahuactzin Martínez, 2017, pp. 185–186). Perelman highlighted that speakers intend to impose their influence on the audience within the framework of argumentation. They want to obtain the adherence of the audience to some points (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 11).

An important term for the discussed approach is the notion of discursive ethos, which is defined as the discursive construction of a self-image (Amossy, 2001, pp. 2−4). Discursive ethos is the image of the speaker that emerges from his or her utterances (di Fanti & Feré, 2018, p. 317). In order to produce an ethos that allows them to establish an ideological and/or pragmatic relationship with voters, candidates use various media strategies.

Ahuactzin Martínez's approach requires the identification of discursive categories that reveal relations of power, inequality, or exclusion within recurrent manifestations of ideological discourse. Thus, the analysis of discursive ethos is related to the construction of political identity. A critical look at electoral spots, therefore, makes it possible to identify the role that discursive ethos plays in communicating a politician's proposals to the audience. (Ahuactzin Martínez, 2020, pp. 64−68). Ethos should essentially be regarded as a social-discursive concept that is constructed by discourse and that is closely linked to the formation of the image of self in discourse. Carmen Marimón Llorca (2016, p. 76) argues that there is a clear distinction between the speaker and the image that he or she establishes—the latter action is the creation of one's discursive ethos.

4   Data Selection

Three spots were included in the analysis. The spots were published on Grzegorz Braun's official YouTube channel. Two spots were from the 2015 presidential campaign, and one was recorded for the 2019 Gdańsk campaign, covering the period between 2015 and 2019. It will be thus possible to verify whether there is any continuity in Grzegorz Braun's discourse, and also investigate potential changes there. The ads met the three criteria that Ahuactzin Martínez (2020, pp. 68−69) mentioned in his study: (1) the spots presented the candidate's political image; (2) his proposals were discussed there; (3) they distinguished him ideologically from other candidates.

Then, isotopies that were used in the construction of Braun's discursive ethos were investigated and then labeled.

The analysis of the spots was carried out using ELAN, a program provided by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics at Radboud University Nijmegen. The program is designed for describing audio and video files. It was originally developed for sign language analysis, but the authors note that the tool can be used for any type of (audio)visual material (Hellwig et al., 2007, p. 1).

5 Analysis

Four major isotopies were distinguished: danger, Catholic faith, freedom, and Polish history (Table 1).

Regarding the two spots from his 2015 campaign, Braun is of the opinion that Poland is governed by corrupt figures who purposefully act to the detriment of Poles. This stance is amplified in spot 1 as while Braun utters the words referring to the Poles *being harassed by what claims to be their own state*, complex tax forms are shown, which implies that Poland is a country with a bloated bureaucratic system that needs to be simplified. The only person that might be able to do it is Grzegorz Braun as other politicians are jointly called *mafias, services, and lodges.* Therefore, they seem to be presented as members of an organized crime group that reigns over Poland without any restrictions.

When it comes to the spot from the Gdańsk campaign, there is a stark contrast between Braun and the officials of the city, collectively referred to as the *Gdańsk Pact*. This name implies that they form a closed circle. Moreover, the name bears resemblance to the Warsaw Pact, an alliance of Eastern Bloc countries during the communist era. Thus, the name clearly evokes negative connotations among the audience. Visually speaking, the *Gdańsk Pact* is represented by a large cobweb on a black background. This signifies the omnipresence of the *Pact* and the fact that a plethora of people is involved in its creation.

However, those involved in the *Gdańsk Pact* are not the only opponents of Poles. The message conveyed in Braun's spot warns the viewers against German and Jews who want to rewrite Poland's history. Also, another group perceived as an enemy are LGBT people, herein called *perverts.* Their portrayal in the Gdańsk spot appears to be exaggerated. The picture shows two obese men dressed as women. Both wear glitter clothes and the man on the right is wearing excessive make-up. They are also in the center of the shot which seems to suggest that they are appropriate representations of LGBT communities. Therefore, the use of a highly negatively valenced term *perverts* and a caricature visual representation is another example of the fact that Braun's enemies are depicted in a deprecated way, linguistically and visually.

Furthermore, the members of the *Gdańsk Pact* have made possible a massive influx of immigrants who invade the city and destroy it. The representation of immigrants in Braun's spot is clearly negative. In line with van Leeuwen's groups strategy (2008, p. 144), they are depicted as a mass devoid of individual features. They wear the same

Table 1 Isotopy one: danger

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
Germans and Jews will not teach us history. Perverts will not raise our children (3)[a]		Threat and danger from Germany, Israel, and LGBT communities
I will dismantle the Gdańsk Pact. The city for the residents, not just for foreign speculators and developers (3)		Ending privileges for foreign entities. Corruption and cliques governing the cities must be stopped
I will defend Gdańsk from the dictate of Eurocommunism and the invasion of immigrants (3)		Threat and danger from the European Union and immigrants from Africa and Asia
It is not that Poles need any privileges. They do need any special incentives, the famous assistance programs. Poles can handle it, as soon as they stop being harassed by what claims to be their own state (1)		Polish government is an enemy of Poles. Poles are not treated as proper citizens

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
I do not believe in democracy because behind its façade mafias, secret services and lodges rule (2)		Corruption among current authorities

[a] Numbers in brackets refer to the order of the spots (cf. References)

clothes and have the same skin color, which is an example of a negative portrayal because any differences between them are negligible. This may be also seen as a visual manifestation of Perelman's argumentation by analogy: if one immigrant is destroying the city, then it is probable that the rest of them will join him or her since they are all the same (cf. Perelman, 1979, pp. 91−92).

With regard to the danger isotopy, one might thus observe that Grzegorz Braun's values are clearly based on the "us-them" dichotomy. The construction of Grzegorz Braun's ethos is articulated by being the opposition of the values associated with the *Gdańsk Pact* and officials who govern Poland. Braun positions himself as an outsider who is in no way connected with the existing cliques. The dangerous enemies are referred to collectively and with the use of neologisms.

As far as their visual representation is concerned, they seem to be exaggerated and denied individual characteristics. In contrast, Braun always is depicted as dressed in formal attire. He also looks straight into the camera and addresses the viewers from eye level. As van Leeuwen (2008, p. 139) suggests, this signals equality and involvement. This way of self-presentation is continued throughout the whole spot (Table 2).

A value that is given particular significance is the Catholic faith and Christianity. Braun's 2015 presidential campaign was centered around the 1500th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland, which in his narrative was the turning point in Polish history. This is accompanied by a set of images showing the coat of arms from the Jagiellonian dynasty as well as a map of Cracow which was the capital of Poland during its golden age. Grzegorz Braun thus highlights the importance of Christianity in the course of Polish history and argues that it should be protected at all costs. The chocolate eagle is a reference to a former president, Bronisław Komorowski, who celebrated Polish National Flag Day by taking part in a parade, which included the unveiling of a giant chocolate eagle in front the Presidential Palace. While Komorowski's aim was to encourage Poles to celebrate national holidays with greater enthusiasm, this event was questioned by many conservatives (Leśniczak, 2016, p. 275). In his spot, Braun mentions it to show that he considers Komorowski's initiative highly inappropriate.

Table 2 Isotopy two: Catholic faith

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
Christ, reign over us, in Gdańsk and everywhere else (3)		Jesus Christ is the rightful king of Poland
Gdańsk, not rainbow, not brown, not red, but white-red. Catholic faith, normal family and Polish property will be safe here (3)		Opposing harmful ideologies, promoting Polish values
I will strive for economic freedom, for nuclear weapons for the Polish army and for the enthronement of Christ the King (2)		Strengthening Poland by reducing taxes, obtaining nuclear weapons, and cultivating Christianity
Socialism to me is theft, abortion is a crime. A normal family is the foundation (2)		Socialism is a threat to Polish property. Abortion and non heteronormative relationships should be condemned

Table 2 (continued)

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
In his films, Grzegorz Braun is committed to defending human dignity, warns against the manipulation of human genes and stands up for life from conception to natural death (1)		Rules of Christianity and human dignity are interwoven. Abortion and in vitro are cardinal offences which directly oppose these values
The 1500th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland is the true measure and the correct proportion. Not some 25 years of democracy, an eagle made of chocolate and the like, but 1050 years of Polish statehood and the Catholic tradition on this territory (1)		Adopting Christianity was the most important event in the course of Polish history

In the Gdańsk campaign spot, Braun pledges that he will protect Christianity and *normal family*. Such a family consists of a married couple and children. This pledge is preceded by the claim that Braun's Gdańsk will not be rainbow (a reference to LGBT people), red (communism), or brown (fascism). By juxtaposing these three phenomena, Braun relies on Perelman's reasoning by analogy (1979, pp. 92−93). The traits of radical ideologies are thus ascribed to LGBT communities, there seems to be hardly any difference between them. This strategy is in line with the concept of the so-called "LGBT ideology", an umbrella term suggested by modern far-right parties that claim that civil partnership or marriage equality appear to be serious threats against traditional values and conservative ideas (Baer, 2020, pp. 58−59). The phrase *normal family* was also present in the 2015 campaign spot. For Braun, a traditional model of family is the only appropriate one. Further, in his spots Braun urges to obey Christian values. He considers abortion murder and is against the in vitro method. In fact, he equates both abortion and in vitro with eugenics.

Simiarly to isotopy 1, there seems to be a strong "us" and "them" dichotomy. Braun's positive qualities (a defender of faith, a conservative who holds tradition

and history in high esteem) are amplified in the context of enemies of Christian values—LGBT people and dangerous ideologies (Table 3).

Table 3 Isotopy three: Freedom

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
My name is Grzegorz Braun. I am an independent filmmaker. I do not belong to any party. I am a monarchist, because I value freedom and respect tradition (2)		Independence and tradition are the core values of Grzegorz Braun
The word freedom must be said when we discuss what the Polish state should look like. Freedom was once an export commodity. There was more freedom here than anywhere else. The Crown of Poland bestowed this freedom even on neighbouring nations (1)		Freedom as an inherent Polish quality. In the past Poland was a better place than it is now
The first step must be to call by name everything that is despicable; that is hypocritical; that deprives Poles of freedom, that harms faith, family and property (1)		Restricting freedom, attacking Christianity, and a Catholic model of family is a despicable act
I will give Gdańsk back to the citizens and the Republic of Poland (3)		Gdańsk and Poland are not independent

In his discursive self-presentation, Grzegorz Braun highlights his independence and not being a part of the system. He also explicitly names freedom as a core value that he cherishes. This claim is contrasted with numerous examples of a lack of freedom in Poland as in his spots, Braun argues that modern-day Poland is a country completely devoid of freedom and is not independent. However, that was not the case in the past as during the golden age of Polish statehood Poland would be famous for giving its citizens more freedom in comparison with different European countries. Braun emphasizes this point by presenting a series of maps that show Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where its area was three times bigger than it is nowadays. Thus the politician clearly links freedom with Poland's power, claiming that the fact that Poland is relatively irrelevant is indubitably linked with its lack of freedom as the citizens are *harassed* and faith is harmed. Therefore, Grzegorz Braun seeks to allude to those times, arguing that his presidency will be inextricably linked with the return to the glory days of Poland.

Also, with regard to the Gdańsk campaign, Braun claims that the residents of Gdańsk are not fully free given that the aforementioned *Gdańsk Pact* rules there. In his spot Braun promises to give them back their city, presupposing that Gdańsk is ruled by entities that only want to exploit it (Table 4).

While discussing Polish history, Braun positions himself as a truth-seeker who believes that former Polish presidents—Lech Wałęsa and Wojciech Jaruzelski—ought to be tried and convicted for their crimes against Poland. As regards visual composition, they are presented highly negatively—Wałęsa is ripping up documents proving his cooperation with the SB (the secret police operating in Polish People's Republic) and his alleged codename (*TW Bolek*) is presented during that fragment. General Jaruzelski is shown imposing martial law in Poland, during which many people were killed and thousands were arrested. Jaruzelski was also depicted as a puppet in the hands of the Soviet Union as the audience can see a detonator in his hands, but he is not the one who pushes the button; he is being steered by another man whose identity is hidden, but the red star on his uniform clearly symbolizes the Soviet Union.

In another spot from the same campaign, Braun argues the government does not properly recognize Poland's heroes as their legacy tends to be neglected by the officials. In contrast to Wałęsa and Jaruzelski, Braun is depicted as a determined person whose agency cannot be questioned. Furthermore, Braun praises his ancestors, claiming that they participated in adopting the Constitution of 3 May 1791, which is considered Europe's first (Lukowski, 1994, p. 65). Here one may again observe argumentation by analogy — if Grzegorz Braun's grandfathers fought for the better future of the country, then the director will do the same.
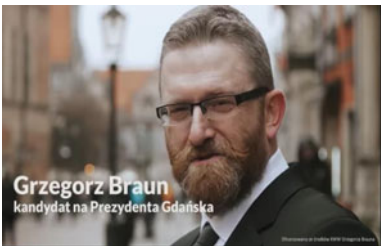
Thus, Polish history is here used to delegitimize historical figures connected with the establishment and to show that Grzegorz Braun represents the opposite of the anti-values of such people. In the Gdańsk campaign spot, he also states that elections are a chance to change the *status quo* and he compares his candidacy to a potential beginning of a new era. As demonstrated earlier, Braun's strategy is to emphasize his lack of involvement with the *Gdańsk Pact* or groups supporting Wałęsa and Jaruzelski.

Table 4 Isotopy four: Polish history

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
Grzegorz Braun is the author of several dozen documentaries which uncover the history of Poland. Thanks to them we got to know the truth about Wałęsa's contacts with the SB and the history of betrayals and crimes committed by general Jaruzelski (1)		Lech Wałęsa and Wojciech Jaruzelski should be deemed traitors. Grzegorz Braun has vastly contributed to unraveling the truth about them
Grzegorz Braun's ancestors are closely connected with the history of Poland. They were deputies to the Great Sejm, which adopted the Constitution of the 3rd of May. They fought and died in uprisings for a free Poland. After World War II all adult men were persecuted and tortured in the prisons of the communist regime (1)		Grzegorz Braun's actions are legitimized by a glorious history of his family. Past generations of the Braun family fought for Poland's independence. Grzegorz Braun is not different from his ancestors
I will fight for the commemoration of the murdered and the dignity of the living. Enough of experiments on the nation (2)		Poland's past is not sufficiently commemorated

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Verbal anaphoric reference	Visual composition	Symbolic value
Gdańsk, here is Poland. Everything begins here (3)		Elections as a chance for a new beginning

6   Conclusions

The aim of this study was to investigate Grzegorz Braun's discourse on the example of his political spots in the presidential campaign in 2015 and the mayoral Gdańsk campaign in 2019. The analysis proved that Grzegorz Braun's discourse is consistent. There were no significant changes regarding the style or tone of the spots. Nor the way social actors were represented.

Grzegorz Braun's discursive ethos is built on an axiological base, related to a certain set of values: patriotism, Christianity, national property, and history. The antitheses of these principles constitute the discursive values that are subject to criticism in the communicative process of the Gdańsk campaign as well as the presidential campaign. In order to highlight his positive qualities he denies his enemies positive traits and, simultaneously, emphasizes their negative characteristics. This is done both linguistically (i.e., using negatively valenced adjectives, presenting the opponents as a threat to Poles, linking them to organized crime groups) or visually (depicting them as groups, exaggerating their features, reasoning by analogy).

It is worth noting that in Braun's discourse the Other is twofold. On the one hand, there is an external enemy, for instance, the European Union, immigrants, LGBT activists. However, there is also an internal enemy—the government and local authorities. Their actions are perceived in terms of an attack on Polish sovereignty and its citizens. Such radical discourse is in line with other discourses of European ultra-right parties (Bale, 2018; Cap, 2019; Lees, 2018).

Confederation Liberty and Independence appears to be relatively well established on the Polish political scene. This study sheds light on some elements of the new far-right that has gained representation in the public sphere. Still, fact that the party is rather heterogeneous must be borne in mind. A thorough analysis of the discourse of Confederation does require further research, but the present paper may serve as a building block as it describes the discourse of one of the three most representative wings of the coalition.

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Contrasting Language Ideologies: Language-Related Policy Proposals in the Democratic and Republican Party Platforms in a Historical Perspective

Sándor Czeglédi

Abstract The present paper examines how language-related issues have appeared on the official agendas of the major parties of the American political scene since the mid-nineteenth century. The analysis relies on Terrence G. Wiley's extended comparative framework for formal language policy analysis (Wiley, 1999) to map and categorize all the relevant proposals and remarks concerning the English language plus "foreign" and "minority" languages in the party programs. Besides classifying the overt and covert language policy proposals into "promotion"-, "expediency"-, "tolerance"-, "restriction"- and "repression"-oriented initiatives, the present analysis also attempts to give a representative account of the areas of real and perceived language policy flashpoints by extending the traditionally recognized triad of (1) educational policies for language minority children; (2) linguistic access to civil rights and government services; and (3) the debates concerning the federal-level officialization of English (Schmidt, 2000). The corpus of the examination is based on the collection of relevant party platforms accessible via the online American Presidency Project database (maintained by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters). The ultimate goal of the paper is to compare and contrast the development of Democratic and Republican language ideologies for the past one and a half centuries. The results show considerable consistency in the respective partisan attitudes towards officialization, whereas references to access-oriented policy proposals and bilingual education have gone through more significant reinterpretation and reevaluation over the decades.

Keywords United States · Language policy · Language ideology · Party platforms · Nation-building

1 Introduction and Historical Overview

The term "language policy" has been present in Anglo-American academic discourse since at least 1867, appearing at that time in the context of the (Austro-)Hungarian

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assimilationist language laws and regulations (Czeglédi, 2014, p. 87). The first book published in the United States that contained the phrase in its title came out in 1945 (Spolsky, 2004, p. 11). Written by Pedro Angel Cebollero, the volume discussed the various language-in-education policies that successive U.S. governments tried to implement in order to Americanize the Spanish-speaking population of Puerto Rico. Americanization campaigns, however, were not limited in scope to recent overseas territorial acquisitions: they were started on the mainland United States as well after the turn of the twentieth century with the aim of teaching especially Eastern, Southern, and Central European "new" immigrants the English language, "free enterprise" values and the basics of American democracy (Crawford, 2008, p. 156). Having denounced "hyphenated Americanism", former president Theodore Roosevelt even proposed the deportation of immigrants who were still unable to speak English five years after their arrival (Crawford, 2008, p. 156).

The First World War and its immediate aftermath witnessed a series of statewide bans on foreign language education, de facto limiting the intergenerational transmission of the language of the largest ethnolinguistic minority of the pre-WWI period: German. Altogether 34 states (out of the existing 48) passed laws designated to repress the use of foreign languages in public, private and parochial schools alike (Crawford, 2004, p. 104). Although in 1923 the Supreme Court struck down these restrictive measures in the *Meyer v. Nebraska* decision, xenoglossophobic attitudes were set to be carried over to the peacetime decades. While German had been the most popular foreign language in 1915 (with 24% of secondary school students enrolled in German classes), seven years later less than 1% of the students were studying the language. Overall enrollments in language classes had also declined from 36% of secondary schools students in 1915 to 14% in 1948 (Crawford, 2004, p. 91).

In addition to the serious legal limitations placed on the transmission of minority languages, official English legislation (first passed in states with high percentage of German populations) was another legacy of the Great War. In 1920, Nebraska was the first state to establish English as its official language by constitutional amendment; the earliest statutory enactment was in Illinois—designating "American" as the state's official language (revised in 1969, substituting "English" for "American"). Today there are 32 states with some form of Official English legislation in force ("Official English Map", 2020).

With the passage of the Immigration "Quota" Acts in the 1920s, migration from non-Western or Northern European countries was reduced to a trickle, and the situation remained roughly the same until the beginning of the massive influx of mostly Latino newcomers in the wake of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which also gave rise to the so-called "bilingual movement" (Crawford, 2004, p. 108) and ushered in the "Opportunist Period" in the history of bilingual education (BE) after eight decades of restriction (Ovando, 2003, pp. 4–14).

Meanwhile, the inadequacies of foreign language teaching and learning had also been exposed: the "Sputnik shock" of 1957 resulted in the passage of the first national education act in the history of the United States, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which represented a previously unheard-of level of federal

involvement in education—this time under the aegis of promoting "critical" foreign language skills in the context of Cold War confrontation (Czeglédi, 2005).

However, the heightened federal role in education—manifesting itself, for instance, in the enactment of a series of "Bilingual Education Acts" between 1968 and 1994, entailing the proliferation and sometimes vigorous promotion of (mainly transitional) BE models—produced a clear backlash against the specter of taxpayer-funded ethnic identity maintenance from the early 1980s onwards. The ensuing resurgence of "melting pot"-type assimilationist expectations paved the way for the increasing employment of monolingual models (e.g., structured/sheltered English instruction and ESL "pullout") and, consequently, for the quick mainstreaming of English learners (or Limited English Proficient or LEP students, as they were known earlier) with the help of high-stakes testing and accountability requirements.

Simultaneously, the Official English movement also continued its forward march at state level, although no real legislative breakthroughs took place in the U.S. Federal Congress. Despite the successful political campaigns against (especially late-exit) bilingual education at federal and state level alike (e.g., "Proposition 227" in California (1998); "Proposition 203" in Arizona (2000); and "Question 2" in Massachusetts (2003)), the "Expediency"- or "Equal Opportunity"-oriented federal-level LP developments of the 1970s have remained mostly intact to this very day. These include, for example, the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) Supreme Court decision, which mandated *some* form of language accommodation for LEP students, and the Voting Rights Act (VRA) Amendments of 1975. The latter outlawed English-only registration or election materials if "more than 5 percent of the citizens of voting age [of a state or political subdivision] are members of a single language minority" and "the illiteracy rate of such persons as a group is higher than the national illiteracy rate" (VRA Amendments of 1975, Title III, Sec. 301, Sec. 203 (b)(i–ii)).

Overall, Ronald Schmidt's observation made in the year 2000 about language policy having "low salience as a political issue for the general public" (Schmidt, 2000, pp. 77–78) has basically lost its validity since the turn of the millennium. In the very same year, Crawford (2000, p. 5) already noted that by that time the contemporary "anti-bilingual movement" had been transformed into a "mainstream phenomenon". Generally, the assimilationist shift in public opinion can be traced with the help of polls and is also evident from the overwhelmingly supportive results of Official English ballot initiatives at state level over the years ("Who Supports Official English"?, 2016).

This paper attempts to answer the questions of how, when, and in what forms the major party agendas at federal level have been following the changing language-related public perceptions ("language ideologies")—or whether they have remained largely static over the examined decades, despite the emergence of at least five party systems since the birth of the U.S. Although the present-day Democratic and Republican Parties were formed later (in the late 1820s and in the mid-1850s, respectively), they have "switched positions—often multiple times—on virtually every significant, enduring public policy issue in American history" (Lewis, 2018, p. 12). These included e.g., the higher levels of taxation and federal spending, greater governmental

intervention in the economy, and the regulation of trusts (initially: Republican priorities, which the Democrats embraced after 1932), as well as "hawkish" vs. "dovish" foreign behaviors, which have also fluctuated considerably in the major party context for the past 80–90 years (Lewis, 2018, pp. 10–11, 20). Language-related issues had not appeared in the party programs before the 1920s—the first such occasion was related to the immigration restrictions of that decade.

2   Aims, Corpus, and Method

The aim of this investigation is to map the manifestations of all types of activities that may amount to or at least be related to "language management", i.e., to "explicit and observable efforts… to modify [language-related] practices or beliefs" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 4) in the platforms of those parties that had ever received electoral votes between the 1840s and 2020. In addition to Democrats and Republicans, the other parties receiving electoral votes included the Whigs (1844; 1848; 1852; 1856); the Constitutional Union (1860); Populist (1892); Progressive (1912, 1924); State Rights (1948); American Independent (1968); and Libertarian parties (1972).

The party platforms are available in the online American Presidency Project database (maintained by John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters) at https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-gui debook/party-platforms-and-nominating-conventions-3. In order to find those programs that might contain language policy (LP) proposals or at least passing references to language-related issues, the search terms "language/s" and/or "*lingual" were used. (The latter practically meant "bilingual" as there were only a few records containing "multilingual" and none with "monolingual" or "plurilingual".)

The method of classifying the policy proposals according to areas of real or potential LP conflict is loosely based on Schmidt's categorization (2000, p. 11), who identified three main fields in this regard. These are (1) educational policies for ELLs (i.e., "English language learners", formerly: LEP or "limited English proficient" students); (2) ensuring (or denying) linguistic access (in minority languages) to civil rights and government services; (3) the officialization of English. In the 1980s, Leibowitz basically equated minority "access" guarantees provided in the fields of politics, law, economic activities (employment), and education (1982) with the implementation of language rights in the U.S. context. Increasingly, however, health care access has also become one of the most dominant subfields in the arena of language rights struggles in the past decades (Czeglédi, 2008, p. 129). Additionally, it may be reasonable to argue that "national defense"-related foreign language learning/teaching (FLL/FLT) should also be regarded as a likely fourth area of LP conflict (or, more frequently, bipartisan cooperation), especially in the wake of 9/11 (Czeglédi, 2008, pp. 264–265).

Following the identification of the key areas of LP priorities, the present analysis classifies the relevant proposals in the party platforms according to five major

policy types, relying on Terrence G. Wiley's extended framework for formal LP analysis (Wiley, 1999, pp. 21–22; Wiley & de Korne, 2016, pp. 1–2). Wiley identifies the following policy-orientations: promotion; expediency (i.e., short-term minority-language accommodations, e.g., transitional bilingual education (TBE), bi- or multilingual ballots, court interpreters); tolerance; restriction and repression—the latter practically amounts to deculturation or linguistic genocide.

3 Findings

3.1 Overall Trends

The search terms "language/s" and/or "*lingual" appeared 165 times in 30 party platforms in relevant LP contexts: the Democrats used these terms 99 times in 15 platforms while Republicans did so only 66 times also in 15 platforms—similarly to the Democrats. No other parties mentioned either "language/s" or "*lingual" in their programs between the 1840s and 2020. Figure 1 shows the distribution of all of the examined terms along party lines in the past six decades.

Democrats appear to have been more active in proposing policies (or at least they made more frequent references to LP-related topics) before the mid-1980s. This trend largely reversed between 1984 and 2004; however, for the past 16 years Democrats have taken the lead again in sheer numerical terms.

As a matter of fact, somewhat contrary to what Fig. 1 suggests (due to the physical limitations of the page), the very first party program that contained language-related references was not the 1960 Democratic Party platform but the Republican program
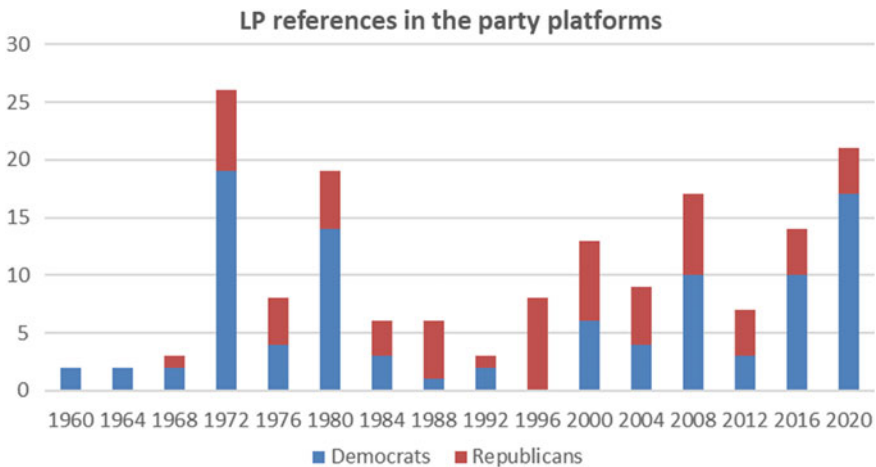

Fig. 1 Overall distribution of Language Policy (LP) references on the party agendas

from 1924. Obviously influenced by the recently enacted Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the "National Origins Act"), the "Immigration" chapter of the Republican platform of the same year was clearly conceived in the prevalent assimilationist, Americanization-centered spirit of the 1920s:

> We favor the adoption of methods which will exercise a helpful influence among the foreign born population and provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals and standards of life. We favor the improvement of naturalization laws. ("Republican Party Platform of 1924")

Generally speaking, however, it is clearly seen that "language" as a political issue has emerged decisively from the 1960s onwards, most strongly from the late 1960s, in correlation with the aftermath of the immigration reform of 1965 and with the emerging "bilingual movement" (see Sect. 1).

Greater differences appear with respect to the distribution of "*lingual" along party lines: while Democrats referred to the terms (which appeared practically always in the form of "bilingual" in the platforms) 32 times in 10 platforms, the comparable figures were only 6 instances in 4 platforms on the Republican side (Fig. 2).

The data indicate that Democrats have been more likely to use the term in their programs, yet by the late 1980s—in the increasingly anti-bilingual atmosphere—the word had largely disappeared from their political discourse as well. Although it returned briefly in 2000 (in the broader context of the debates surrounding the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), in 2008 even the Democrats declared unequivocally that they were to support "transitional bilingual education"—despite their previous (sometimes implied) endorsement of the "strong" or "maintenance"-oriented models ("Democratic Party Platform of 2008"). Nevertheless, perhaps as a result of heightened identity politics-related debates and the perceived need to reach out more effectively towards recent immigrants, the Democratic Party Platform of 2020 partially returned to the stigmatized "b-word".
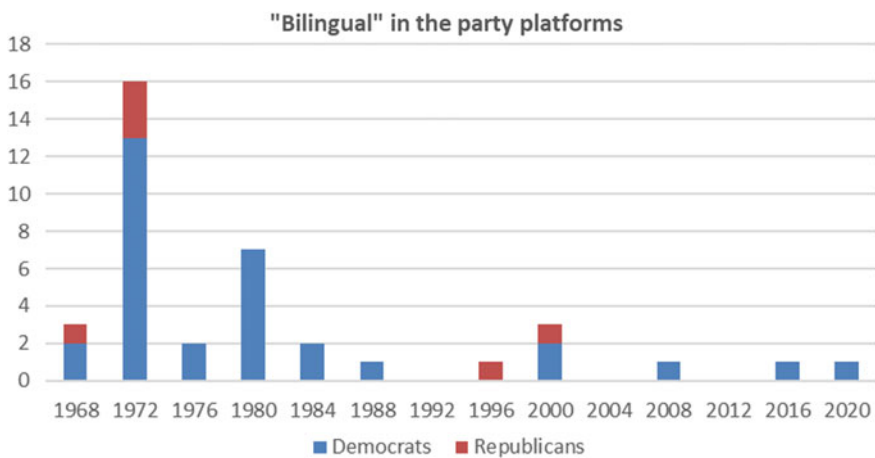

Fig. 2 Overall distribution of the term "bilingual" in the party platforms

In August 2020, Democrats declared their support to programs designed "to make it easier for qualified immigrants and their families to become full and equal citizens, including increasing funding for … English classes and bilingual education"—without clarifying the exact goals and the role of the first (heritage) languages in these programs ("Democratic Party Platform of 2020"). Four years before, the Democratic platform mentioned "bilingual materials and voter assistance", emphasizing the party's commitment to voting rights protections—while remaining silent about bilingual education ("Democratic Party Platform of 2016"). Republicans, on the other hand, have been avoiding the word in any context since 2000.

3.2 Areas of LP Conflict in the Party Platforms

The examination has revealed that while Schmidt's categorization (2000, p. 11)—emphasizing (1) educational policies for ELLs; (2) linguistic access to civil rights and government services; (3) the officialization of English—covers the vast majority of LP proposals in the party programs, it cannot entirely account for the diverse nature of all language-related initiatives in the corpus. The detailed classification of the LP proposals, observations and recommendations shows fundamental differences between the two major parties in their overall language-related attitudes as Figs. 3 and 4 indicate.

The greatest discrepancies between the two parties seem to center on the enormous Democratic emphasis placed on discrimination prevention and on "Access" guarantees—an attitude not shared by the Republicans. Conversely, the cornerstone of the Republican programs is the promotion of English, either through officialization or by other means, e.g., by literacy development in English (only).
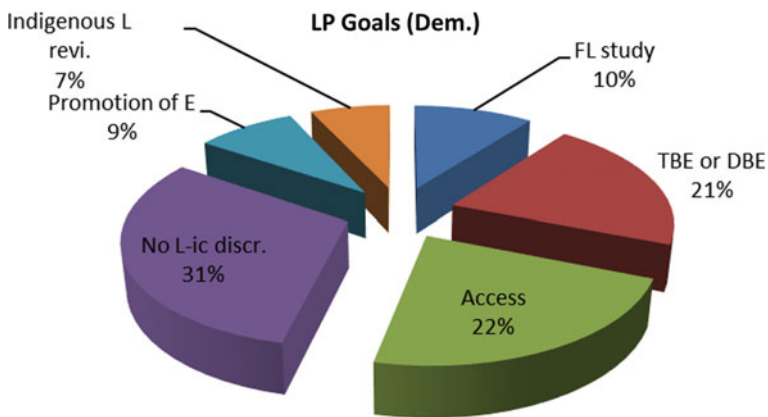

Fig. 3 The summary of Language Policy goals in the Democratic Party programs (1960–2020) (detailed)

LP Goals (Rep.)

Officialization 15%

VOA 2%

PR statehood 9%

Indigenous L revi. 17%

FL Study 8%

TBE or DBE 17%
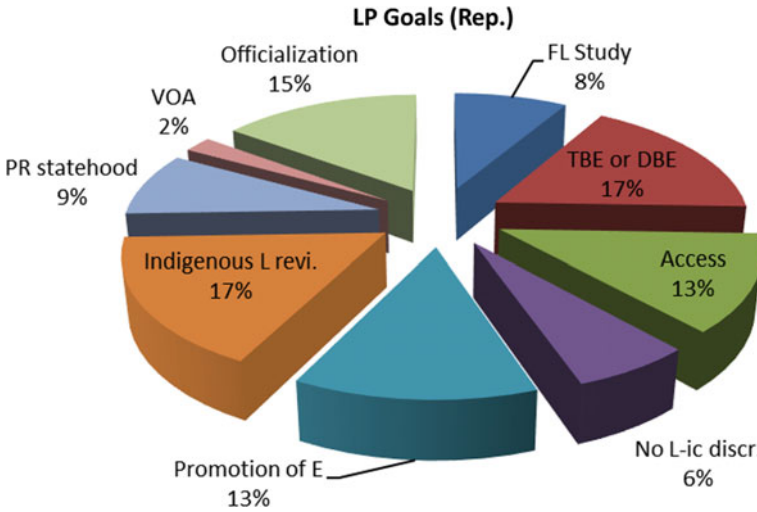
Access 13%

No L-ic discr. 6%

Promotion of E 13%

Fig. 4 The summary of Language Policy goals in the Republican Party programs (1924–2020) (detailed)

Bilingual education (whether transition- or maintenance-oriented) featured more prominently on the Democratic agenda. Concerns about foreign language proficiency seem to have been shared roughly equally by the major parties, although somewhat surprisingly, the Republicans championed indigenous language preservation more vigorously. Republicans also embraced a more wide-ranging set of LP goals, since they also expressed their repeated support for Puerto Rico statehood (in 1976, 1980, 1984 and 1988) with strong Spanish-language rights guarantees. Uniquely, Republicans also proposed the idea of adding new language services to Voice of America programs in 1984 (used as a propaganda tool in the Cold War) ("Republican Party Platform of 1984").

In the Democratic Party proposals, the clear majority of "Access"-type policy initiatives were focused on the prohibition of linguistic discrimination. In addition to the slightly underspecified declarations that simply promised to end language-based discrimination, perhaps the most important anti-discrimination-related Democratic policy statement was the implicit equation of linguistic discrimination with "national origin" discrimination. This perspective appeared in the party platform for the first time in 1976, when the shortlist of the most important obstacles to the realization of equal opportunity from the Democratic perspective included "race, color, sex, religion, age, language or national origin" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1976"). Although later further categories were added to the list (e.g., "sexual orientation" in 1980; "disability" in 1992; "gender identity" in 2008), the practice of mentioning "national origin" and "language" side by side has remained a permanent feature of the Democratic programs. Elevating this approach to the level of federal policy, President Clinton signed Executive Order 13166 into law on August 11, 2000, with the aim of ending possible national origin discrimination that violates

Title VI of Civil Rights Act of 1964. The executive order—titled "Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency"—required federal agencies to examine their services and "develop and implement a system by which LEP [limited English proficient] persons can meaningfully access those services" ("Executive Order 13166", 2000). Arguably, with executive support, linguistic discrimination was placed under the heading of national origin discrimination—a policy that has been criticized by the Republicans ever since. Other antidiscrimination-oriented proposals by the Democrats included the fight against placing LEP/ELL children in programs "for the "dumb" or the "retarded" on the basis of tests and evaluations conducted in English"; and the proposal to remove "language requirements for citizenship" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1972"). As far as the "classic" "Access"-priorities are concerned, Democrats argued for the hiring of bilingual state and federal employees and urged the production of (more) multilingual federal documents (1968; 2020); promoted the use of bi- or multilingual ballots (in 1972, 1976, 1980, 1992, 2016 and in 2020); and emphasized the provision of bilingual health care services (1972, 1980, 2004, and 2008).

Republicans concentrated their "Access" guarantees in the 1972 party platform—and practically nowhere else. In that year, Republicans promised to promote "the use of bilingual staffs in localities where this language capability is desirable for effective health care", and also sought to require "full disclosure of the terms of warranties and guarantees in language all can understand" in order to protect consumer rights ("Republican Party Platform of 1972"). It was the first occasion that a major party had advocated the use of Plain English in their official program, although earlier presidential proposals urging the simplification of legal English date back as far as the 1850s (Czeglédi, 2019, p. 191). Since the 1970s, Plain English policies have continually been implemented to make federal documents more readable for the general public. Nevertheless, the most recent Democratic Platform seeks to extend those guidelines and principles to the banking sector, encouraging "efforts in Congress to guarantee affordable, transparent, and trustworthy banking services that are language-accessible for low- and middle-income families" as well ("Democratic Party Platform of 2020").

Antidiscrimination stipulations by the Republicans appeared mostly in the 1970s (1972, 1976, and 1980). In 1972, the Party set out to fight "educational deprivation" based on "the color of the skin" or "the language that schoolchildren speak" ("Republican Party Platform of 1972"). In 1976, they stated that "Hispanic-Americans must not be treated as second-class citizens in schools, employment or any other aspect of life just because English is not their first language" ("Republican Party Platform of 1976"). In 1980, the Republicans embraced a more encompassing view on linguistic discrimination: "Neither Hispanics nor any other American citizens should be barred from education or employment opportunities because English is not their first language" ("Republican Party Platform of 1980"). Nevertheless, the antidiscrimination goal has disappeared from the Republican LP priorities ever since.

As far as "Promotion of English" is concerned, the two parties tended to assume divergent views from time to time. Democrats did not support the "Officialization" goal during the examined period at all, while for Republicans it was becoming

a defining characteristic of their LP program from the mid-1990s onwards. First appeared in 1996, in the form of "the official recognition of English as the nation's common language" ("Republican Party Platform of 1996"), then by 2012 the designation had become "English as the nation's official language" ("Republican Party Platform of 2012"), which was repeated in 2016 as well. (As the 2020 Republican National Convention did not adopt a new platform, the 2016 program is considered valid today as well.) On those rare occasions when Democrats argued for the "Promotion of English", they did so in the context of launching "an aggressive campaign to end illiteracy" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1988"); or promised "more English-language and civic education classes" for immigrants ("Democratic Party Platform of 2004"); and suggested "enhancing opportunities for English-language learning and immigrant integration" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2012"). The Republican "Promotion"-oriented proposals were also focused on the promotion of English literacy (2008); increasing the effectiveness of immigrant assimilation/Americanization (1924, 2008); and asserted repeatedly that the goal of BE programs should be accelerated English learning (1996, 2000, 2004).

The third major area of LP conflict—in addition to "Access" provision and "Officialization"—is associated with the fight over the expected goals of bilingual education. Here, the party programs tend to be especially (and perhaps deliberately) fuzzy: they rarely make a distinction between the "strong" ("maintenance" or "additive") forms of BE and the "weak" ("transitional" or "subtractive") models. This lack of specification may either be attributed to politically expedient vagueness, lack of psycholinguistic sophistication—or both.

Democrats referred to BE twice as frequently as Republicans did in the examined period. Most often, they did so without making a clear distinction between the strong and weak forms (in 1968, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, 1988, 2000 and in 2020). Occasionally, however, additional passages from the programs may serve as clues to the real intent of the drafters. In 1972 and in 1976, the Democratic Party platforms promised "increased support for bilingual, bicultural educational programs" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1972"); while in 2000, they encouraged "so-called English-plus initiatives" because multilingualism was seen as increasingly valuable in the global economy" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2000").

These three occasions may be regarded as supportive of additive BE models (as well), whereas a more recent Democratic reference to bilingual education from 2008 did not equivocate in the question of transition v. maintenance: "We also support transitional bilingual education and will help Limited English Proficient students get ahead by supporting and funding English Language Learner classes" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2008"), which is probably the most assimilation-oriented BE-related LP-statement in the Democratic party programs to date. Yet, in 2020, the Democratic Platform mentioned bilingual (immigrant) education again, leaving the phrase open for interpretation (see Sect. 3.1).

Counterintuitively, the few Republican BE-related statements were mostly maintenance-oriented. While in 1968 the party pledged their support only to "voluntary bilingual education" ("Republican Party Platform of 1968"); in 1976 they expressed their pro-maintenance message unequivocally: "When language is a cause

of discrimination, there must be an intensive educational effort to enable Spanish-speaking students to become fully proficient in English while maintaining their own language and cultural heritage" ("Republican Party Platform of 1976"). In 1980, Republicans expressed their belief that "there should be local educational programs which enable those who grew up learning another language such as Spanish to become proficient in English while also maintaining their own language and cultural heritage" ("Republican Party Platform of 1980"). Apparently, both the 1976 and the 1980 policy statements can be interpreted in a limited sense: in the first case maintenance may have been supported only when there was clear discrimination against Spanish-speaking students; in the second instance the emphasis must have been on "local" (as opposed to "state" and/or "federal") efforts. After 1980, references to maintenance had disappeared from Republican proposals until 1996, when the party advocated the "retention of heritage languages in homes and cultural institutions"—as opposed to the utilization of public educational resources for that purpose ("Republican Party Platform of 1996"). In 2012, the party platform stated (as regards legal immigrants): "while we encourage the retention and transmission of heritage tongues, we support English as the nation's official language" ("Republican Party Platform of 2012"). By that time, however, maintenance BE models had largely disappeared from schools due to the quick mainstreaming requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. The 2016 program dropped "transmission" and emphasized only "the preservation of heritage tongues and support English as the nation's official language" ("Republican Party Platform of 2016").

References to "Foreign Language Study" and to the lack of proficiency and expertise in this field appeared for the first time in the 1960 Democratic Party Platform but—contrary to expectations—not in the context of closing the apparent "knowledge gap" following the Sputnik shock. Instead, Democrats chastised the Eisenhower Administration for appointing "representatives who are ignorant of the language and culture and politics of the nations in which they represent" the United States ("Democratic Party Platform of 1960"). In 1964, however, the party proudly announced that in the last three fiscal years there had been large grants in federal funds to the states "to strengthen instruction in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1964"). These priorities were exactly the ones set by the National Defense Education Act of 1958, designed to catch up with the Soviet Union in the space race.

Then, after a 16-year hiatus, FLL/FLT promotion emerged in a somewhat diluted form "to broaden students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures, languages and countries" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1980"). FLL/FLT became intertwined with national security requirements after 9/11: the 2004 program framed the issue in no uncertain terms: "We must train more analysts in languages spoken by terrorists" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2004"). In 2008, the language became more sophisticated but the national security concern remained: "We must invest still more in human intelligence and deploy additional trained operatives with specialized knowledge of local cultures and languages" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2008"). The public education context also reappeared in 2008: "We support teaching students second languages" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2008").

Republicans made their first reference to FLL/FLT in 1988, when they recognized that "the teaching of the history, culture, geography and, particularly, the languages of key nations of the world was a necessity", so Americans were advised to "acquire the ability to speak the languages of our customers" ("Republican Party Platform of 1988"). Enhancing global economic competitiveness was the main reason behind the Republican backing of FLL/FLT in 1996, 2000, and in 2004 as well.

Indigenous language preservation has continually been present on the Republican agenda since 1992 (practically reinforcing the requirements of the Native American Languages Act of 1990). Republicans have repeatedly endorsed "efforts to ensure equitable participation in federal programs by Native Americans, Native Alaskans and Native Hawaiians and to preserve their culture and languages" ("Republican Party Platform of 1996"). Democrats, on the other hand, moved more cautiously in this area. Although they also expressed "respect" towards "Native American culture and… treaty commitments" ("Democratic Party Platform of 1992"), no direct references to Native American linguistic preservation had been made in the party platforms until 2008, when the party pledged their support to "the revitalization of American Indian languages" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2008"). Four years later, they promised "greater support for American Indian and Alaska Native languages" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2012")—a policy that has remained an integral part of the Democratic Platform to this day.

4   Language Policy Types from Promotion to Restriction

"Promotion-oriented" policies may assume several forms depending on the language whose role is to be enhanced by official language management. The most straightforward of these attempts is "Officialization", which was focused on English alone, and has been promoted exclusively by the Republicans in their party programs since 1996. Described variously as "common language" and (de facto) "official language", English was also attributed several additional capacities, defined as "English-functional" arguments by Phillipson (1992, pp. 271–272). According to these (Republican) observations, English is a "unifying force essential for the educational and economic advancement" ("Republican Party Platform of 2012"); and "it has always been the fastest route to prosperity in America" ("Republican Party Platform of 2008"). Perhaps most importantly, English provides "a shared foundation which has allowed people from every corner of the world to come together to build the American nation" ("Republican Party Platform of 1996"). Democrats used "English-functional" arguments only once in their platform, arguing that "English language courses … not only help newcomers learn our common language but also help us promote our common values" ("Democratic Party Platform of 2000").

Besides "Officialization", literacy development in English, increasing ELL options for immigrants, and the attempts to transform BE courses into clearly transitional ones may also be regarded as belonging to English-promotion-oriented policies. Figures 5 and 6 show the evolving positions of the two major parties towards these issues over time.
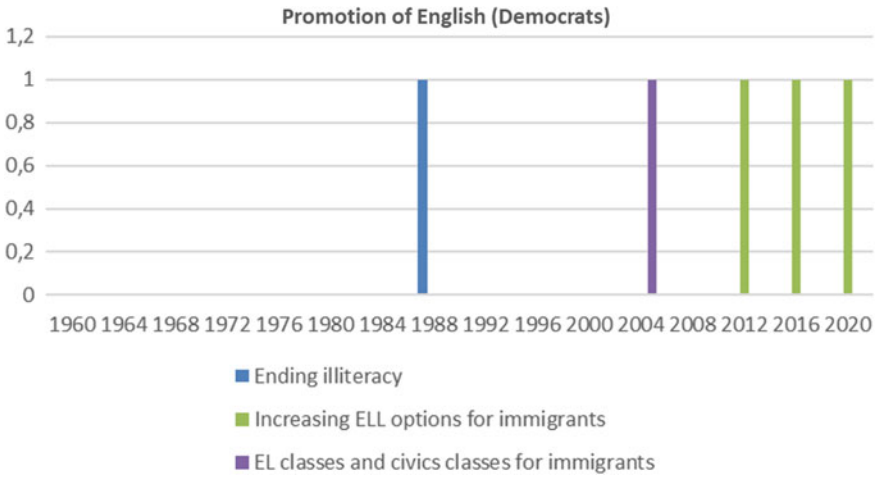
Fig. 5 Policies of promoting English by the Democratic Party
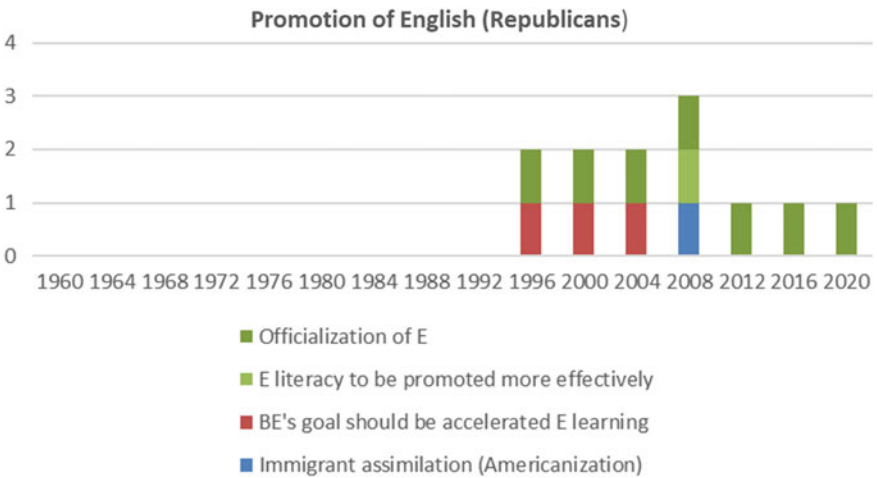
Fig. 6 Policies of promoting English by the Republican Party

The promotion or even the taxpayer-funded maintenance of immigrant heritage languages turned out to be a controversial subject, an indicator of which was the changing interpretation of the expected bilingual education model outcomes. Republicans, while endorsing L1 maintenance at home—aided by local (privately funded) cultural institutions—have made it clear since the mid-1990s that "bilingual" education must serve the needs of rapid mainstreaming in schools. In this respect, the opinions of both major parties have appeared to be largely converging after the turn

of the millennium. Back in the 1970s, however, both the Democrats and the Republicans often used to be supportive of additive BE programs as well. An important difference between the two major parties is that Republicans have never endorsed the idea of "bicultural education" or supported "English Plus" initiatives (Figs. 7 and 8).

In the area of Native American language preservation and revitalization, a virtual bipartisan consensus has emerged after 1992—despite the somewhat belated Democratic commitments. Today, the support behind indigenous languages (including

Fig. 7 Democratic Party attitudes towards bilingual education (BE)

Fig. 8 Republican Party attitudes towards bilingual education (BE)

Native Alaskans and Native Hawaiian) appears to be a ubiquitous feature of the major party programs.

The promotion of foreign language learning did not appear to be a divisive issue, either. The Democrats were the first to call attention to the lack of FL proficiency in 1960 (among U.S. diplomatic representatives); later the shortcomings of FLT in general were also addressed by the party, especially in the context of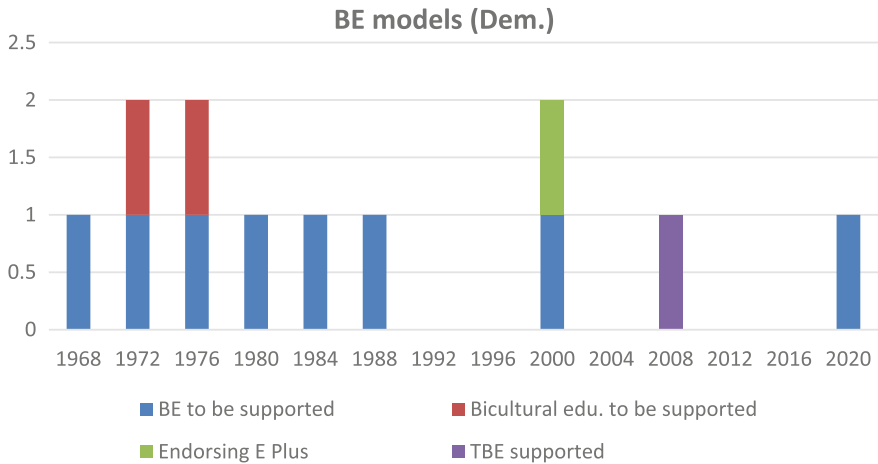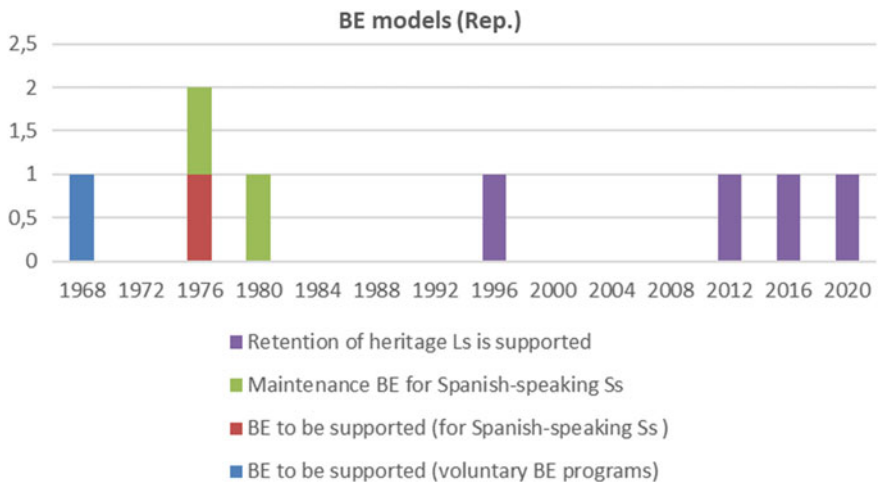 national security. Republicans were more consistent in promoting FLL/FLT between 1988 and 2004 (at least at the level of rhetoric) with the aim of enhancing U.S. economic competitiveness in the world market. Despite repeated concerns about the lack of foreign language skills, neither party tried to tap the heritage language resources of immigrant students by establishing a link between foreign language teaching and heritage language maintenance, e.g., by promoting dual-language education (DLE) programs. What is more, concerns about foreign language proficiency have disappeared entirely from both parties' agenda after 2008.

"Expediency-oriented" policies were mostly manifested in the "Access" provision and "Antidiscrimination" type of LP proposals. For the purposes of this analysis, the former category is regarded as a form of "Strong Expediency", as opposed to the "Weak Expediency" of antidiscrimination guarantees (Figs. 9 and 10).

While Democrats have been remarkably active in proposing policies to provide bilingual voting materials and to ensure health care access for linguistic minorities, Republicans usually regarded these concerns as non-issues, especially after 1972. The incompatibilities between the two party programs are clearly present in the context of "Weak Expediency" as well (Figs. 11 and 12).

While the Democratic proposals were more frequent, multifarious, and formed an integral part of their LP agenda, Republicans mainly focused on reducing discrimination against Spanish-speaking students in schools throughout the 1970s.
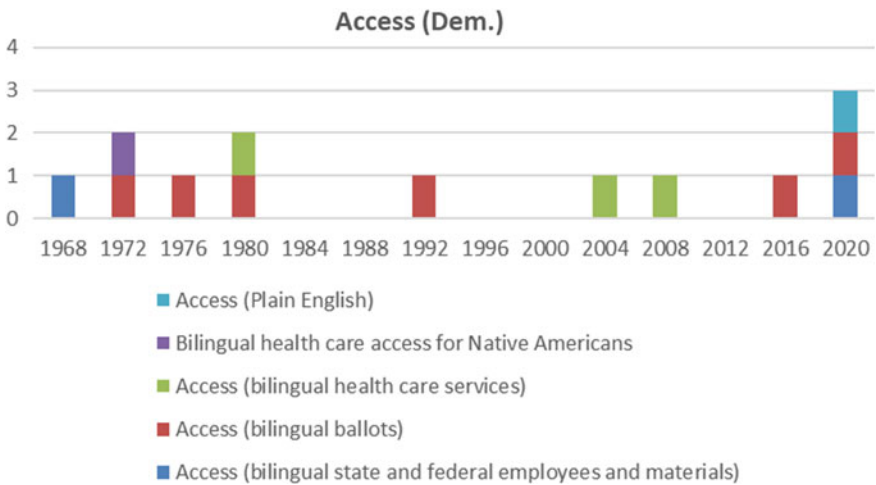
Fig. 9 "Strong" Expediency-oriented proposals in the Democratic Party platforms
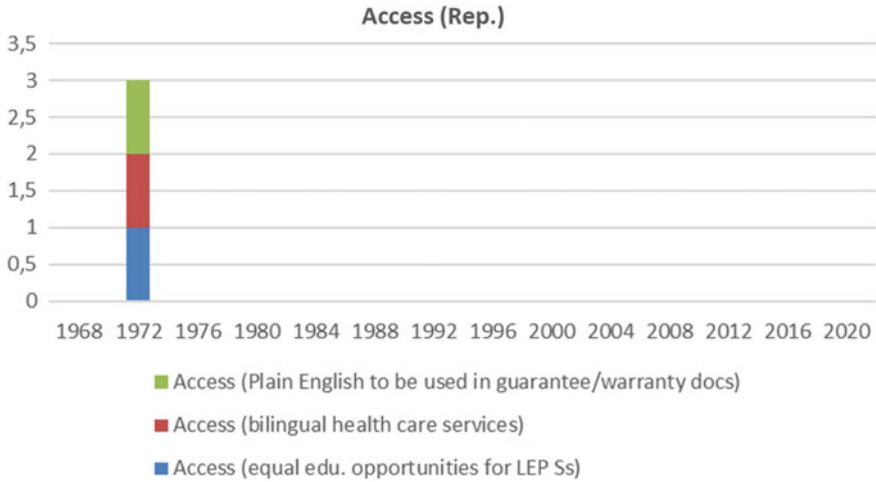
Fig. 10 "Strong" Expediency-oriented proposals in the Republican Party platforms
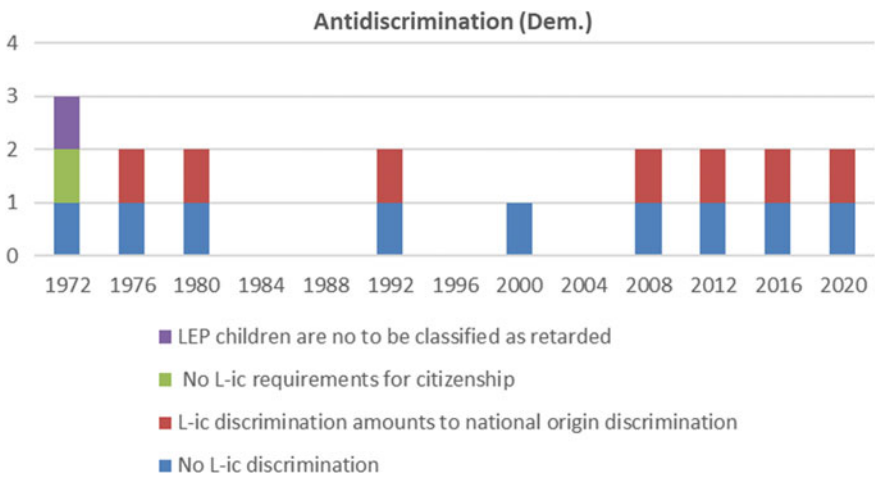
Fig. 11 "Weak" Expediency-oriented proposals in the Democratic Party platforms

As compared to "Promotion" and "Expediency", "Tolerance-oriented" policies are extremely difficult to identify as they are characterized by the overall absence of interference and intervention. It would be tempting to come to the conclusion that the lack of language-related references in the party platforms actually coincided with long periods of *laissez faire* or a federal-level "null policy" concerning linguistic diversity. However, this is not the case: for instance, the coercive assimilation of Native American tribes, the heavy-handed linguistic and cultural assimilation attempts on the newly acquired territories following the Spanish-American
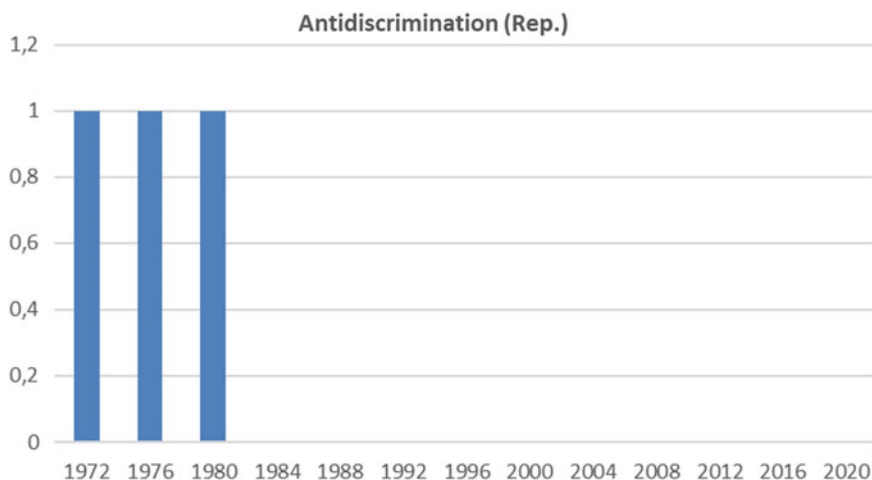
Fig. 12 "Weak" Expediency-oriented proposals in the Republican Party platforms

War (1898), and the Americanization of "hyphenated-Americans" before, during and after World War I are not reflected in the examined party programs—although they are frequently considered restrictive and even repressive by today's standards.

5 Summary and Conclusion

Overall, this paper examined whether the shifts in American language ideologies (as manifested in the series of laws and regulations related to linguistic diversity) can be traced in the major party programs of the American political scene as well. Relying on the classification of all language-related remarks and policy proposals in the Democratic and Republican Party platforms, the following conclusions appear to have been justified:

1. Smaller parties have refrained from involvement in LP-related issues, perhaps sensing the divisive nature of the subject, which may result in the net loss of support at the expense of gaining a few additional votes from other elements of the constituency.
2. Even the Democrats and the Republicans had been extremely reluctant to address LP problems until 1968. Nevertheless, out of the three exceptions, the Republican endorsement of immigration restrictions and Americanization from 1924 may be regarded as a harbinger of forthcoming assimilationist LP-attitudes in the party programs. The two Democratic references to the need of FLL/FLT quality improvement (1960, 1964) also ushered in a future (although intermittent) tendency.

3. The larger-scale appearance of language management efforts at party level coincided with the impact of mostly Latino immigrants on the American public education system after the implementation of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. In all probability, the relationship is not simply correlational; it must be a causal one.

4. The traditional, broad-brush approach of categorizing the areas of U.S. language policy conflict into bilingual education; access provision; and officialization covers the vast majority of LP issues in the party platforms. Yet, a more complete picture would also include foreign language learning/teaching and indigenous language maintenance/revitalization—with the caveat that the latter areas have witnessed the emergence of a bipartisan consensus from time to time despite minor differences. Regardless of the more or less unified support behind FLL/FLT, no attempts were made to promote dual language education models (DLE/TWI), which indicates that immigrant heritage language maintenance or promotion are not to be endorsed unequivocally in this setting, either.

5. Despite the sometimes bitter "Transition vs. Maintenance" debate that dominated the US LP scene from the 1970s to the 1990s concerning the preferred outcomes of bilingual education, by the early 2000s both parties seemed to have reached a mostly "Transition"-based consensus in the public education context while at the same time supporting the intergenerational transmission of minority heritage languages in private settings. From the pluralist perspective, this development may be regarded as a significant retreat from the more "Maintenance"-friendly atmosphere of the 1970s.

6. One area of LP conflict that has so far appeared to be most incompatible between the Democratic and the Republican programs is the de jure promotion of English by "Officialization", although the Democrats have de facto been engaged in similar projects in the name of literacy development and the promotion of English learning options for immigrants.

7. Another contested area is the field of "Access" guarantees, which is the realm of language rights realization, and may largely be equated with "Expediency"-oriented policies in Wiley's framework. Here, Democrats have been adamantly protecting the language rights achievements of the 1970s (e.g., the practice of providing multilingual voting materials) while repeatedly trying to expand the scope of previous antidiscrimination guarantees (e.g., by equating linguistic discrimination with "national origin" discrimination). As the data indicate, Republicans have been practically unreceptive to these ideas since 1980.

Consequently—and contrary to expectations—the examined party platforms show the greatest distance between the two parties in an area that should (in theory) provoke the least amount of disagreement: "Expediency"-oriented policies. However, "Expediency"-oriented policies were originally designed to create short-term minority language accommodations and not to remain permanent legal fixtures—frequently seen as "entitlements" from the Republican perspective. Perhaps this is where the real center of partisan LP controversy lies.

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Irony and Sarcasm as Tools of Contemporary Humor

Agata Sobiczewska

Abstract Sarcasm and irony is a colloquial speech tool used by millions of people around the world every day. Both forms of expression are evidence of the mind's strength and take the conversation to another level—metaphorical. However, not everyone likes this tone of the conversation. There are many conditions responsible for the correct use and, thus, for the correct detection of both irony and sarcasm in a statement. One such condition is gender, another might be age, yet another may be the genetic condition, making it easier for some people to find themselves in a world of indirect speech. This kind of language often does not find its place in a world dominated by simple thinking and quick access to knowledge. However, it is worth remembering that, according to many scientists, metaphorical language adds humor, which is even desirable in some circles. In this paper, I would like to draw attention to three issues. The first will discuss the placement of the two described means of expression in humorism, which, as is well known, takes on a different form for each culture. This perception of irony and sarcasm makes them take on a cross-cultural face. Another issue will highlight the differences between irony and sarcasm, thus making them two separate parts of nonliteral language. Finally, the last issue will present the research results on the previously mentioned conditions for detecting irony and sarcasm in speech. The study was based on the Polish cinematography classic *Day of the Wacko*, and the obtained results clearly indicate the relationship.

Keywords Irony · Sarcasm · Metaphor · Humor · Cross-cultural · Nonliteral meaning · Figurative language

1 Introduction

Language is a system of conventional characters. Alongside gestures, facial expressions, and body language in the broadest sense of the word, the verbal language is one of the most common ways of communication among people. It is a product shaped

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by those using it and subject to constant modification since it is a living construction. Its complexity is a determinant of the development of a given society and a point of reference in civilizational or intellectual development. It makes a unique code for a particular social group living in a specific region. The richness and variety of linguistic and stylistic means used while speaking, along with the grammatical and punctuational correctness, help to assess the solidity of the interlocutor's mind accurately. It is the language that defines a person, and although it is the person who created it, many people encounter difficulties trying to use it properly, and its assimilation can stand a challenge.

Efficient and fluent use of a language that is rich in various stylistic means, including metaphors, is, in some environments, a determinant of human value and defines the framework for human intelligence. The use of either irony or sarcasm in one's statements is a sign of creativity. Being flooded with tremendous amounts of information each day makes us filter the content and notice only the one that stands out. The use of sarcasm and irony is the right way to attract someone's attention, but only when used correctly, will it have the desired effect, which is not an easy task.

Irony and sarcasm are considered by many to be close words and are often treated interchangeably, both in speech and writing. Some experts in the subject share this perception, but it is usually one of many approaches. A review of the literature contained in this paper quite clearly indicates different ways which scientists use to analyze these two forms, and the result is even more varied when they are compared to each other. There is no doubt that these are two almost identical stylistic means, so the differences that divide them in practice are often considered insignificant or are ignored completely. However, this is a disdainful attitude towards the research made to highlight the differences, and sometimes this approach is considered to be underestimating by those who perceive the disparities.

2   Cross-Cultural Face of Sarcastic and Ironic Humor

As is usually the case with great part of English words, the word *humor* takes its origins from Greek. However, the origins are obscure and do not relate in any way to the meaning of the word as we know it today. In *Collins' Etymological Dictionary* we encounter the definition of the word *humor* which refers to "moisture" or "any animal fluid" (1966, p. 176). Stelmack in his work draws attention to the fact that Ancient physicians maintained that health depended on the balance between the four fluids of the body: blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile. When these fluids do not balance, various personality traits become accentuated; for example, an excess of blood makes someone hopeful or sanguine (Stelmack & Stalikas, 1991, p. 257). Thus, humor came to be associated with the idea of a person whose temperament deviated from the norm. Such people were treated as eccentrics; by the sixteenth century, they were considered funny—and therefore made excellent subjects for comedic actors to emulate. As a result, humor evolved into what humorists do, and what we know now

which, according to Britannica, is "communication in which the stimulus produces amusement".

However, in many works devoted to the topic of humor researchers draw our attention to the fact that humor is not only the ability to respond correctly to humorous utterances (so-called *appreciation of humor*) but also to produce humorous utterances efficiently and appropriately (so-called *creation of humor*). An example of such work is a study conducted by London-based researchers. Their work states that "sense of humor commonly refers at once to the ability to respond to events, scenarios, or cultural productions which have been termed funny within a given culture and conversely, to the ability to create, or draw attention to these same events, scenarios, or productions" (Cherkas et al., 2000, p. 21).

For most of us, it is not a difficult task to recall in our minds the last time we laughed ourselves to tears. Nor should it be a difficult task to identify what it is that makes us laugh. For each of us, however, it will be something different.

Researchers also note that gender may be a variable that influences the perception of humor (Berger, 1976; Chiaro, 1992; Hay, 1995; Hirschman, 1994). Some of the experiments have shown that men are funnier because they need it to find a partner. Ladies are less funny because centuries of patriarchy have made it *inappropriate* for women and girls to be funny. Greengross, Silvia and Nusbaum say:

> Specifically, women were prevented from using humor in the public sphere, not allowed to tell jokes and perform comedy routines, and confined to tell jokes only in private, while men were free to exhibit their humor in any form and platform they wished. These expectations, especially if indoctrinated from early ages, may contribute to observed sex difference. (Greengross et al., 2019)

Women, unfortunately, are not happy about this result, and many well-known female comedians are downright angry, as they claim that publishing this type of research works against them and hinders their careers because even without this type of scientific evidence, it is hard for them in the industry.

However, some studies refute such a stereotypical way of looking at these differences. Hay, in her extensive work on gender in humor, believes that the claim that women do not have a sense of humor or that they have one which is a lot less developed due to social constraints is faulty thinking. In her work, she mainly points out that women joke differently when compared to men. This can create a misconception that there is no such thing as a feminine sense of humor, whereas it is men who simply do not understand female jokes. This is because women who are engaged in conversation exclusively with other women bring up very different topics than men who are in the company of men only. We read "[…] research has found that men talk more about work, activities or things they have seen or read, whereas women tend to discuss personal matters, relationships, home, and family. The topics of humor in this study followed a similar distribution" (Hay, 1995, p. 186).

Some people believe that humor is a trait that cannot be acquired by any means, and you have to be born with it. However, according to a study conducted by researchers at St. Thomas's Hospital in London, the case is different. They argue that upbringing is a factor that largely influences what sense of humor we have and what things amuse

us. They studied 71 pairs of monozygotic twins and 56 pairs of dizygotic twins who were raised together. Each pair in isolation rated the quality of five cartoon jokes on a scale of zero to ten. It turned out that the twins responded similarly to each joke. The concordance between the ratings of monozygotic twins (they have the same genes) and dizygotic twins (they have half identical genes) was very similar. These results suggest that it is not the same genes but the environment in which the twins were raised that is responsible for their reactions: "our data do suggest that appreciation or not of a Larson-type cartoon in the cognitive domain is largely influenced by the shared environment, with no significant contribution from genetic factors" (Cherkas et al., 2000, p. 21).

But the most important—from our point of view—is the cultural factor: where we grow up, where we spend our lives, where the main shaping of us as intelligent beings takes place. Humor varies from locality to locality and is certainly different in different countries. It is not uncommon to hear that countries have diverse personalities, and this translates into a sense of humor.

All over the world, people laugh at very different things. Americans along with Canadians like to laugh at someone else's stupidity (as long as the joke is not about them). Belgians, French, and Danes enjoy the absurd. The Australians, Irish and English, on the other hand, are fans of jokes involving wordplay. Surprisingly, Germans, who are sometimes considered to have the heaviest sense of humor, find almost everything funny. Where did this data come from? Psychologist Dr. Richard Wiseman from the University of Hertfordshire studied the reactions to the same jokes of representatives of eleven nationalities. Each participant had to rate the same jokes on a scale of 1–3. It turned out that Germans often gave the highest marks (Wiseman, 2002).

The sense of humor of people in different countries depends on history, religion, but also on language, which—altogether—makes up the culture of the country. Jokes are often based on wordplay or idioms that cannot be translated. Remember that the greater the cultural differences, the more difficult it is to tell jokes. That is why we need to be able to sense what kind of humor our audience has in order to avoid offending them or making fun of ourselves. According to the principle: what is funny to some, may provoke outrage in others. But it is worth the effort because joking is an important part of interpersonal communication—it definitely enriches the conversation, and a joke told well (one that takes cultural differences into account) certainly works to the advantage of the teller. Wiseman himself mentions just that: "[the results] suggest that people from different parts of the world have fundamentally different senses of humour. Humour is vital to communication and the more we understand about how people's culture and background affect their sense of humour, the more we will be able to communicate effectively" (Wiseman, 2002, p. 7).

Ofra and Baruch Nevo have a similar view on the cross-cultural nature of humor. They argue that the cognitive side of humor is the same for all nationalities, national minorities, social groups, etc. (Nevo & Nevo, 2001). The universality of humor is encapsulated precisely in its cognitive side. It manifests itself in the same way for everyone—laughter; it has the same task everywhere in the world—to make people laugh; it uses the same cognitive mechanisms determined by Cho—"incongruity,

surprise, cognitive mastery, and incongruity-resolution theories" (Cho, 1995, p. 192). However, they further address the topic of preferences that depend on culture. Every social group—large or small—has some preference for what they find funny. So, the ability to respond to humorous situations or stories is not itself dependent on a person's ethnicity or cultural background, but what jokes will make them laugh and whether any particular ones will make them burst into laughter at all has its basis in a person's culture:

> cultural preferences may affect both the specific content and the perception of incongruities and their resolutions, as well as the interpretation of the surprise element. Each culture has its own set of values, norms, and unwritten rules of what is appropriate in humor, and these largely determine its content, target, and style. (Nevo & Nevo, 2001, p. 144)

For many people, sarcasm and irony are variations of a joke that one uses on a daily basis to refer to other people or to talk about oneself. It is not surprising, then, that many works on irony and sarcasm emphasize and describe the role humor plays in them. It works similarly the other way around: studies that have been conducted on humor include irony and sarcasm among its types.

Ritchie points out the theory of humor—the basic ingredient or condition that makes a joke essentially a joke is the presence of a minimum of one of three explanatory mechanisms. As he states, these are: "aggression, incongruity, and arousal-safety", and, what is even more important, he underlines that none of these alone is enough to define the notion of humor as a whole (Ritchie, 2005, p. 278). For this paper, the most significant is incongruity, and the reason for this is that one relies on ambiguity when making both ironic and sarcastic statements. Oprea and Magdy describe sarcasm as "[…] discrepancy between the literal and intended meanings of an utterance" (Oprea & Magdy, 2019); *The Cambridge Dictionary* defines sarcasm as "the use of remarks that clearly mean the opposite of what they say". In her book on irony, Barbe examines many definitions of irony that have swept through many works on both humor and non-literal language. After analyzing these definitions, she presents her own: "Speakers can be ironic by saying the opposite of what they believe, by saying something different from what they believe, etc" (Barbe, 1995, p. 64). Muecke, on the other hand, expresses himself about irony in a very direct way, saying that "we say it is ironic when too highly incongruous or incompatible phenomena are found in close juxtaposition […]" (Muecke, 1970, p. 61).

3 Difference Between Sarcasm and Irony

Although very similar, irony and sarcasm are not the same thing. However, it is obvious why, for some, there is no difference between the two—the very definition of both the first and the second figure points to more or less the same thing. A review of the literature strictly related to this topic will help frame both meanings, highlight the difference between them, and shed light on the common parts. Let us focus on irony first.

In the search for the original roots of the word, one encounters many different definitions and explanations of meanings that are hidden in these few letters. In the dictionary—*A Greek and English Lexicon* (Liddell & Scott, 1940)—we can find the following English translation of words related to irony:

a. εἰρωνεία—"dissimulation[1]";
b. εἰρωνεύομαι—"to dissemble";
c. εἰρωνικός—"dissembling, putting on a feigned ignorance";
d. εἴρων—"a dissembler, one who says less than he thinks".

Hesychii from Alexandria is the author of many collections created at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. His most significant work is one of the most popular lexicons—Συναγωγή Πασῶν Λέξεων κατά Στοιχείον.[2] The glossary is a collection of rare words found in works of Greek authors—sometimes with their source mentioned. In his collection, the following definition of the word εἰρωνεία is given: jokes, but using words that are contrary to those that one means, instead of confronting face to face[3] (Hesychius, 1867).

The Greek scholar and philosopher Theophrastus of Eresos in his work *Characters—'Ηθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες* provides this definition of the word *irony*: "*Irony* – generally speaking – is probably an artificial lowering of oneself in actions and words. Moreover, *ironic* would be someone, for example, who approaches his enemies in order to hide the fact that he hates them. Furthermore, he praises those whom he has just battled behind their backs and expresses his sympathy to them if they have lost[4]" (Theophrastus, 1963, pp. 3–4). In the definition, we also encounter other examples of such behavior, which always have a common denominator—it is a set of actions performed in reverse, on the contrary, in contradiction to the underlying assumptions.

Since irony is content encoded in another content with the opposite meaning, it represents matters about which the interlocutor does not want to talk. The definition of irony in the dictionary *Dictionary of World Literary Terms* by Shipley is as follows: "Verbal irony is a form of speech in which the words intentionally or unintentionally belie the real meaning, producing a sense of incongruity in the spectator and sometimes in one or more of the persons involved in the verbal situation" (Shipley, 1970, pp. 165–166). Based on the definition mentioned above, we can clearly and unequivocally state that a statement burdened with irony takes place on two different levels. The first level will be a reality, i.e., a message that appears *verbatim*,[5] the literal meaning of the words used by the speaker. Usually, the words that a person says,

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[1] Dissimulation—the fact of trying to hide your real feelings, character, or intentions (according to *Cambridge Dictionary*).

[2] *Alphabetical Collection of All Words.*

[3] Translation mine: "στι λόγος του ἐναντίου το ἐναντίον ὁηλν, μετά τι ὑποχρίσεως είς, άντι μέν του πρός" (Hesychius, 1867).

[4] Translation mine: "«Ironia» — biorąc ogólnie — to chyba nieszczere obniżanie siebie samego w czynach i słowach. A «ironiczny» to byłby ktoś taki np., kto podchodzi do swoich nieprzyjaciół, chcąc ukryć to, że ich nienawidzi. I wychwala w oczy tych, których poza plecami dopiero co zwalczał, współczucie im wyraża, jeśli przegrali [jakąś sprawę]" (Theophrastus, 1963).

[5] Lat. word-for-word.

the conversations he or she has, take place only at this level. In the case of a trope,[6] there is another level that the speaker uses to send a message—the level of literalism, the intention of hiding the real message under something else, often but not always, seemingly innocent. So how is sarcasm different from all of the descriptions above?

The collective knowledge of sarcasm makes us think that we know everything about it because it is an easy-to-use creation. Meanwhile, the literature on the subject indicates that sarcasm is not as evident as it may seem. Over the years, many alleged experts have willingly shared their opinion on the subject of sarcasm. Each has a different approach to these two measures and it is impossible to draw visible lines between one and the other. These differences in approach best illustrate the dissonance that brings sarcasm with it—for some, it evokes approval, whereas, for others, it is a sign of malice or weakness of character. Today we use sarcasm more often and treat it as a pass to the group's endorsement. Where does sarcasm come from, and why does not everyone recognize it?

Traditionally, the word *sarcasm* has its roots in ancient Greece, since the Greek language is the lingua franca of that time. Once again, *A Greek and English Lexicon* (Liddell & Scott, 1940) is a useful reference. In the collection, the word *sarcasm* occurs in the form of:

a. Σαρκάζω, which means "to tear flesh like dogs";
b. Σαρκίζω, which means "to strip off the flesh, scrape it out".

In *Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, we encounter the following definition of the word *sarcasm*: "*Sārkazm* – tearing the flesh, biting the lips in rage; a bitter sneer; a satirical remark in scorn or contempt. It is *sarcasmus* from Latin and *sarkasmos – sarkazö – sarx – sarkos* from Greek" (Chambers, 2015, p. 449). In many other etymological dictionaries (among others *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, *A dictionary of English etymology*, vol. III), we come across the same definition of the word. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the word *sarcasm* was used for the first time to describe a situation in which a person encounters an unpleasant comment, aimed at causing pain and distress.

Probably the first documented contact with the word *sarcasm* can be found in Quintilian. In his significant dissertation on the theory and practice of rhetoric *Institutio Oratoria* published around year 95 CE, we find a reference to sarcasm. He discusses this device in the following way: "Further, we may employ allegory, and disguise bitter taunts in gentle words by way of wit, or we may indicate our meaning by saying exactly the contrary" (Quintilian, 1920, p. 333). The dissertation also presents a simple formula that defines what sarcasm is today: *aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit*, which, roughly translated, "presents one thing in words and other in meaning" (Quintilian, 1920, p. 327).

How do dictionaries define sarcasm today? *The Cambridge Dictionary* describes sarcasm as the use of words with a different meaning than intended, just like irony, but apart from that, sarcasm is intended to offend someone; the definition reads as

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[6] According to Sperber and Wilson, this is what irony is, because, as with all tropes, its literal meaning is different from the hidden one (Wilson & Sperber, 1992).

follows: "the use of remarks that clearly mean the opposite of what they say, made in order to hurt someone's feelings". Based on this explanation, one may compare being sarcastic to being untruthful; however, sarcasm differs from lying in that the person producing the sarcastic statement wants the recipient to know the real message the former wants to convey. *The Oxford Dictionary of American English* determines sarcasm in a way that is similar to the previous interpretation, which is "the use of words or expressions to mean the opposite of what they actually say. People use sarcasm in order to criticize other people […]". *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* gives us a bit different approach to sarcasm's definition, as it interprets this device as a derivative of irony: "[sarcasm is] harsh or bitter derision or irony; a sharply ironical taunt or gibe, a sneering or cutting remark".

As mentioned previously, many people believe that sarcasm is similar to irony, and some do not even distinguish between one and another. Rankin says sarcasm "is a type of ironic speech in which an implicit criticism of a specific target is conveyed via contextual or paralinguistic cues" (Rankin et al., 2009, p. 2005). This is hardly surprising since even the definition from the Oxford dictionary gives such information. Some people, however, consider those two to be different literary tools. An example of such a person would be the subject specialist, Douglas Muecke, aforementioned in this work, who believes that sarcasm, although similar to irony, does not fit into its rather rigid form. In his book, we read,

> It is the absence of this feeling that distinguishes irony from what is too heavy or too light to deserve the name [of irony]. A sarcasm such as *You are a nice sort of friend!* is not for a moment plausible in its literal sense; the tone conveys reproach so strongly that no feeling of contradiction is possible. (Muecke, 1982, pp. 45–46)

Barbe, as another researcher has explored the subject of irony enough to make a clear statement on the relationship between irony and sarcasm. In her compendium of knowledge on this subject, she has included why we cannot treat sarcasm as just a kind of irony. She points out that sarcasm is a more personal literary means, which significantly reduces the number of recipients. The author also mentions that sarcasm, as opposed to irony, is obvious. This, in turn, is linked to the fact that a stranger witnessing a sarcastic statement does not need to know the background of the statement to say that it is undoubtedly sarcasm. Lastly, we read that sarcasm, when compared to irony, is considered as more face-saving (Barbe, 1995).

Haiman distinguishes between the two concepts in a simple way. However, in his simplicity, he is close to the researchers already mentioned here—he differentiates the two concepts as follows:

> First, situations may be ironic, but only people can be sarcastic. Second, people may be unintentionally ironic, but sarcasm requires intention. What is essential to sarcasm is that it is overt irony intentionally used by the speaker as a form of verbal aggression, and it may thus be contrasted with other aggressive speech acts. (Haiman, 1998, p. 20)

He also believes that sincere statements often sound infantile. Meanwhile, the adequately applied sarcasm is proof of our distance to some issues. In his view, sarcasm helps us take control of the conversation. Some experts say that this is also

the best way to soften criticism, which is weakened by the use of humor (Booth, 1974; Gibbs, 2000; Jorgensen, 1996).

4 Conditions for Proper Detection of Sarcasm and Irony

The primary purpose of my research is to check whether detecting irony and sarcasm in statements is an innate feature or one that we learn by becoming familiar with definitions and examples. To put it in other words, the main goal of this study is to test whether prior knowledge of the definitions of irony and sarcasm, together with examples of the use of these two forms of expression, affects the detection of irony and sarcasm. Another goal is to check whether the age of the person under examination is a factor that affects the way people detect irony and sarcasm in oral expression. The last goal of the study is to check whether the gender of the test subjects affects the ability to detect irony and sarcasm in a sentence.

The irony is not always evident to the viewer, and often requires knowledge of the context of the statement as well as the nature of the speaker, and even the cultural context and knowledge of historical realities. It is therefore hard not to agree with Harnish and Bach, who classified irony (next to metaphor, sarcasm, and exaggeration) as a category of non-literal illocutionary acts (Harnish & Bach, 1979). The lack of literal irony can lead to ambiguity of expression, and it gives the possibility of different, often contradictory interpretations. As Puzynina notes, "irony, like hyperbole or euphemism, is one of those traces which – not understood – may not cause a sense of incoherence in the text; they simply give a different understanding of it, inconsistent with the intention of the author" (translation mine) (Puzynina, 1988, p. 42).

First and foremost, a movie that contains sarcastic and ironic scenes was chosen— *Day of the Wacko*, a Polish feature film from 2002 directed by Marek Koterski, produced by Juliusz Machulski and Włodzimierz Otulak. The very next step was a thorough analysis of the film. Then, after discussing it with three other people of different ages, the scenes that contain sarcasm, irony, both or none of the mentioned above, were selected. The aforementioned individuals who helped me choose the stimuli did not take part in the research but they became familiar with what two facets discussed in this paper are. Subsequently, the film was edited so that in the end, it consisted only of scene numbers and a total of eight selected fragments— two fragments containing only irony, two fragments containing only sarcasm, two fragments containing both irony and sarcasm, and finally two fragments with neither irony nor sarcasm. The link to the edited version of the film: https://bit.ly/3z7fV57.

A quantity of one hundred fifty people took part in the research questionnaire. Individuals were divided into two main groups: the control group and the experimental group. In addition to that, they belonged to subgroups as well. The variable was age (three different categories: under 18 years old, between 18 and 30 years old, and over 30 years old) and sex (two categories: male and female). Each of the participants in the study (both groups) received a questionnaire with questions about each

of the selected fragments of the film, which they had to fill in during the film. The questionnaire was simple in form. It consisted of a brief introduction that outlined the purpose of the study and a simple prompt to select one of the four available options according to one's beliefs. The link to the questionnaire: https://forms.gle/HMVbwt 9NEeCQHsde7. The experimental group was presented with a definition of irony, along with a few various examples of use. Subsequently, they became acquainted with the definition of sarcasm, which was also accompanied by different examples of use. The control group had to fill in the forms without prior knowledge of the definitions.

The definitions of the concepts used in the study were simple and provided in L1, the same was for the examples of both means. They read as follows:

- Irony—a way of speaking based on the intended incongruity, usually opposition of two levels of expression: literal and implicit, such as in the sentence "What a beautiful weather"! uttered during a downpour[7]:

  - Gosh, you don't look tired at all. = To a person who barely opens his eyes and almost falls asleep in his chair.
  - Good thing you don't like sweets. = To someone who eats a meringue and has previously declared that he doesn't like sweets.
  - You're my hero! = To a man who has found something we've been looking for a long time.[8]

- Sarcasm—a derisive, mocking or sneering expression[9]:

  - Great, I just needed your company now! = Saying with the right accent about a person whose presence we don't enjoy.
  - Wow! You got it. Amazing, after all, it's a very difficult task! = To someone who has spent a long time thinking about an obvious task that we think everyone should know the solution to.
  - Amazing! You are an expert in every field! = To someone who speaks on a subject they know nothing about and tries to convince others of their theories.[10]

4.1 Procedure

Participants were either tested individually through an online survey or collected in one place and tested simultaneously. They were randomly assigned to one of two groups (here referred to as Sample 1 and Sample 2). They were either instructed without prior knowledge of what to expect in terms of what was included in the answers (Sample 1: testing irony/sarcasm non-alert) or provided with a definition of

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[7] Definition taken from the Wikipedia site: https://bit.ly/383MJQw.

[8] Examples taken from the Polszczyzna site: https://bit.ly/3k6VfUg.

[9] Definition taken from the Ortograf site: https://bit.ly/3y83PY6.

[10] Examples taken from the Polszczyzna site: https://bit.ly/3k6VfUg.

irony and sarcasm along with examples in native language. Then, they were instructed to consider one of those that are in the stimuli, i.e., they were instructed that some of the scenarios they intend to evaluate, contain sarcasm, irony, or both, while others do not (Sample 2: testing irony/sarcasm alert). The participants completed the test after filling in the questions about their gender and age.

4.2 Preliminary Analyses

After a preliminary analysis of the response sheets, what is the most striking is that there is a vast difference between the results obtained in the control group and in the experimental group. The most crucial possibility that results from the answers received is that people do not know the definitions of sarcasm and irony or the differences between them. The vast majority of people in the control group look for sarcasm, irony, or both, where none of these is present. So it is justified to state that people are unable to detect irony or sarcasm without previous learning what both are. Looking at the results, it is reasonable to say that people might not have the innate ability to recognize these two tools of speech. The thing worth mentioning here is that results can be influenced by many factors that are hard to eliminate, for example prior knowledge of the film, which is still one of the most famous Polish films and it would be very difficult to find 150 people in different age brackets who have never seen it—especially in the oldest age group. As for the results obtained in the control group, it is difficult to eliminate the possibility of so-called choosing at random, despite the request to mark the answers according to one's own judgment. It is also impossible to say to what extent the participants in the study had prior knowledge of what irony and sarcasm are since pre-testing was not conducted, nor is it possible to determine conclusively whether providing definitions and examples of irony and sarcasm is sufficient to aid in the detection process. However, this is a standard learning process, so it should be enough in most cases.

Another thing that is worth noticing is that men are more predisposed than women on this issue because it was men who achieved a higher score in the correct answers to the questionnaire that was created. It would seem that the daily doctrine of communication is primarily based on responsibility for what is said or implied rather than how it is interpreted and understood. However, the question as to why different audiences are willing to interpret differently is legitimate and seems to be of particular importance in the discourse over non-literal language. An ironic statement is a challenge for the viewer because its literal interpretation contradicts the shared knowledge and situational context. Therefore, the viewer is forced to make a choice and solve the contradiction.

When it comes to age as a variable in deciding whether sarcasm or irony occurs, there is no noticeable difference in the control group. In other words, no influence of age on this ability is observed in a group that was not acquainted with the definitions of both parts of speech.

4.3 Results

The analysis of the data gathered during the testing allowed me to check whether the assumptions made about detecting sarcasm and irony were correct or not.

The first assumption was that the ability to recognize sarcasm and irony is an innate skill. As already stated in this work, according to Pexman and Glenwright, children as young as six years of age are able to recognize and understand the use of these two means of speech by their interlocutors. Sometimes, even at this early age, children are also able to use sarcasm at the level of consciousness (Pexman & Glenwright, 2009).

The data presented below show quite the opposite situation. There is a gap which might be considered as significant in the number of correct answers between those who have been given definitions of sarcasm and irony and then examples of their use in a sentence, and those who have not received such guidance. The results obtained in the control group indicate two different cases. The first is the difficulty in detecting irony and sarcasm in speech without prior knowledge of definitions or examples. The second is the difficulty in distinguishing irony from sarcasm. The results obtained in the experimental group indicate not only a significant improvement in detecting irony or sarcasm, but also in adequately identifying one or the other in an utterance.

The results that support the above are as follows: In the experimental group (75 people), for all the questions posed, the correctness of the answers averaged 88.35% (it was successively 88% for question no. 1, 100% for question no. 2, 78.7% for question no. 3, 77.3% for question no. 4, 98.7% for question no. 5, 90.7% for question no. 6, 90.7% for question no. 7 and 82.7% for question no. 8). The two questions with the highest number of correct answers are for passages in which neither irony nor sarcasm was used. In the remaining six questions, only one answer indicated that neither irony nor sarcasm was used, and the opposite was true. These results may be an indication to confirm my assumption—by knowing the definitions and examples, detection is easier.

In the results of the control group (75 people), the situation is slightly different. Fragment no. 1 contained both means, while as many as 9 persons answered that it did not contain either of the means in question. Fragment no. 2 contained neither irony nor sarcasm, but as many as 58 respondents found irony, sarcasm, or both. Fragment no. 3 contained sarcasm, but 21 persons answered that it did not contain either means. Fragment no. 4 contained both discussed means while 17 respondents saw neither. Fragment no. 5 again did not contain any of the discussed means, but as many as 51 persons answered differently. Fragment no. 6 was a sarcastic statement, but 14 persons indicated that none of the means was used. A similar situation occurred in fragments no. 7 and 8, which featured irony, but for 19 and 22 people, respectively, neither irony nor sarcasm was used. The studies presented above indicate that the tested ability might not be an innate skill. It needs to be learned because a lack of basic knowledge in this regard reduces the chances of successful recognition of irony and sarcasm in conversation.

Additionally, the first passage had both irony and sarcasm, but the vast majority of respondents indicated that it was only irony (34), and a few respondents indicated that it was only sarcasm (14). In the next passage, there was neither irony nor sarcasm, and the responses spread across 3 variations—sarcasm (16), irony (19), and both (23). In yet another one, sarcasm was present, and 15 people answered that it was irony and another 15 that it was both. In passage 4, where both were present, almost 1/3 of the respondents indicated that it was only sarcasm (23) and 1/8 indicated that it was only irony (9). In passage 5, where neither occurred, respondents indicated that it was irony (23), sarcasm (10), or both (18). In excerpt 6, respondents indicated that it was irony (22) or both (16), and it was actually sarcasm. Excerpt 7 contained irony, and the respondents indicated that it was sarcasm (15) or both (19). Like the previous passage, passage 8 was ironic, and the subjects saw sarcasm there (27) or both (12).

The difference between the results in the control and experimental groups may indicate a lack of a primary ability to distinguish between irony and sarcasm. Only being presented with definitions and examples of both helped the subjects match the correct answer to the passage presented.

The second assumption of my study was that age is a determining factor in recognizing irony and sarcasm in speech. As far as the control group is concerned, each of the questions was best handled by the oldest group of participants. In the experimental group, however, the differences between the subgroups are small, hence in 6 questions the group of people over 30 years old leads the way, and in the remaining two questions (6th and 8th) the ratio of the number of correct answers to the number of people taking part in the study turned out to be the highest in the middle age group, that is over 18 but under 30 years old.

The last assumption of my research was that men could do better in detecting sarcasm and irony. There is an underlying premise in society that it is the male sex that is more proficient in the use of sarcasm and irony, hence the expectation that they will show higher results in the survey. After analyzing the collected material, the results clearly show the jump of correct answers when it was the men who answered the questions.

For almost every question, both in the experimental and control group, the number of correct answers was higher for men in relation to the number of participants. In the experimental group, these differences are negligible due to the fact that in most of the questions, there were mainly correct answers among both genders, but in the control group, we can often notice a gulf. So let us focus on the results gathered among those responding, who received no instructions on irony and sarcasm.

The ratio of the number of correct answers given by women to the number of women participating in the survey, in question No. 1 is as follows: 5–41, or 12.1%, while the ratio of correct answers given by men to the number of men who took part in the survey is more than 38%, or 38.2% to be precise. In the second question, the ratio of correct answers to the number of women is 6–41, which gives us only 14.6%. As far as men are concerned, the same ratio is 11–34, which is more than twice as much, because 32.3%. The results in question No. 3 are as follows: In the case of women, the above-mentioned ratio is 10–41, so 24.39%. In the case of men,

the aforementioned ratio in the third question is 14–34, so the percentage is almost twice as high—41.1%. If we take question No. 4 into account, the ratio appears as follows: for women—14 to 41, which gives us 34.1%, for men—12 to 34, giving us 35.3%. In the next question, 47.05% of men in the control group responded correctly, which gives them an advantage over women responding correctly in this group, as these were only 19.5% of them. In question No. 6, men again outnumbered women in the number of correct answers. The ratio of males to the number of correct answers was 44.1%, and in the case of women, it was 19.5%. In question No. 7, the situation is repeated, men answered 41.2% correctly and women, as in the previous question, only 19.5%. Question No. 8 turned out to be the most difficult for women as they had a correct answer rate of 7.3%. Men, on the other hand, did more than four times better—the result is 32.35%.

Given the above percentages, it is clear that men outnumber women when it comes to recognizing irony and sarcasm in conversation. Thus, the third assumption of my study is correct.

5 Conclusions

Sarcasm and irony are two branches of non-literal language, which are, to a large extent, connected to each other, but worth noting, they are not the same creation. The analysis of the content of the research by authors working on irony and sarcasm indicates the complexity of both issues.

The work allowed me to check whether the assumptions on these two tools were made reasonably. The designed study was to check the three determining features. In all three cases, results confirming the thesis based on the analyzed literature were obtained. Namely:

- The recognition of irony and sarcasm may not be an innate feature—people who were previously presented with definitions did better than those who acted instinctively when deciding on these two measures. It also turns out that we do not have initially coded knowledge about the differences between irony and sarcasm.
- Identifying both sarcasm and irony in the received statement is easier for the male than for the female gender. The conclusion was drawn from the results that the male group achieved—they were much better than those achieved by the female group.
- Age is a variable that affects the perception of a non-literal language. The study showed that it was the group of older participants who assessed the presence of one of these two measures more accurately. Younger people did not show such accuracy, but in the end, the results were not so different from each other.

Future studies could fruitfully explore this issue further by addressing the topic of studying children and establishing a division for irony and sarcasm in such studies.

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Facets of Translation

Translating "Language-Beyond" of the Quranic Text

Ferhat Mameri and Salah Basamalah

Abstract It is a well-known fact that the dominating approach of any act of translation had always been valuating the content, the meaning, at the expense of the form. Starting from this principle, the successful translation had to go beyond the words by adapting the source text, through the use of equivalence, to abide by the needs and the expectations of the receiver of the target text. Such translating strategy always considered the form, Language, as a simple container, a means of transportation to convey the meaning, "message", from one language into another. By exploring some Quranic verses and confronting three translations of proper names as stated in the Quran, this article will shed light on the importance of the form in Quranic language. It is also an attempt to demonstrate that the act of translating Quranic Arabic, often presented as a pure language, has to introduce the scope of a new language, sometimes Hebrew, sometimes ancient Egyptian. By doing so, we assume that when it comes to Quran, the translating act is not condemned to be situated within the source language-culture environment nor within the target language-culture environment. It is rather a coming potential space that uses a new language, a "language-beyond", a language in-between. In this way, attempting at all costs to separate the form from the content can result in doing considerable harm to the message. Because in this particular case, Quranic Arabic, form and content are closely linked, they are even indissociable.

Keywords Language-beyond · Superlativeness · Ethnocentrism · Literalism · Otherness · Indigenization

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1   Introduction

From Cicero to Nida, the interpretive approach argued that one should never translate the words, but rather the meaning, the message, usually situated beyond the text. Through the use of equivalence, adaptation and paraphrasing, such translation strategy, since St. Jerome[1] (fourth and fifth centuries), passing by Al Jahiz[2] (eighth and ninth centuries) and Etienne Dolet[3] in the sixteenth century, had always praised naturalness, transparency and ease of elocution, in order not to shock the audience of the translation and to get accepted in the receiving cultural environment.

On the other side of the counter, the defendants of the source-oriented strategy of translation consider that this "metatextual" approach is a simple filtration process that allows itself to hide the existing cultural differences by erasing the particularities of the other. Sometimes described as "ethnocentric", sometimes as "literary cloning", this dominant translational model had always characterized translation since the Greeks, passing by the Romans, the Arabs, the Renaissance, and it has taken root until the twentieth century.

In order to get a deeper understanding of this bipolarity and to judge what would best suit the act of translating the Quranic text, we will analyse the translation of proper names in the Quran through the following three French translations:

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[1] Saint Jerome gives the following definition to the essence of translation: "Se quasi capituos sensus in suam lingua muictoris jure transposuit" and "non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu". A. Berman. *La Traduction et la Lettre ou l'auberge du lointain*, p. 32 (*Translation* and the *Letter* or The Inn of the Remote).

[2] In his book entitled Al-Hayawan, Al-Jahiz (Basra 776–867) already anticipated some principles of correct translation. It is clear that principles 1, 2 and 3, as proposed by E. Dolet, could be considered as a more accurate translation of what Al-Jahiz proposed about seven centuries earlier:

(ولا بد للترجمان من ان يكون بيانه في نفس الترجمة، في وزن علمه في نفس المعرفة، وينبغي أن يكون أعلم الناس باللغة المنقولة والمنقول إليها، حتى يكون فيهما سواء وغاية)

The translator must also be a specialist in the field at the same level of learnedness as the author of the source text, he needs literary ability and knowledge and perfect command of both the source and target language.

[3] Etienne Dolet's five basic principles of translation "How to Translate well from one Language into Another" mentioned by J. C. Margot, *Translating Without Betraying*, pp. 15–16:

1.   The translator must understand perfectly the content and intention of the author he is translating.
2.   The translator should have a perfect knowledge of the language from which he is translating (i.e., "source language") and an equally excellent knowledge of the language into which he is translating (i.e., "target language").
3.   The translator should avoid the tendency to translate word for word, for to do so is to destroy the meaning of the original and to ruin the beauty of the expression.
4.   The translator should employ forms of speech in common usage.

Through his choice and order of words, the translator should produce a total overall effect with appropriate "tone".

1. Le Coran, traduction de Jacques Berque, édition Sindbad, Paris 1990. [The Quran, translated by Jacques Berque, édition Sindbad, Paris 1990.]
2. Le Saint Coran et la traduction française du sens de ses versets, révisée et éditée par: La Présidence Générale des Directions des Recherches Scientifiques. [The Holy Quran and the French translation of the meaning of its verses revised and edited by The General Presidency of the Directorates of Islamic Scientific Research and IFTA, Preaching and Guidance, *AL-madina AL-monawara*; 1410 of the hegira = 1989 or 199.]
3. Le Coran, *l'Appel,* traduit et présenté par André Chouraqui, éditions: Robert LAFFONT, Paris 1990. [The Quran, the Call, translated and presented by André Chouraqui, éditions: Robert LAFFONT, Paris 1990.]

2 Dynamic Equivalence and Biblical Translation

One cannot discuss the translation of sacred texts, the Quran being one of them, without mentioning Nida and Taber and the principle of dynamic equivalence:

> Even the old question: Is this a correct translation? Must be answered in terms of another question, namely for whom? Correctness must be determined by the extent to which a translation is intended will be likely to understand it correctly. (Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 1)

This little quote sums up very well the criteria of success of any translation, and points out the strategy—mentioned above—that had dominated the act of translation for almost twenty centuries:

- The main focus is being put on the reader of the translation. The good translation is the one that manages to meet the expectations of its readers (target the impact; produce the same effect as the source text).
- The best translation is the one that is readable, understandable; the one that fits the mold of the receiving culture.
- The necessity of introducing some necessary changes and modifications in order to achieve the two objectives mentioned above; through additions, omissions, explanations, adaptations, etc.

A little further, the authors give the example of "Jesus" which does not necessarily have the same conceptual associations contained in the Quranic term "Isa عيسى":

> Componential structures of the meanings of these two terms (i.e., the differences in concepts held popularly by Christians and Muslims concerning Jesus and Isa respectively) will serve to highlight the fact that for what is essentially the same word (or name) there may be such different sets of conceptual values as to override certain historical connections:

Jesus	*Isa*
1. the Son of God 2. strong emphasis upon the content of his teaching 3. worked miracles but repudiated showmanship 4. died for man's sins 5. resurrected from the dead	1. a prophet 2. relatively little knowledge of Jesus' teaching 3. was a typical wonder-worker 4. was not killed on the cross 5. not resurrected from the dead

(Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 84)

Although both authors give the example mentioned above to demonstrate that the meaning is located elsewhere than within the "letter", the signifier, and that dynamic equivalence should always be sought at the expense of formal correspondence. It must be noted that in doing so, the translator would necessarily fall into Deformation (Berman, 1999). It is commonly known that the conceptions associated with Jesus in Christianity are completely different from those of Isa in the Quran. Arabic translations of the Gospels of the Bible never use the Quranic term "Isa = عيسى" but rather "يسوع" which is a transliteration of the term "Jesus".

> Nida states that the dynamic equivalence should always have priority over the formal correspondence. A correct translation will not be measured in terms of whether the words are understandable and the sentences grammatically correct, but in terms of the total impact of the message has on the reader of the translation. We can assess that a translation is correct if the receiver reacts in the same way as the reader of the source text. Thus, the main criterion of a correct translation is the impact the message has on the reader of the translation. The translated text is supposed to carry out exactly the same functions as the source text. To make his translation readable and acceptable, the translator is asked to pass the source text through the cultural filter of the host culture. The main criteria of a good translation are: fluency, transparency, readability and natural-sounding. (Mameri, 2016, p. 62)

Now, let us examine how this proper name, along with so many others, is conveyed in the three versions subjected to our analysis:

ولقد آتينا **موسى** الكتاب وقفينا من بعده بالرسل وآتينا **عيسى** ابن **مريم** البينات وأيدناه بروح القدس أفكلما جاءكم رسول بما لا تهوى أنفسكم استكبرتم ففريقا كذبتم وفريقا تقتلون. البقرة: 87.

J. Berque	Saudi Institute	A. Chouraqui
« Oui, Nous avons confié l'Ecrit à *Moise* et fait venir sur ses traces après lui les envoyés. Nous avons muni de preuves *Jésus* fils de *Marie* et l'avons conforté de *l'Esprit de Sainteté.* Mais, n'est ce pas, chaque fois qu'un envoyé est venu contrarier vos passions, votre orgueil démentit les un et mit à mort les autres» La Vache, 87	« Certes, nous avons donné le Livre à *Moise,* nous avons envoyé après lui des prophètes successifs. Et nous avons donné des preuves à *Jésus* fils de *Marie* et nous l'avons renforcé du *Saint-Esprit.* Est-ce que à chaque fois qu'un messager vous apportait des vérités contraires à vos souhaits vous vous enfliez d'orgueil ? Vous traitiez les un d'imposteurs et vous tuez les autres» Al-Baqarah (La Vache), 87	Al-Baqarah (La Vache), 87 « Ainsi nous avons donné l'écrit à *Mûssa* et nous l'avons fait suivre par d'autres envoyés. Nous avons donné à *Issa,* fils de *Maryam,* les preuves, le soutenant par le *souffle sacré.* Or chaque fois qu'un Envoyé vous a apporté ce que vos être ne désiraient pas, vous vous êtes enflés, traitant certains d'entre eux de menteurs, et certains, en les tuants» La Génisse, 87
Literal Translation	**Literal Translation**	**Literal Translation**

(continued)

ولقد آتينا **موسى** الكتاب وقفينا من بعده بالرسل وآتينا **عيسى** ابن **مريم** البينات وأيدناه بروح القدس أفكلما جاءكم رسول بما لا تهوى أنفسكم استكبرتم ففريقا كذبتم وفريقا تقتلون. البقرة: 87.

J. Berque	Saudi Institute	A. Chouraqui
Yes, We entrusted the Scripture to *Moses* and sent the messengers after him. We gave proofs to *Jesus* the son of *Mary* and strengthened/consolidated him with the *Spirit of Holiness*. But, is it not so, that every time an envoy came to oppose your passions, your pride denied some and put to death others **The Cow, 87**	Indeed, We gave the Book to *Moses*, and after him We sent successive prophets. Moreover, We gave proofs to *Jesus* son of *Mary* and strengthened him with the *Holy Spirit*. Did not you swell with pride whenever a messenger brought you truths opposed to your wishes? You called some of them impostors and killed others **Al-Baqarah (The Cow), 87**	Thus, We gave the writings to *Mussa* and followed him up with other envoys. We gave *Isa*, son of *Maryam*, the proofs, supporting him with the *sacred breath*. However, whenever an Envoy brought to you that your beings did not desire, you became puffed up, calling some of them liars, and killing others **The Heifer, 87**

For Christian readers, the biblical term "Jesus" refers to the following metalinguistic concepts:

- Jesus is the son of God;
- Jesus is God;
- Jesus was crucified and killed;
- Jesus was resurrected after his death;
- The concept of the trinity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

However, the Quran completely and categorically refutes these same notions. According to Islamic principles, these notions lead to "*shirk*", Polytheism, whereas Islam is based on the doctrine of Unicity of God. In fact, the term "Issa", mentioned 16 times in the Quran, is rather associated with the following metalinguistic notions:

- Isa is not the son of God;
- Isa is a prophet;
- Denial that he was crucified and killed;
- Assertion that he was raised by God;
- Denial of the divine character of Christ (as with all other prophets);
- Denial of the concept of the trinity, etc.

A rough comparison of these concepts shows clearly that such differences constitute actually the main schism between Christianity and Islam. It must be said that the Saudi version shares the same strategy adopted by Berque. Nevertheless, it emphasizes—very tentatively—the difference between the two terms by putting it, in one single time, in brackets and by keeping the Quranic term "Al-Massih" in verse 45 of Surah Al-Imrane.

It is also important to note that the Christian tradition tends to give more importance to the biblical *message*, rather than to its form, as it is felt that the latter could be compromised by the views and styles of its writers. The opposite is also true. On the other hand, Quranic exegesis tends to pay more attention to the form because for Muslims the Quran is the direct word of Allah. Nida openly mentions this:

> Some Christians, both national and foreign, tend to adopt a view of the Scriptures, which is more in keeping with the tenets of Islam than with the Biblical view of revelation, for they regard the Bible as being essentially a dictated document, rather than one in which

the distinct stylistic features and viewpoints of the individual writers are preserved. This in no way minimizes the doctrine of inspiration, but it does mean that one must look at the words of the Bible as instruments by which the message is communicated and not as ends in themselves. It is essentially for this reason that we can emphasize the basic principle that contextual consistency is more important than verbal consistency and that in order to preserve the content it is necessary to make certain changes in form. (Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 101)

Moreover, because biblical terms were considered as mere tools, translators of all times have always tended to give more importance to contextual consistency to the detriment of the verbal consistency. To this end, the need to sacrifice the form, the letter, in order to save only the content was almost inevitable. These, in short, are the main reasons why biblical translators of all times have always sought meaning beyond words.[4]

It is commonly admitted that such translating approach had been widely adopted as the strategy par excellence for any successful translation, for the sake of communicability:

As in communicative translation which attempts to produce on its reader an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original" (Newmark, 1981, p. 39), the translator must take into account the target audience, target culture and norms. The translator must pay extra attention to the target readership taste, what is acceptable and comprehensible by this respective readership and what is rejected by the target culture and readership. (Mameri & AlAllaq, 2020).

It has been observed that in Berque's version of the Quran, the term Isa was systematically rendered by "Jesus", the Messiah, and son of Mary. The main purpose of this approach is to bring the two religions—the two cultures—together, on the one hand, and to make the source text more readable within the receiving culture, on the other. However, it is clear that this way of translating sweeps aside all metatextual notions associated with this term in the source culture. It is in fact an act of substitution of certain notions, existing in the source text, by some other different terms evoking completely opposite conceptions. For it is important to emphasize, once again, that the Arabic of the Bible never uses the Quranic term "Isa" but rather "Jassua = يسوع", a transliteration of the biblical term precisely to better safeguard the metalinguistic connotations associated with it. It is obvious that the metatextual approach, adopted by Berque, offers the advantage of providing the readers with the opportunity to identify themselves with the translated text by making it more readable and more acceptable in the receiving culture. However, this approach is not, admittedly, without risk:

In this rewriting, a fluent strategy performs a labour of acculturation, which domesticates the foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target language reader, providing him or her with the narcissistic experience of recognizing his or her own culture in a cultural other ideological discourses over a different culture. (Venuti, 1992, p. 5)

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[4] One can see a parallel with Christian doctrine in general and Catholic doctrine in particular which, paradoxically, while emphasising the materiality of the divine by attributing its characteristics to Jesus himself, who is described as the "son of God", proposes to its followers to put down the desires of the flesh, take a vow of poverty and for the most devoted, to take a vow celibacy.

Domestication of the other, acculturation, narcissistic experience, inability to understand the other unless through the "ambient doxa" … These are the terms used by Venuti to describe this act of committing acts of aggression on the "Letter".

These terms are in fact an extension of what Berman would call ethnocentric, or metatextual, translation previously mentioned. It is ethnocentric because it does erase the particularities of the Quranic term " عيسى" and leaves no opportunity for the receiver of the translation to understand the source text in a way other than their own (self-cultivation becomes the standard and reference par excellence).[5]

If we take a closer look at this dominant approach to translating, it is clear that the "Letter" is relegated to the subservient role of "message transporter" (in more modern terms, scholars of translation studies would rather call it a communicative approach). Yet, this mode (language, term, word, letter, etc.), long considered to be the simple vehicle of any message, contributes highly in shaping the semantic field and to orienting our way of perceiving the world.

> In 1697, in his tract on the amelioration and correction of German, Leibniz put forward the all-important suggestion that language is not the vehicle of thought but its determining medium. Thought is language internalized, and we think and feel as our particular language impels and allows us to do. (Steiner, 1998, p. 80)

In other words, ignoring the form in order to keep only the content would also mean ignoring the particularities and the specificities of the "other". The choice of a term is never arbitrary; it is never free. It is rather a deliberate act that always refers to conceptions specific to each culture. Seen from this perspective, the meaning (or the message, to use the term of the interpretive theory) does not systematically lie in the metalanguage, the metatext, but it is sometimes, and even more often, captured and identified by the "Letter" itself.

> Doit-t-on alors traduire littéralement ? A cette question, Berman s'empresserait de répondre par: «oui !». Mais, traduire littéralement ne signifie aucunement traduire «mot à mot». Il s'agit plutôt d'inciter le lecteur à appréhender la lettre avec «respect», à écouter attentivement l'autre, à ne pas se prendre pour le centre du monde au risque de poser un acte d'agression sur la lettre, et par conséquent sur la culture de l'autre. Il s'agit également de laisser l'occasion au lecteur de se rendre compte qu'il existe une réalité autre que la sienne. Parallèlement, il faut que ce dernier fasse un effort pour approcher, percevoir et enfin apprécier l'étrangeté de

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[5] Regarding equivalences, Berman says: "To play with equivalence is to infringe on the work's parlance. The equivalents of a locution or a proverb do not replace them. Translating is not looking for equivalents.

Moreover, seeking to replace them is to ignore the fact that there is a proverbial consciousness within us, which will immediately perceive, in the new proverb, the brother of a vintage proverb. Thus the chain:

« Le monde appartient à ceux qui se lèvent tôt» (French).
« L'heure du matin a de l'or dans la bouche» (German).
« L'oiseau du matin chante plus fort» (Russian).
«Al quemadruga, Dios le ayuda» (Spanish). A. Berman, *La traduction et la lettre ou l'auberge du lointain*, pp. 65–66 [*Translation* and the *Letter* or The Inn of the Foreign].
"The early bird catches the worm" (English)".

cette réalité. En d'autres termes : traduire littéralement c'est partir du principe que le centre du monde est partout. (Mameri, 2006, p. 73)

[Should we then translate literally? To this question, Berman would hasten to answer yes. However, translating literally, does not mean – in any way – carrying out a word-for-word strategy. It would rather mean enticing the readers to treat the "Letter" with full respect and not to consider themselves as the centre of the world by committing acts of aggression on the "Letter", and consequently on the Other's Culture. Literality means to give the readers the opportunity to be more attentive to the "other" and to realise that there would be a reality different from their own. It is obvious that such a strategy calls for active readers who are willing to make the necessary effort to approach, perceive and finally appreciate the strangeness of new realities. In short: to translate literally would mean to assume that the centre of the world is everywhere]. (Mameri, 2006, p. 73)

3 Proper Names of the Quran or the "Arabic-Beyond" in Translation

Theorizing about the importance of the "Letter" in the field of translation may not have begun with contemporary translation theorists, but rather with the sacred texts themselves. In fact, in this section, we will examine the extent to which the translation of the "Letter" and a more sustained interest in the etymologies of words—which constitute the genealogy of their forms—are not theoretical ideas to be drawn on sacred writings but are treasures of history and narratives.

The Quran says in several instances (5:15; 5:92; 16:103; 26:195; etc.) that it is revealed in a "Mubeen" Arabic, i.e., clear, explicit, and unmixed with strangeness. Nevertheless, we discover that the names of the prophets, from Adam to Jesus, passing by Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, Joseph and Moses, are all non-Arabic. Is the language of the Quran in fact a betrayed miscegenation?

To illustrate this question, we will, mainly, rely on the original study of Raouf Abu Saada published in a two-volume work entitled *De l'inimitabilité du Coran: le nom propre étranger dans le Coran expliqué par le Coran* (1993) [On the Inimitability of the Quran: The Foreign Proper Name in the Quran Explained by the Quran (1993)].[6] In this work, 'Abu Saada develops the thesis that there is no mention of a non-Arabic proper name in the Quran that has not been explained in the same verse by Arabic words that refer to the derivations of the Hebrew roots—if any—of the proper name in question.

For example, in Hebrew, the name "Zakariya" (Zachariah), which appears in the second verse of Surah (19): "This is a mention of *the mercy of your Lord to* His slave Zakariya (Zachariah)" means "dakiru l-Lah" (the one who remembers/mentions God). As if God translated into Arabic in the same verse the name in question because it is of foreign origin to the Arabic language chosen for the Quranic revelation: "God remembered by His mercy the one who remembers God", or "he remembered God and God remembered him", or "he remembered God and His mercy remembered

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[6] The title of the work along with all excerpts are translated from Arabic by the authors of this article.

him". This leads us to say that the *I'jaz* of the Quran (the inimitability[7] of the Quran), in spite of the use of non-Arabic names, does not go beyond the framework of the Arabic language by which the challenge was issued to the Arabs (to reproduce a text of equal balance between depth of meaning and aesthetic beauty).

Another example is the name Isaac. The commentators of the Quran have tried to explain the name Isaac (*ishaque* in the Quran) exclusively by the Arabic root *sahaqa*, which means, "who has gone far away". Actually, this meaning of the name Isaac is not based on solid ground, since it was explained in another language (Arabic) than the original language of the proper name in question, which is Hebrew in this case. Yet, Itzhak in Hebrew comes from the root *sahaq*, which means, "the one who laughed" in the past tense. So Itzhak means "the one who laughs", in the present tense, the laughing or smiling one. Thus, we find in verse 71 of Surah 11 (Hud), the explanation of the Hebrew name of Isaac: "And Abraham's wife was standing by and on hearing this *she laughed*. And We gave her the good news of (the birth of) Isaac, and after Isaac, of Jacob".

Finally, a last example with the ancient Egyptian Language. Indeed, Abu Saada says that the name of Moses comes from ancient Egyptian and not from Hebrew as one could deduce from the fact that he is a member of the people of Israel. In fact, Moses, in Hebrew pronounced Moshe, means in the language of the Torah commentators "the one who was drawn and rescued from the water", that is to say the one whom Pharaoh's family picked up from the river (Exodus, 2/10). This, according to Abu Saada, is not appropriate in Hebrew since this formulation would require the meaning of Moshe's name to be in the passive voice, whereas it is in fact in the active voice. Moreover, Pharaoh's wife would not have named him with a name from the language of the enslaved people, i.e., Hebrew, but from the language of her own people, which is the Egyptian. Which is why if we break down the name of Mûsâ (as arabised in the Qu'ran), we will find the Egyptian root M / S / A, meaning the new-born, the child:

> And the wife of Fir'aun (Pharaoh) said: "A comfort of the eye for me and for you. Kill him not, perhaps he may be of benefit to us, or we may adopt him as a son" (28:9)

> [Fir'aun (Pharaoh)] said [to Musa (Moses)]: "Did we not bring you up among us as a child? And you did dwell many years of your life with us." (26:18)

That is to say, while the Quran keeps its promise of being "revealed in a clear Arabic language" by preserving the plasticity and the sound of Arabic, the non-Arabic proper names introduce the horizon of another language, sometimes Hebrew, sometimes ancient Egyptian, at least as far as the aforementioned examples are concerned. However, in order to be understood by the Arabic speaker, these proper names are explained, literally translated and broken down into Arabic, while being at the same time the product of a strangeness. At the very moment when Quranic Arabic includes some elements of strangeness, a different Arabic, it does not only indigenize it by arabizing the non-Arabic proper names, but it opens up its scope to a "space-beyond", or a "language-beyond". This "language-beyond", as we will call

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[7] Jacques Berque uses the term "insuperability" of the Quran.

it here, does not therefore "colonize" the text as an externality. However, it inhabits it while going beyond it, in a legitimate, intrinsic and open way to otherness, since it is translated simultaneously and automatically, by a translation that takes into account the material as well as the historical thickness of the "Letter"; or according to Berman's expression "non-ethnocentric" (1999). Thus translated, the language-beyond is a kind of absence-presence, which, while conforming to Arabic, goes beyond it: by now we are within a sort of what we could call the "Arabic-beyond".

4 The Comparison of French Versions of Proper Names

Now, let us take a look at the translation of other proper names in the three versions subjected to comparison and analysis:

Proper names as cited in the Quran	Transliteration	J. Berque	Saudi Institute	A. Chouraqui	English
إسحاق	Ish'aq	Isaac	Isaac	Is'haq	Isaac
يعقوب	Ya'acoub	Jacob	Jacob	Ya'qub	Jacob
نوح	Nüh	Noé	Noé	Nûh	Noah
داوود	Daoud	David	David	Dâwûd	David
سليمان	Soulaïman	Salomon	Salomon	Sulaïman	Solomon
أيوب	Ayoub	Job	Job	Aïyûb	Job
يوسف	Youssef	Joseph	Joseph	Yûsuf	Joseph
موسى	Moussa	Moïse	Moïse	Mûssa	Moses
هارون	Haroun	Aaron	Aaron	Hârûn	Aaron
إبراهيم	Ibrahim	Abraham	Abraham	Ibrahim	Abraham
اليَسَع	El-Yassa'a	Élisée	Élisée	Al-Yasa	Elisha
يحي	Yahia	Jean-Baptiste	Jean-Baptiste	Yahia	John the Baptist
لوط	Lût	Loth	Loth	Lût	Lut
يونس	Younus	Jonas	Yûnûs	Jonas	Jonah/Jonas

It should be noted here that the three analyzed translations continue to adopt exactly the same strategy: the Saudi and Berque versions always opt for a target-oriented approach, whereas Chouraqui is rather adopting a literal approach, a source-oriented strategy. It must be admitted that the first two versions have the advantage of offering the reader a fluent and therefore readable text. Such strategy perfectly fulfils the three functions, evoked previously, as suggested by Nida (informative, expressive and imperative), which would later form the grounds of what would be called the text types. However, the Quranic text goes far beyond the informational or communicational function, despite the existence of a lot of information (stories, biographies of the prophets, etc.). While it is true that the Quran grants a high importance to the two monotheistic religions by giving a prominent place to Christians and Jews (People of the Book = أهل الكتاب), it was also revealed to renew the faith of the believers of these

two religions and mainly to renew the divine message and attract new followers. In order to fulfil this renewing function, the Quranic message is not meant to be filtered and presented, to undergo the constraints of the ambient doxa; to be presented in a conventional mold for the sake of readability or acceptability. Perhaps the translator would offer the readers a nice gift by giving them the opportunity to take the first path proposed by F. Schleiermacher:

> Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him. (1999, p. 49)

The one may say that such translating strategy would only widen the already existing cultural gap between the three monotheistic religions, especially as the world is currently experiencing all kinds of religiously motivated tensions and conflicts. Our answer to such concern is the following: the fact of adapting the source text to meet the expectations of the readers of the translation, by replacing the foreign with the familiar and ignoring the details that shape every culture and pretending that all cultures are the same, could serve all sorts of intents and purposes except the cultures and religions in question. Such assimilationist approach is actually no more than a form of cultural and religious homogenization, which may well lead to a further impoverishment of the existing heterogeneity of our world under the disguise of a rapprochement of cultures and religions.

> Montrer la distance, c'est commencer de pouvoir la réduire; cacher la distance, c'est la maintenir, donc l'accroitre par le comme si. (Meschonnic, 1973, p. 143)

> [Showing the distance is initially having the ability to reduce it; hiding the distance is to maintain it, and therefore to increase it by the as-if.] (Meschonnic, 1973, p. 143)

Believing in all the prophets and messengers of Allah is one of the pillars of the Islamic faith. However, if every Muslim accepts and considers as an honor to name his son Is'haq, Soulaïman, Youssef, Mussa, Harun, Yahia, Yacoub, Noh, Daoud, etc., it is also quite clear that he would never accept to name him: Isaac, Solomon, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Jacob, Noah, David, Elisha or John the Baptist. The reason for this is quite simple: the material form of the "Letter" is not seen as a mere "shell" or invisible cover. It also has some religious connotations and plays an integral part in shaping and molding the conceptions associated with it.

5   The Quran's "Language-Beyond" or the Translation of the Sacred in History

Sacredness is not an intrinsic characteristic of the Quranic language, but rather the consequence of its use by the believers in a context of worship through the spoken word that puts them in connection with the divine (e.g., ritual prayer). Paradoxically, it is precisely in the historical incarnation of the enunciation of the divine spoken

word that the Arabic language gains Sacredness; in other words, through the integration of the cultural dialogue maintained by this language with the surrounding languages at the time of revelation. This sacredness is then neither exclusive by an absolute decree that grants a value to the language itself, nor unique in the way that it is the only language through which the divine has expressed Himself, since "any language can be that of a revelation, for the prophet speaks the language of his people" (5:78 and 14:4). In what way, subsequently, does the Quranic language embrace some of the "language-beyond" characteristic, both as a privileged hosting place for the non-temporal sacred and as a materialization of the history of its emergence? As the creator of the "language-beyond" [Outre-langue] concept, in his book co-edited with François Laplantine, Alexis Nouss sets out the three criteria that help to explain the presence of a language other than Arabic in the Quranic text apart from a hypothetical "inter-language" [Language in-between]; a midway between two or several languages. Thus, the language-beyond would be either: (1) A co-presence at a distance of two languages: "*The language-beyond to evoke another language […] that comes to caress, disturb or haunt the one we speak or write*". Or (2) two horizons of the same language origin: "*The language-beyond… it is to make another language heard without having it be a different language*". Or again (3) an otherness of the language itself, of its origin: "*Language is always the language of the Other, it comes to me from the Other.*" ["*L'outre-langue pour évoquer une autre langue […] qui vient caresser, perturber ou hanter celle que l'on parle ou écrit*"; ou (2) deux horizons d'origine d'une même langue: "*L'outre-langue… c'est faire entendre une autre langue sans que ce soit une langue différente*"; ou encore (3) une altérité de la langue-même, de son origine: "*La langue est toujours la langue de l'autre, elle me vient de l'autre*"] (Laplantine & Nouss, 2001, p. 471).

At the risk of overstepping the fields of research about the language-beyond concept so far proposed by Nouss, it seems that the Quranic language shares more or less two of the suggested characteristics. On the one hand, it is clear that the Quranic language challenges any Arabic speaker to produce an equivalent and highlights both the alphabetical material of which it consists and any act of human discourse in Arabic. Through being as such, the Quranic language brings together two Arabic languages, or rather two immeasurable instances of the same language: the one that expresses both the word of God, and the word of man that has been challenged several times.

> So perchance you (Muhammad SAW) may give up a part of what is revealed unto you, and that your breast feels straitened for it because they say, "Why has not a treasure been sent down unto him, or an angel has come with him"? But you are only a warner. And Allah is a Wakil (Disposer of affairs, Trustee, Guardian, etc.) over all things. Or they say, "He (Prophet Muhammad SAW) forged it (the Quran)." Say: "Bring you then ten forged Surah (chapters) like unto it, and call whomsoever you can, other than Allah (to your help), if you speak the truth!". (11:12-13)

On the other hand, even if it is not the language of God strictly speaking, the Quranic language as a text (formal composition) and as a speech (utterance and content) is nevertheless the reflection of a superhuman origin, as is reminded in several places in the Quran:

Say: "Tell me, if it (the Quran) is from Allah, and you disbelieve in it, who is more astray than one who is in opposition far away (from Allah's Right Path and His obedience). (41:52)

Say: "Tell me! If this (Quran) is from Allah, and you deny it, and a witness from among the Children of Israel ('Abdullah bin Salam radhiallahu'anhu) testifies that this Quran is from Allah [like the Taurat (Torah)], so he believed (embraced Islam) while you are too proud (to believe)." Verily! Allah guides not the people who are Zalimun (polytheists, disbelievers and wrong-doing). (46:10)

Thus, in support of this brief demonstration, we venture to suggest that the Quranic language is a "language-beyond" insofar as: Firstly, it shares with the latter a double linguistic presence even though it is distinct within the same language (foreign proper names translated in the same segment). Secondly, there is a fundamental recognition of absolute otherness to the human word in Arabic language while being indebted to it for the continuity of its existence, and even for its persistence in history. In other words, the Quranic "language-beyond" is not only represented by the historicization of its reception of multilingualism through translation as we have illustrated, but the language-beyond is also characterized by the underlying dialectics between the text that was revealed at a given moment in history and the non-temporal sacredness that it claims through the challenge of its insuperability.

However, it is clear that cultures in general, and languages in particular, seem to have a short memory, denying any sort of contribution from other cultures, and any aspect of linguistic coexistence, precisely because of this cultural and linguistic sacredness:

Cultural imperialism always tends to forget its history, and thus tends to misrecognize the historical role that translation and borrowings have played in its culture. This short memory is the corollary of the sacralization of its literature. [Un impérialisme culturel tend à oublier son histoire, donc à méconnaître le rôle historique de la traduction et des emprunts dans sa culture. Cet oubli est le corollaire de la sacralisation de sa littérature.] (Meschonnic, 1978, p. 51).

And it is this very sacralization, or cultural imperialism, that had dominated translation right from the Greeks, passing through the Romans and the Arabs up to the twentieth century.

6 Language of the "Human-Beyond"

The sacredness of the Quranic language, even put into perspective by our remarks, remains an important element of the Muslim faith for it is based, amongst other things, on its third pillar, that of "believing in His Books", those considered to be revealed before the Quran. According to the Quranic narrative, God is expressively the source of the Quran as well as the books that were revealed before it. Indeed, in its verses, there are two ways of convincing the readers of that fact. First, there is the strength argument, persuading through challenge:

And if you (Arab pagans, Jews, and Christians) are in doubt concerning that which We have sent down (i.e., the Quran) to Our slave (Muhammad Peace be upon him), then produce a Surah (chapter) of the like thereof and call your witnesses (supporters and helpers) besides Allah, if you are truthful. (2:23)

In this verse, we can notice two elements:

(a) it challenges the mastery of Arabic language that the Arabs have; (b) the verse rises up against human pride, against the alleged sufficiency of his word, the word of what we would call the "human-beyond", to remind him of his state of dependency and humility.

Second, there is the argument of the intelligence. Here it is a matter of directing human beings gifted with senses to the interpretation of God's signs:

Verily! In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the alternation of night and day, and the ships which sail through the sea with that which is of use to mankind, and the water (rain) which Allah sends down from the sky and makes the earth alive therewith after its death, and the moving (living) creatures of all kinds that He has scattered therein, and in the veering of winds and clouds which are held between the sky and the earth, are indeed Ayat (proofs, evidences, signs, etc.) for people of understanding. (2:164)

It is He Who has set the stars for you, so that you may guide your course with their help through the darkness of the land and the sea. We have (indeed) explained in detail Our Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, Revelations, etc.) for people who know. (6:97)

In the light of these two verses, we can discern the following lessons:

1. There are five possible meanings for the signifier "*ayah*" in the Quran: verse, message, miracle, proof and sign.
2. We must learn to see, read and reflect on the signs of God in order to see revelation and recognize it to be so.
3. While referring to itself and to what is external to it as well, the Quranic discourse is a sign that erases any other speech alongside with establishing itself as absolute. "*And We have not taught him (Muhammad SAW) poetry, nor is it meet for him. This is only a Reminder and a plain Quran*" (36:69–70). God places the transmission of his Word, which is a Word above all else, in opposition to the teaching of an art of speech.
4. In the end, as a miracle and a word of the absolutely other, the Quranic sign strongly affirms the human-beyond that is its origin.

In addition to what has already been said about the divine origin of the Quran, it is important to mention another key element in the process of revelation, and that is the human mediator of that revelation, namely its translator. It is still possible today to read in some books on Islam, with little concern for reflecting an image that is in line with the belief of Muslims themselves, that Muhammad is the author of the Quran. But the objection, if ever there were one, is not new since some voices in the Quraish tribe of Mecca have contested the divine origin of the Quran and attributed it to Muhammad from the earliest days of the message, calling him at times a poet (21:5; 37:36; 52:30; 69:41) and at others a magician (10:2; 38:4).

In the vast production of the early centuries of Islam on the linguistic inimitability of the Quran, one of the most important arguments used to refute the human origin of

the Quran was the illiteracy of the Prophet of Islam. In fact, Muhammad was known to be a man instructed to speak the nomadic language of the Arab tribes spread over a large part of the peninsula, but he was at the same time illiterate in the sense that he could not read or write. Thus, this illiteracy was not only to be considered as the evidence that he was not the author of the Quran, but that he was therefore serving another speech, a different speech. In other words, the messenger of God is literally overwhelmed by the revelation; he is only its temporary trustee, or even its interpreter in the sense of the one who gives it human voice and historicity.

7 Conclusion

Thus, we have tried to show that the "language-beyond"—"l'outre-langue"—of the Quran has a double dimension. It is divine, transcendent by origin, and as such, it clearly translates the only dogma of Islam, which is the oneness of God. But the language-beyond—this translation included in the corpus of the text and adjoining the non-Arabic proper names—is at the same time the integration of a human historicity, mixed by its destination and the variety of its inflections. In this respect, it reflects both the recognition of the diversity of languages, peoples and revelations, as well as its vocation of historicity by its appeal for transmission contained in the very first verse revealed: "*Read!*"

> If the original [text] was a seaweed, I would try to offer it with its original taste to Chinese readers, without transforming it into noodles, although seaweed may be more difficult to digest than noodles for readers. [Si l'original est une algue, j'essaye de l'offrir avec son goût original aux lecteurs chinois, sans le changer en nouilles, bien que l'algue soit peut-être plus difficile à digérer que les nouilles pour les lecteurs] (Hao Yun, quoted by Yuan Xiaoyi, 1999, p. 62)

In fact, by maintaining "the form" of the proper names through transliteration, André Chouraqui had probably provided a version that was more difficult for the French reader to "digest". In our opinion, this choice is well grounded. If the paraphrase "Quranic law" could perfectly convey the connotations associated with the Arabic term "Shari'a الشريعة", the western languages would not need to borrow this term (as well as some other words like Jihad for example). Moreover, the Saudi version and that of Jacques Berque deliberately transformed "*the seaweed into noodles*", Issa into Jesus. We will have noted the existence of a definite difference between the conception of the act of translating, as it had been stated by the proponents of the source-oriented trend, and that of common sense, in this case the dominating tendency considering that translation must above all not appear as such. By contrast, in the light of the analyzed examples and the paradoxes raised, the following statement of El-Hallaj,[8] quoted by Henri Meschonnic, allows us to conclude by demonstrating that the best way to approach the other consists in respecting the difference:

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[8] Mansur Al-Hallaj (Arabic: ابو المغيث الحسين بن منصور الحلاج Abū 'l-Muǵīṭ Al-Ḥusayn bin Manṣūr al-Ḥallāǧ: (858–26th March, 922): Persian mystic and writer.

The movement of linguistic and cultural understanding is thus defined as Decentering: Hallaj stated: *"to understand something of the other is not to appropriate the thing, it is to transfer oneself by a Decentering to the very center of the other."* […] The essence of language must be a kind of *Decentering*; we can only make ourselves understood by getting into the system of the other. [Le mouvement de la compréhension linguistique et culturelle est défini ainsi comme un décentrement: Hallaj le disait : « comprendre quelque chose d'autre, ce n'est pas s'annexer la chose, c'est se transférer par un décentrement au centre même de l'autre. » […] L'essence du langage doit être une espèce de décentrement, nous ne pouvons nous faire comprendre qu'en entrant dans le système de l'autre.] (Meschonnic, 1973, pp. 411–412)

For sure, what is valid for human beings is also valid for religions and cultures: human phenomena par excellence.

It is obvious that Decentering would require not only a certain effort by the reader to understand the other, but also a willingness to undergo changes in oneself, if necessary. However, if Decentering can be considered as the best way to apprehend the other and to accept differences, it is also a double-edged sword, because it would also entail the possibility of "being consumed":

The dialectic of embodiment entails the possibility that we may be consumed. This dialectic can be seen at the level of individual sensibility. Acts of translation add to our means; we come to incarnate alternative energies and resources of feeling. But we may be mastered and made lame by what we have imported. (Steiner, 1998, p. 315)

In short, the attempt to enter the system of the other through Decentering cannot be done without a precondition: acceptation of changing oneself (even in the linguistic structure of one's own language). This is because Decentering is a textual space that is not forcibly set in the environment of the source language-culture nor in that of the target language-culture. It is a potential space ahead, a "space in-between" where the translator would deliberately avoid adopting the dominant, and commonly admitted, translating strategies that would aim to fulfil illusion of naturalness: *as if the source-language texts were written in the target language*; or that for the sake of fluency *the target-language text should not read like a translation at all.* This approach would suppose a passive writing, and an annexationist ideological practice, which had—at all times—sown a constant conflictual dominant-dominated relationship among languages and cultures. However, in accordance with the notion of *Bildung* as explained in Berman's *The German Romantics*, the concept of "Decentering" remains a double effort to which both the translator and the reader must contribute: First, they must leave their comfort zone with the firm intention of both meeting the other and being transformed by it. Second, they must find the balance halfway between two extremes, hermeticism to otherness and (con)fusion with it.

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The Belated Translations of Texts by Frances Burney and George Eliot

María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia

Abstract This article analyses the belated translation of English literary texts into Spanish as exemplified in the cases of two women writers: Frances Burney and George Eliot. The reception of both Burney and Eliot in Spanish in the Iberian Peninsula has been irregular regarding both the works translated and the periods in which they were issued. Although it is known that one of Eliot's novels was published in Spanish in the nineteenth century—in an abridged edition—immediately after having been published in England, the Spanish reading public had to wait until the twentieth, or even until the twenty-first century, to enjoy the complete literary work of these English authors. This presentation will explore the reasons behind this deleterious practice in the transnational transmission of literature and culture from the theoretical framework of reception studies, as developed by Ingarden (1989), Iser (1993), Jauss (1982) and Di Giovanni and Gambier (2018), gender studies (Gilbert and Gubar, 1984; Spencer, 2015; Todd, 1989), and postcolonial translation (Bassnett & Trivedi, 1999; Lefevere, 2016; Venuti, 1998). Translation into Spanish was not a neutral task during most of the twentieth century, in particular, during Francoism (1936–1975), when all texts had to be thoroughly revised through the compulsory censorship system, and, as a consequence, they could be either rejected, or authorized—sometimes with deletions or changes—so that many texts, particularly if coming from the English-speaking world were never read in Spanish translation until the present day. This study will focus on recent translations of works by the above-mentioned authors and how they are placed in the literary system of the target language.

Keywords Frances Burney · *The Witlings* · *A Busy Day; or, an Arrival from India* · George Eliot · *The Spanish Gypsy: A Poem* · Spanish · Postcolonial translation · Reception studies · Gender studies · Censorship

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1   Introduction

This article analyses the translation into Spanish of texts by two outstanding English women writers: Frances Burney, also known as Madame D'Arblay (1752–1840), and George Eliot, pseudonym of Mary Ann Evans (1819–1880). These women writers developed their publication careers in the Regency period and the Victorian period, respectively. The choice of this topic has to do with transcultural and transnational relations both in the time in which their texts were published and in present-day culture. Due to both political and religious reasons, most of the works by these writers, especially poetry and plays, were not received in Spain until the twenty-first century. This is the reason why the corpus selected for analysis is that of two of Burney's plays and a dramatic poem by Eliot.

2   Theoretical Framework

In order to approach the task of analysing diachronically the reception of the translations of these texts into Spanish, the following theoretical approaches will be used: post-colonial translation studies (Bassnett & Trivedi, 1999; Lefevere, 2016; Venuti, 1998), reception studies (Ingarden, 1989; Iser, 1993; Jauss, 1982; Tompkins, 1980), gender studies (Gilbert & Gubar, 1984; Showalter, 1982; Spencer, 2015; Todd, 1989), and censorship studies (Lorenzo-Modia, 2016).

It must be taken into account that Jürgen Habermas proved that the public sphere has been completely different from the Enlightenment onwards and that our cultural and literary analyses must consider these changes when studying all the public processes, the publication of translations among them. In fact, literary texts must be considered within a larger cultural atmosphere, determined by political, economic and other social factors. Concerning translation studies, it will be taken into account that equivalence is no longer the purpose for a version, it is through deconstruction and manipulation of a literary text, recognizing not only the author and the text but also the viewpoint and the voice of the translator in a postcolonial context, that translations must be approached. Regarding reader-response criticism, in this revision we have followed Roman Ingarden and Wolfrang Iser. It is our contention that texts do not fully exist if the recipient does not have access to them, particularly plays and films (Di Giovanni & Gambier, 2018). With this idea and bearing in mind all the elements that influence reception, these female authors will be studied in terms of how they were or were not received in the Spanish culture. Additionally, it is our contention that women writers are not usually privileged regarding the publication of their texts. Henceforth, the choice of authors has to do both with the period they belong to –each one belonging to a different age, and with the fact that the scarcity of translations of women's works led us to approach the publication of texts without a prior version into Spanish until the twenty-first century. Consequently, there were studied edited versions in Spanish of two plays by Frances Burney, *The Witlings*

(1779) and *A Busy Day; or, an Arrival from India* (1800–1802) and a dramatic poem by George Eliot, entitled in English no less than *The Spanish Gypsy: A Poem* (1868). Lastly, the choice of texts includes realities of different countries and we have applied a hermeneutic approach, questioning and decentralizing the nation from an analytical viewpoint (Lie, 2016, pp. 18–19).

3 Frances Burney

It is no secret that Frances Burney was one of the most important authors for the reading audience in her period. When we think of the end of the eighteenth century, it must be remembered that in the country in which the Industrial Revolution began, these social changes were referred to obliquely in many texts, and echoing Georges F. E. Rudé's words:

> [...] it is not surprising that even in Britain, where the revolution began, what impressed people most, until the end of the [eighteenth] century at least, was not so much the wealth and ingenuity of the manufacturers as the prosperity and extent of her overseas trade. In the world of business, it was the merchant or the banker, and not the industrialist, who was king. (1972, p. 38)

Frances Burney analysed with irony in her plays and novels the world of women and their role in this changing world. She was recognized as a canonical writer (Baker, 1929), imitated, translated (Devonshire, 1929) and praised by other writers such as Jane Austen, who would pay tribute to her in *Northanger Abbey* (1818) (Clark, 1995). However, while we all know who Austen was, the same does not occur with Burney, author of probably the best novel at the end of the century: *Evelina* (1778/1994). The latter was defined as the *Iron Pen* by the feminist critic Judith Epstein (1989), since she inherited the styles of both the satirist and the sentimental novel from a female standpoint. When translation was attempted, contemporary perspectives on these texts were taken into account (Fernández Rodríguez, 2017). One example is the theory of the divided spheres in the period:

> Grounded in medical theories and scripture, the ideology of separate spheres stipulated that wives should assume responsibility for the management [sic] and care of the household and family, whilst husbands were to provide the family with sustenance, shelter and economic surety. In ideological terms, women, as natural careers and nurturers, were to remain in the private sphere of the home, whilst men, possessing more reason and greater intellect than women, were to engage in the socio-political world of the public sphere. (Rothery & French, 2012, p. 119)

On the one hand, *The Witlings*, translated into Spanish as *El ridículo ingenio* (Ridiculous Wit), deals with the status of women, with their literary salons, social class differences, financially bankrupt families, the role of servants, and the morality of public and private activities. On the other, *A Busy Day* is a satiric comedy that was selected for translation due to its not having been translated into Spanish, and for dealing with women's intellectual life from a postcolonial perspective. Another

issue considered is that they had not been published or represented during the author's lifetime. The translation is informed by all those ideas and how they are perceived by modern readers. The texts were published in a joint volume in Seville, in 2017, in ArCibel, a publishing house indexed in the database Scholarly Publishing Index.

A Busy Day; or, an Arrival from India (*Un día de mucho apuro o una llegada de la India*) presents a lady with a fluid identity, as she returns to the metropolis from India and feels harassment, isolation, in spite of being a rich heiress with 82,000 pounds of income per year. The heroine perceives the division between the aristocracy and the rich merchants, who claim that they cannot be together socially in the same room. Moreover, the situation of black servants is also dealt with in the text. In a moment in which the East India Company is well established in that subcontinent and more and more Indian states are annexed under British rule, Frances Burney parodied in the play the decadent values of the British Empire. Moreover, as an expatriate back in the metropolis, the heroine perceives that society does not accept her since they assume wrongly that she does not come back in an affluent situation. The play also portrays the difficult situation of transnational travellers who may not be welcome, even when coming back to their own country, if they do not present clear signs of having made a fortune in their colonial journeys.

The Spanish edition includes a "Note to the text" (p. 52), where it is indicated that personal names and forms of address have been kept and that the translator has aimed at keeping both the rhyme in the ballad and in Dabbler's verses in *The Witlings*. The speech of some of the characters in *A Busy Day* has been translated in a substandard variety of the language in order to represent the social-class diversity in the original, using synonyms and changing the word order. Regarding idiosyncratic language in *A Busy Day*, the translation of the speech of some characters reflects this particular aspect in the translation into Spanish by using a specific geographic variety accompanied by vulgarisms. In this way, the language of the upper classes differs from that of the under privileged. In *The Witlings*, the use of pronouns indicates changes of mood in the relationship of lovers. The "Note to the text" details the textual history of the original text, established in Peter Sabor and George Sill's edition of the plays (1995b, p. xl), and which was used as source text, taking into account prior research such as that by Joyce Hemlow (1958). Spelling, punctuation and capitalization are preserved in Sabor's & Sill's edition, as well as Burney's act and scene divisions. Although the 1995 English edition has been chosen as the basis for this edition, there was a previous edition of *A Busy Day* by Tara Ghoshal Wallace, whose debt is acknowledged in this version. While Burney's plays have never been published in Spanish, the novel *Evelina, Or, The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* was translated into this language in 1934 by an invisible lady, of whom only her personal diminutive has reached us (Maribel), and the publishing house d'Época issued another version in 2013. Reasons for the lack of translations of the novels by a key female writer are related to issues of gender, religion and politics and will be dealt with in the section on Eliot since they are similar to the case of this nineteenth-century writer. While Burney's plays have been repeatedly taken to the stage in the USA, Canada and Great Britain (Gaisin, 2014; Sabor, 1994, 2008; Wallace, 2007; Young, 2014), to the best of our knowledge, they were never

represented in Spain. As reviewers of the versions of Burney's plays have pointed out (Jarazo Álvarez, 2018; Sanz Gallego, 2019; Tomé Rosales, 2018), the translation into Spanish of her whole work is a task still to be attempted.

4 George Eliot

This author has been mostly ignored in Spain to the point that one of her novels, *Romola*, does not have a version in Spanish. Therefore, it can be said that the reception of Eliot in Spanish in the Iberian Peninsula has been irregular regarding both the works translated and the periods in which they were issued. According to Virginia Woolf, Eliot is the first English female author who writes for adult people (1925, pp. 166–176), and her novel *Middlemarch*: *A Study of Provincial Life* is nowadays considered by some (Julian Barnes) as one of the best novels in English (Ciabattari, 2015, n.p.). Although it is known that one of her novels was published in Spanish— in an abridged edition—immediately after having been published in England, the Spanish reading public had to wait until the twentieth, or even until the twenty-first century, to enjoy most of the literary work of this English author.

One of the elements to be considered when analysing the rendering of George Eliot's texts into Spanish is authorship recognition and the use of the pen-name. The texts by Mary Ann Evans were generally presented in Spanish as by "Jorge Eliot", although occasionally there is an oblique reference to authorship as "María Evans", made in the introduction of *Silas Marner* by Isabel Oyarzábal in 1919 (p. 5). In Calpe publishing house the policy seems to be that of respecting the author's decision to use a masculine pseudonym on the cover and title-pages, in order to be judged with more equity by members of the public. However, her true identity is indirectly revealed in prefaces. Thus, in the 1932 edition of *El molino*, there is a reproduction of the English introduction by W. Roberston Nicoll, in which the dedication of the book by the author to her husband is mentioned (p. 5). However, in the Bauzá edition, with no introduction, it is simply said to be by "Jorge Eliot", without further indication of a female authorship. Obviously, in the 1940s the female reference for George Eliot was in the public domain for the Anglo-American reading public, but not so for the Hispanic world, for which an indication of authorship would be welcome, since the Spanish readers might not have in mind a clue given by Oyarzábal 11 years before in an introduction to a different novel by another publisher.

4.1 Felix Holt, the Radical

The case of this text, of which we have a reduced version as early as in 1867, *Felix Holt, el radical*, may be considered an exception, probably due to its partisan subject matter, so appealing in politically agitated nineteenth-century Spain. The three-volume novel, of about 400 pages in a small font, appears reduced to 60 pages

in approximately the same letter size as in the original. It was edited by the printing house of a newspaper, *Diario de Barcelona*, as a supplement. Obviously, this version is full of reductions and omissions of details, and it lacks full descriptions or even complete chapters. Suffice it to say that *Felix Holt, el radical* reflects the flavour and topics of the original. It is interesting to note that the text is presented to the Spanish audience as "Novela escrita en inglés. Por Jorge Eliott [sic]", that is, without any indication of a translator, including a genre definition, novel, which does not appear on the title-page of the English version, and adding another letter "t" to the pseudonym. Nothing is said about the real name of the author, although the English publication gave some clues of recognized authorship of prior texts "Author of *Adam Bede*". Ironically enough, the English title-page included the sentence: "The Right of Translation is reserved", probably as a publishing house policy, but also as a possible reminder of the translation work carried out by Mary Ann Evans. It does not seem that the translator into Spanish took any notice of the warning.

4.2   **Silas Marner. The Weaver of Raveloe**

The second text to be presented to a Spanish audience -and the first in a complete version- is *Silas Marner* (1861), published in Spanish in 1919, i.e., 58 *years* after the publication of the original text. The translation was by Isabel Oyarzábal Smith, later known as Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia, and also by the nom-de-plume Beatriz Galindo, which she used when writing for the Madrid newspaper *El Sol*, in the early twenties, and also for the London *Daily Herald* (Navas Quintana, 2007, p. 372). She brought George Eliot's text to light in the publishing house known at the time as Editorial Calpe, and still existing today. The book was entitled *Silas Marner. Novela*, in which, the English subtitle is not included. However, it seemed to be necessary to provide an indication to the prospective readers as to the literary genre of the text, particularly in the case of George Eliot, who uses proper names in titles, which would not give any clue to a foreign reading public. Another characteristic of this version is noteworthy, as the title-page indicates that the translation was made directly from the English language, changing the Spanish common practice to translate English texts through French. This indication appears also in the Spanish version of *Northanger Abbey* made in 1922 by the same translator. As an example, we may indicate that the career of the translator as a feminist intellectual is not reflected in the translation since she does not make innovative decisions regarding the role of women in the text. On the contrary, according to Gracia Navas Quintana, we can say that patriarchal expressions appear in the translation, even where they do not occur in the English source text, e.g.,: "he presented himself" (68)/"al fin se presentó el amo de la casa", that is, "the landlord presented himself" (122) (Navas Quintana, 2007, p. 394). Oyarzábal's translation was reprinted by the same publishing house, nowadays called Espasa-Calpe, in 2006. However, there are other editions in Spanish. According to Navas Quintana (2007), all of them are based on the one by Oyarzábal, and they contain variations that do not allow us to give them the label of new translations but only of texts based on the

previous one with slight changes, although the names of their respective translators are included in the title-pages, and the details are in the bibliographical section. The translations of the same novel made by Anna D'Aumonville Alegría in 1980, and that by Hernando Valencia Goelkel, in 1992, respectively, are altogether different cases. The first one is a modern translation made in the Iberian Peninsula, different from that by Oyarzábal, although, surprisingly enough, it reproduces complete fragments of the former. The second one is an independent translation produced in Santa Fé de Bogotá, Colombia, South America, and it is probably the best example of a translation into Spanish, although it does not reproduce the dialectal varieties present in the original English text. Additionally, there are two other translations, one by J. Sirvent, from the 1950s (Barcelona), and another one in Saymón from 2009, with a translation by Roser Vilagrassa Sentís.

4.3 **Adam Bede**

Following the chronological order of publication in Spanish, *Adam Bede* (1858), translated by Manuel Vallvé as *Adán Bede* (1930), and was published in Spanish for the first time in this year. The paratextual elements of this edition may shed light on the type of reception intended for it, probably female readers interested in love novels. That is the reason why it appears in the Collection named "La novela interesante", and particularly in a section denominated "Library for Women" "Biblioteca para la mujer". A new edition appeared later in Barcelona (Eliot, 1944). This narrative text, which depicts the world of Victorian rural England with farmers and workers, by means of the image that appears in the cover, seems to be transposed to an urban middle-class atmosphere in the twenties of the last century. The reprinting in the year 2000 does not present any linguistic change, but the cover seems to echo the English country world by means of a reproduction of *Haymakers,* by George Stubbs, painted in 1785. It is a very illustrative image, if somewhat anachronistic.

4.4 **The Mill on the Floss**

Another novel, which was very popular with the Spanish audience, was *The Mill on the Floss* (1860). It is published for the first time in Spanish in 1932 (that is**,** 72 years after the publication in English). The translation by Guillermo Sans Huelín is presented to the Spanish readership as *El molino* (The Mill) in Calpe, the same publishing house that had issued *Silas Marner*. However, there are at least six different versions with different titles: *El Molino junto al Floss*, "The Mill by the Floss", *El molino a orillas del Floss* "The Mill upon the Floss", *El molino del Floss* "The Floss Mill", which gives us an idea of the positive reception of this text from the 1930*s* until the present moment, since the last translation was published in 2003 (Alba Editorial). Although most of these versions are intended for members of the public,

one of them, by Doireann McDermot published in 1988, is meant for an academic or educated audience, since it includes a critical scholarly introduction (Planeta). It reproduces the 1943 translation by María Luz Morales (Iberia). The modern version by Carmen Francí published in 2003 claims to be the only complete one, since the preceding texts in Spanish had been censored during Franco's regime, particularly due to their allusions to the Catholic religion, e.g., *El Molino*, Vol. 2, pp.155 and 253, Sopena, p. 275 (Planeta) where suspensive points stand for the expurgated sentences: "Saints and Martyrs had never interested Maggie so much as sages and poets. She knew little of saints and martyrs, and had gathered, as a general result of her teaching, that they were a temporary provision against the spread of Catholicism, and had all died at Smithfield" (286, Oxford) "Los santos y mártires nunca habían interesado a Maggie tanto como los sabios y los poetas". (Sans, Vol. 2, 155, and Armiño, 275); "Los santos y mártires nunca habían interesado a Maggie tanto como los sabios y los poetas. Verdad es que sabía muy poco de mártires ni de poetas …" (Morales, pp. 274–275). As is well known, the Protestant Martyrs were burnt at the stake in 1555 under Queen Mary, many of them in Smithfield Market, London.

4.5 Scenes of Clerical Life

This is a text published originally in 1858 and issued in Spanish in instalments, as had occurred in its origin in *Blackwood* magazine. The first story, *Janet's Repentance,* was published for the first time in Barcelona as *Arrepentimiento* in 1946 with an indication that it was a direct translation from English by J. Farrán y Mayoral. The Spanish censorship system had a deleterious practice in transmitting values from the English culture and did not encourage Anglophone elements to be translated from English, particularly a year after the end of World War II. As a consequence, the name "Janet" was avoided in the title. This emphasizes the subservient position of women during Francoism generalizing it to all women, in this way "repentance" would refer to any woman and not only the heroine. Other sections of the book, however, had to wait until the present century in order to be translated into Spanish. This is the case of *The Sad Fortunes of the rev. Amos Barton, Los infortunios del reverendo Amos Barton*, whose first Spanish version was issued in 2008 in a translation by César Palma (Belvedere). To the best of our knowledge, there is neither a published version of the complete text of *Scenes of Clerical Life* nor of "Mr Gilfil's Love-Story", included in the same book.

4.6 Middlemarch

Another text that was translated into Spanish more than 110 years later is *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). This eight-book novel, probably due to its length and to gender issues, had not been published in Spanish until 1984. It appeared in a carefully

presented edition with a study of the author and her whole literary work in the official printing press of the regime (Editora nacional). It was not until 1991 that the Spanish literary public had the opportunity to have a critical edition by a Professor of English literature, Pilar Hidalgo, in the prestigious Editorial Cátedra. This text had a second full edition in 2010.

4.7   **The Spanish Gypsy: A Poem**

A case in point is *The Spanish Gypsy: A Poem* (1868) published for the first time in December 2020, that is, more than 150 *years* after its original publication, issued by a Spanish publishing house, Universidad de Valladolid. The publication of this edition has a symbolic value since the author came to Spain, accompanied by her partner, the critic George Henry Lewes and later, being genuinely interested in Spanish history, she decided to compose and publish this dramatic poem in blank verse. George Eliot was fascinated from her infancy by the life of Saint Theresa of Ávila. She was also deeply influenced by *Don Quijote* and by the Spanish Golden Age drama by Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca (Lewes). She had studied in her long travels throughout Europe the interrelations of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim religions, developed through her translations of great thinkers such as Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and the works of her contemporaries David Friedrich Strauss' *Life of Jesus* (1846) and Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianism* (1854). *La gitanilla española: Poema dramático* presents a recurrent topic in the life and interests of George Eliot, that of belonging at the same time to different creeds, nationalities and races, and being compelled to choose among them. This text represents sixteenth-century Spain and the fights among various peoples and shows the various calls from the different groups and how they feel.

The reception of *The Spanish Gypsy* was generally successful in the English-speaking world. As an example we may highlight that six editions were published between the years 1868 and 1876 (Broek, 2016, p. xxi) and that it was positively reviewed by the novelist and critic Henry James in *North American Review* the same year of its publication indicating that the poem contained «extraordinary rhetorical energy and eloquence» (Haight, 1965, p. 56). In general terms, it can be said that the interest in this Poem was reinforced from the second half of the twentieth century onwards in the English language while in the Spanish culture we are presented with its first edition.

We know from Eliot's letters and diaries that she had revised different books on Hispanic history by both English and American authors, for instance: *History of Spanish Literature* (1849) by George Ticknor (22 November 1866, *Journal*, Cross, 1885, II, 322), *Geschichte der Spanischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit* (History of Spanish Eloquence and Literature) (1804) by Friederich Bouterwek; *De la littérature du Midi de l'Europe* (1813) by Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi, published in English as *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature* (1823), *Histoire générale de l'Espagne* (*A General History of Spain*) (1811) by George Bernard Depping, and

History of the Inquisition in Spain (1826) by D. Jean Antoine Llorente, who had been an authority in the Inquisition Tribunal (30 August 1866, *Journal*, Cross, 1885, II, 318; 16 August 1969, *Journal*, Cross, 1885, III, 68). Her preparatory readings for *The Spanish Gypsy* included, too, *History of the Muslim Dynasties in Spain* by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari by the Arabist Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, published in London by the Oriental Translation Fund between 1840 and 1843. It is also known that Eliot had shown interest for the tragedy by Heinrich Heine entitled *Almansor* (1820–1821), and set in the Spanish fifteenth century in which there is a couple of lovers who fight for their love against difficulties over contrasting religious faiths. Obviously, another direct influence of Eliot's is the exemplary novel by Cervantes *La gitanilla* (1616), translated into English as *The Little Gypsy Girl* (1822) (Cross, 1885, I, p. 73). Due to these reasons and to Eliot's decision of rejecting the term "gitana" in favour of "zincali" (Haight, 1954–1956, V, pp. 32–33), the diminutive term "gitanilla" has been used in the Spanish Version: *La gitanilla española.*

As far as linguistic registers are concerned in *La gitanilla española*, George Eliot uses many different grammar and vocabulary strategies corresponding to the Victorian period, the Elizabethan period and medieval archaisms present in the Romantic period. However, the structure of the verse or rhyme was never imitated in the translation. The purpose of the Spanish version was to make the text accessible and pleasurable for contemporary Spanish readers. In the text there are some anachronic details that are kept in the translation, for instance the presence of a plant non-existent in Europe in the fifteenth century, since it was brought from America after the year 1500. There are also exotic elements in the text that are connected with the ideas of the English in relation to the countries of the South of Europe and in particular related to the Travellers and the Moors.

5 Concluding Remarks

It must be stated that, while Frances Burney's plays were edited and taken to the stage both in the UK and in Canada and the USA, the reception of these texts was not possible for readers of the Spanish language, and therefore there are no studies of the response from the audiences in the Spanish-speaking world. This article revises both the reception of Burney's plays, or rather the lack of it, as well as the absence of Spanish versions of her novels. Concerning the readers' response to texts by George Eliot the article has shown the existing evidence that, although some of her texts were received by Spanish audiences, there were not full versions until the late twentieth century.

The reception of texts by George Eliot in Spain may be considered as modest (as with *Scenes of Clerical Life*, of which there is no complete version) or even non-existent, *Romola*, which has not been published in Spanish so far. Other titles, as we have already seen, have not reached the Spanish market until the twenty-first century, as in the case of *Daniel Deronda*, first published in Spanish in 2010, of which a review by José María Guelbenzu says that the translation is "simply correct"

(Guelbenzu, 2010). One could speculate that the length of the novels and the religious topics could have been an additional deterrent for publication in the Spanish literary market. The translation of *The Spanish Gypsy* shows the hybridity of Eliot's text both from the formal and content point of view. Formally, it shares features from narrative, ballads and drama, and the translation tried to preserve the flavour of the different textual modes. That is the reason why the English subtitle *A Poem* is translated as *Poema dramático.* As far as topics are concerned, the text explores the difficulties of interethnic relations in a war period in which there are racial and religious persecutions for Jews, Arabs and Gypsies. The postcolonial approach was applied in the translation showing respect for all ethnic groups showing that the "other" has positive values, otherwise, tragedy comes upon us. Other texts by George Eliot, however, have seen many versions and editions, and have allowed certain popularity for this Victorian writer both in popular and academic spheres. Thence, the first and second decades of the present century have favoured new editions and new printings of texts by Burney and Eliot, authors unanimously acclaimed in the English literary cannon, which had not been widely known in the Hispanic world. Nevertheless, Eliot's essays are not collected in Spanish editions and have not been received in due form by Hispanic audiences. The same occurs with Burney's plays, which have been repeatedly taken to the stage in the USA, Canada and Great Britain (Darby), but nearly no translations or performances have been carried out in Spanish. Meanwhile, Spanish readers did not yet have the opportunity of reading versions of her novels *Cecilia*, *Camilla* or *The Wanderer*.

Following Lefevere, it seems clear that both by action and by omission the literary fame of these writers has been manipulated in their not being rendered into Spanish in a regular manner. But while this occurs for the average reading public, research has been carried out in the academic spheres on the George Eliot's novels concerning ethics (Rodríguez Sánchez, 1976), social events (Suárez & Sierra) identity (Palacios), transposition to film language (Fraga Fuentes, 1999) or the use of dialect (García-Bermejo Giner, 1991) and on Burney (Fernández Rodríguez, 2014, 2018). All in all, while some articles on George Eliot were published in 1980 in order to commemorate the centenary of her death, the interest both in the translation of her works and the interpretation of the texts has been uneven. The same could be said concerning Frances Burney. This study has revised the reception of the work by both Frances Burney and George Eliot in Spain, and has explored the reasons for the belated translations of some of their texts. The results are that they are mainly connected to their being female writers, belonging to an Anglophone culture, not privileged during World War II and Francoism, and to their not belonging to a Catholic community, since these texts had to go through the censorship system in force in Spain until 1976. It is hoped that the transnational translations of the texts recently issued may encourage, on the one hand, artists to represent them on stage and, on the other, translators to produce Spanish versions of their complete literary production. The new versions issued at the end of the twentieth century and in the early twenty-first centuries are censure-free versions of these texts and show new postcolonial approaches to the translation of literary texts moving away both from a Eurocentric

tendency and from binary approaches to national realities, decentralizing the nation as an analytical category.

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Comparing and Contrasting Adaptations of Classic Texts for Young Readers: Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818)

Begoña Lasa-Álvarez

Abstract This study examines five adaptations of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818) aimed at young readers in contemporary British, American and Spanish markets. There is considerable consensus among researchers and practitioners that classic texts, due to their cultural, literary and educational value, should be made available to young readers in an accessible and attractive form. For this target audience, adaptations are among the most common strategies, and usually involve such practices as proximating and updating. In order to compare and contrast the diverse questions, challenges and problems that adapters faced here (Usborne, Sterling, Susaeta, RBA and Anaya) the following criteria have been taken into account: book format and design, structure and content, language and style, and additional instructional materials.

Keywords Mary Shelley · *Frankenstein* · *Or the Modern Prometheus* · Young readers · Adaptations · Translations

1 Introduction

Similarly to other weird and frightening literary creatures, such as stories featuring giants, ogres, werewolves and vampires, Mary Shelley's monstrous protagonist in *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818) has long been adopted as a popular figure in texts for children and young adults. Indeed, young readers have traditionally shown a notable inclination for narratives populated by dreadful characters and events; this is nothing new. Most classic works aimed at younger readers, such as the fairy tales compiled by the brothers Grimm at the beginning of the nineteenth century, involve monstrous and fearful entities, as well as violent and evil episodes. In the same way, recent best-selling sagas, such as *Harry Potter* and *The Hunger Games*, also addressed to a juvenile audience, have been marketed as scary horror

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books. For this reason, Shelley's novel has frequently been included in publishers' offerings to this specific readership.

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1791–1851) was born into a family of well-known and influential intellectuals. Her mother, Mary Wollstonecraft, is considered one of the precursors of modern feminism, and her father, William Godwin, was the founder of philosophical anarchism. Her mother died shortly after she was born due to complications in childbirth, and her absence would permanently mark the writer. Shelley grew up among the most prominent figures in the intellectual circles of her time, with her home serving as a social meeting point for them; thus it was there that she met her future husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, the distinguished Romantic poet. Despite the status of her immediate family, today it is Mary Shelley who is often considered to have achieved the greatest renown, thanks to her most celebrated publication, *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818). The influence of the text has not only persisted over time, but has grown to become one of the most powerful myths of modern literature and culture.

As the reference to Prometheus in the title suggests, this text focuses on the dangers of humans playing God. The plot of the novel is well known: Dr. Frankenstein carries out a daring experiment and manages to give life to a creature formed from dead matter, with fatal consequences. The initial idea for *Frankenstein* emerged during the evening gatherings that Mary and Percy Shelley, Lord Byron, J. W. Polidori and Claire Clairmont held in the dark and stormy summer of 1816 at Villa Diodati, Geneva. Byron proposed a horror story contest, and this resulted in Mary's text, which would be published anonymously two years later. In *Frankenstein*, genres such as romance, the Gothic, the epistolary novel and travel narratives converge. Furthermore, scientific theories of the period about physics, chemistry or medicine are developed.

Almost from the moment it was published, Shelley's novel had a great impact on English society and quickly crossed borders and genres, enjoying prolonged success thereafter. Indeed, two centuries later Frankenstein's "hideous progeny", as Shelley herself put it in the prologue to the 1831 edition, can be seen in a plethora of new versions, from films, plays and comics, to video games and other virtual creations. The text has also been adapted for young readers, and this has entailed certain strategies, such as approximating the form of the work to the register of the new target audience by means of condensation and simplification, but also, in this particular case, by updating the language for twenty-first-century readers. When translation is also involved, the already difficult task of adapting literary classics for young readers only increases, since cultural differences play a crucial role.

This study will examine various adaptations of Shelley's novel for young readers in the contemporary British, American and Spanish publishing market, in order to compare and contrast the diverse questions, challenges and problems that the adapters have faced, and the solutions they have chosen. The adaptations analysed are: *Frankenstein* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2006), *Frankenstein* (London: Usborne Publishing, 2008), *Frankenstein* (Madrid: Susaeta ediciones, 2008), *Frankenstein o El moderno Prometeo* (Madrid: Anaya, 2010) and *Frankenstein* (Barcelona: RBA Molino, 2019).

2   Young Readers and the Classics

In addressing the issue of children and young adults and the activity of reading, one main concern is how to engage them in this language skill. In a world dominated by screens and images, it is both absolutely necessary yet very difficult to maintain space in youth people's lives for the enjoyment of the written word. Innumerable proposals exist here, among them international programs and projects from institutions such as the European Union, which has implemented "EURead", a taskforce to embrace organisations from all over Europe involved in the promotion of reading among people of all ages. Regarding national and regional actions, and looking at Spain in particular, the Galician Government, following the instructions issued by the State Ministry of Education, has established that all primary and secondary schools have to design and develop a reading project in order to articulate all teachers' activities related to the promotion of reading (Decree, 105/2014; Decree, 86/2015). These projects usually include reading lists, which depending on the schools may be more or less prescriptive; but unquestionably, such lists should address a wide range of students' needs, interests and capacities (Carter, 2012, p. 136; Cerrillo, 2013, p. 27).

Stories represent a significant component of our lives. Human beings enjoy telling and listening to stories, and this is particularly so for young readers, for whom narratives provide a means of improving and enriching their experience about the world around them. Our cultural heritage, the most enduring legacy of our ancestors, comprises a diversity of art forms, including what we call classic books. As Ezell notes, the term "classic" associates a literary text "with the dynamic passage of time and a static standard of critical merit" (1994, p. 3). Each culture possesses its own classics, but by reading classics in other languages readers can make contact with different cultures around the world. However, not all members of society are able to read classic texts and to take full advantage of what they offer, or indeed to enjoy reading them; furthermore, it is unrealistic to believe that curiosity or interest in such texts will arise miraculously, without encouragement. Nevertheless, many classic stories offer young people the kind of narratives in which they would find themselves totally immersed, if only they were aware that they existed.

The term used in the title of this article, young readers, should also be clarified, since it is both wide and vague, and in general terms may refer to any reader under the age of 18, thus including children, adolescents and indeed young adults. In light of different interpretations used by a variety of institutions, as noted by Ellis (2014), a distinction might usefully be drawn between pre- and post- 11 or 12 year olds, given that important physical, social and psychological changes begin with the onset of puberty at around this time. With this in mind, the age-span of young readers considered in the present study will cover those of the latter group, that is, adolescents in lower and upper secondary education.

Classic books, as examples of remarkable and distinguished models of literary writing, reflect the kind of features of quality texts that young readers should have access to:

> A quality text must have integrity. It must have characters that are fully realised. It must
> have language that fully expresses what the writer wants to say. The story must satisfy the
> reader but also make demands of the reader. The very best stories have something to say that
> goes beyond a surface meaning to something deeper, a symbolic meaning that speaks of the
> human condition. (Gleeson, 2012, p. 6)

There is broad consensus among researchers and practitioners that an introduction to some classics texts should be given to students in primary and secondary education, so that they can begin to appreciate such writing and thus develop into adults equipped with the reading skills needed to enjoy them in a full and satisfactory way (Herz & Gallo, 2005; Navarro Durán, 2006; Núñez, 2007; Rodríguez-Chaparro, 2017, among others).

Another crucial parameter to take into consideration is that of young readers' interests, so that we can suggest texts as close as possible to their tastes. Traditionally, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels have been the most frequently rewritten and adapted here, in that they can be transformed into fiction genres habitually aimed at young readers, including adventure, historical, science-fiction and travel narratives. As we can see in publishers' catalogues, as well as in the general and specialised press, there are typically many adaptations of authors such as Defoe, Swift, Verne, Salgari, Stevenson, Scott, Dumas, Cooper, Dickens, Poe and Shelley.[1] Adolescents are embarking on a process of discovering life; their thirst for knowledge, and a desire to know about the emotions of taking risks, are also essential components. Hence, young readers are particularly attracted to adventures in which characters face danger, unknown and mysterious events, and also to heroes or heroines who are motivated by the desire to know, to explore and confront challenges, and even to overcome their own limitations (Sotomayor, 2005, pp. 229–230).

A recent study on juvenile reading habits in Spain revealed that their main preferences are for the fantasy genre and its derivatives, including epic fantasy, vampirism, Medieval aesthetics and science-fiction (Rivera-Jurado & Romero-Oliva, 2020, p. 13). Similarly, in a report by an Australian publishing house, among young readers' top preferences are books that make them laugh, allow them to use their imagination, have a mystery or problem to solve, tell them a made-up story (fiction), teach them something new and are a little scary (Scholastic, 2016). The bookseller WHSmith has also listed the genres most commonly featured in fiction for young adults: Sci-Fi/Dystopian, Crime/Mystery, Thriller/Horror, Fantasy and Romance (2016). These reports all reflect some general tendencies, but in a specific educational context, educators should try to ask and consider their students' specific interests.

Finally, the capacities of young readers should be also considered; depending on their age, the great majority of classic books are going to be difficult for them to tackle. Such texts, written in the past, use language and expressions which are now seen as outdated, and the contexts of stories are often unfamiliar to the modern reader. In an educational setting teachers can encourage the involvement of students here,

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[1] Various well-known writers, such as Ernest Hemingway, Isabel Allende, Samuel Beckett, among others, have expressed their taste for narratives of some of these authors when they were young (Camino, 2018).

in an attempt to build bridges between the classics and similar contemporary texts, according to structure, themes, characters, etc. (Emig, 2015; Herz & Gallo, 2005; Martín García, 2018). However, students might face difficulties in comprehension, and this will lead to the need to use summaries, the selection of some passages, or indeed adaptations of the whole text (Cerrillo, 2013, p. 22; Rodríguez-Chaparro, 2017, p. 86).

3 Adaptations for Young Readers

Traditionally, adaptations have been deemed as secondary and hence less worthy texts, and which had to be assessed in comparison to the source texts in terms of their fidelity. This is particularly so in the case of classic texts; a number of scholars have sought to justify their value as a whole and to note the overall preservation of their lexical and syntactic essence. However, in more recent studies, such as Hutcheon (2006) and Sanders (2006), which take an intertextual approach, adaptations are no longer seen as mere derivative texts, but as the fruit of the adapters' creativity to transform the original text into something which is similar yet different. Linda Hutcheon in particular provides a definition of adaptation from three different but interrelated perspectives (2006, p. 8):

– An acknowledged transposition of recognisable other work or works.
– A creative and an interpretative act of appropriation/salvaging.
– An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work.

Taking into account the first definition, the type of adaptations examined here acknowledge that they are a reworking of a previous text. Moreover, given that they are intended for a specific audience, the fact that they have been adapted for these readers is emphasised. On the front or back cover they usually state that the text is "based on", "retold from", or an "adaptation", specially tailored for young readers.

In terms of the creative process alluded to in Hutcheon's second definition of adaptation, when these are produced for young readers they constitute an attempt to make texts easily comprehensible for new audiences by means of "proximation and updating" (Sanders, 2006, p. 19). Hence, rather than descriptions and introspections, books for this specific audience often focus on dialogues and action; the plot follows a chronological order, and finally, one of the key features of adaptations for children and young adults is the presence of illustrations and images accompanying the text (Grenby and Reynolds, 2011; Lefebvre, 2013; Shavit, 1986). Navarro Durán, herself an adapter of Spanish classics such as *Don Quixote* and the *Lazarillo* for children and young readers, has explained her method, which is similar: selection of essential passages, accessible language and faithfulness to the original (2006, p. 19). She notes in particular the importance of this latter point, since a classic text is going to continue to exist and the young reader might not accept it or might feel deceived if a previously read adaptation had not been accurate. Rodríguez-Chaparro (2017, p. 88)

offers a more detailed list of mechanisms used in the transformation of original texts
into adapted ones for juvenile audiences:

1. Suppression of some episodes and excerpts.
2. Simplification of the language by means of the substitution of the indirect by
   the direct style, and narrative sections by dialogue.
3. Introduction of certain relatable and familiar elements in order to bring the story
   closer to the reader.
4. The text should not be very long.
5. Inclusion of images to accompany the written text.

However, apart from those factors, Klingberg also considers the assumption that
books for young readers should "contribute to the development of the readers' set of
values" (1986, p. 10); consequently, there can be changes in adaptations, particularly
if they are for an audience from another culture, for ethical, moral or pedagogical
reasons. Similarly, as Shavit argues, since literature for children and young adults
has traditionally been at the periphery of the literary polysystem, the translator of
books of this type, and, by extension, the adapter, "is permitted to manipulate the text
in various ways by changing, enlarging, or abridging it or by deleting or adding to
it", but they must adhere to two principles: the text has to be "good" for the readers
and suitable for their abilities (1986, pp. 112–113). Obviously, these two principles
might vary in different cultures.

Hutcheon's third definition refers to the audience, a very relevant component
in the process of adaptation. This is especially so in the case of those aimed at
young people, because such adaptations are frequently used in schools for teaching
purposes (Hutcheon, 2006, p. 117–118; Rodríguez-Chaparro, 2017, p. 88). This is
crucial for the publishing market, as the wide inclusion of a book on reading lists
for students will have a very positive impact on sales. Moreover, school reading lists
can also be influential in the formation of the literary canon, since they contribute
to the establishment of a canon through multiple curricula and syllabuses across
educational institutions (Gillory, 1993, p. 31). We might also note here the fluid
and relative nature of the canon, and that works can be added or removed "without
altering the impression of totality or cultural homogeneity" (Gillory, 1993, p. 33). In
this regard, Cerrillo provides enlightening examples of the variety of texts currently
on the reading lists of Spanish secondary schools, in which classic texts coexist with
recently publish ones (2013, pp. 28–29).

4   Mary Shelley's Frankenstein for Young Readers: An Assessment

Shelley's *Frankenstein* is very much in line with young readers' interests in reading,
in that it features a young hero searching for new avenues in his life, and who tries
to apply innovative scientific theories to create new life. The book also includes
a monster, an ingredient that usually appeals to juvenile audiences (Alder, 2018;

Coats & Norris Sands, 2016), particularly in recent years, as "fear or the presence of fear has become a dominant mode of enjoyment in literature for young people" (Jackson et al., 2009, p. 1). Yet apart from an attraction to the uncanny, as Coats and Norris Sands have noted, issues such as "family relationships, the roles and dangers of knowledge and secrecy, and the fear of isolation" (2016, p. 243), also addressed in Shelley's text, are meaningful for present-day youngest readers.

Another determining factor for the vast inventory of translations and editions of *Frankenstein* in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is its appearance as a compulsory or recommended reading book on the curricula of both native language and English language teaching courses in primary and, especially, secondary education. Furthermore, the fact that *Frankenstein* is the literary creation of a female writer has also helped its wide dissemination in the educational area, since over the course of the history of literature the number of women writers has been far lower than men, especially in earlier periods, and the inclusion of Shelley and other women has been a strategy used to increase their presence on syllabuses and curricula and thus to create more of a balance with men. Many publishing houses offer full and adapted editions of *Frankenstein* for young audiences, and due to its wide pedagogical use it has also been published by many houses specialising in textbooks.[2] Hence, some of the editions incorporate complementary activities. Considering the significant number of adaptations of *Frankenstein* present in Spanish and English literary markets, the purpose of this study is to analyse some of these, three adaptations in Spanish and two in English, to compare and contrast the adapters' strategies and to assess the validity of these works as books for young readers.

4.1 The Selection of the Texts

The texts selected for this study are recent adaptations of Shelley's *Frankenstein* in two different languages. Hence, for the English ones there is just one process involved, adaptation, while those in Spanish have been also translated and adapted for an audience of a different culture (García de Toro, 2014; Toledano Buendía, 2001–2002). Our purpose is thus, on the one hand, to assess all the adaptations following the same parameters, observing general and specific strategies, and on the other, to see whether the adapters' work differs when the text is also a translation.

The texts selected are as follows:

1. *Frankenstein*, retold and abridged by Deanna McFadden, illustrated by Jamel Akib (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2006).[3]
2. *Frankenstein,* retold and abridged by Rosie Dickins, illustrated by Victor Tavares (London: Usborne Publishing, 2008).[4]

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[2] On the reception of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley in Spain, see Lasa Álvarez (2020).

[3] Henceforth, Sterling.

[4] Henceforth, Usborne.

3. *Frankenstein,* adapted by Lucía Mora, illustrated by Alberto C. Ayerbe (Madrid: Susaeta ediciones, 2008).[5]
4. *Frankenstein o El moderno Prometeo,* adapted by Emilio Fontanilla Debesa, illustrated by Luis Miguel Ybarz (Madrid: Anaya, 2010).[6]
5. *Frankenstein,* adapted by Sabina Galí, illustrated by Antonio Navas (Barcelona: RBA Molino, 2019).[7]

4.2   Assessment Criteria

We will follow Rodríguez Chaparro's criteria (2017, pp. 89–90), in that she provides an exhaustive list of standards for this type of analysis; however, ideas and guidelines drawn from other studies, such as Klingberg (1986), Shavit (1986), Sotomayor (2005), Navarro Durán (2006), Rivera-Jurado and Romero-Oliva (2020), will also be used where necessary. Thus, we propose the following criteria:

I.   Book format and design, including size, cover, number of pages and layout, font type and size, and illustrations or images.
II. Structure and content, including the degree to which the general meaning of the main events and of characters is maintained.
III. Language and style, including simplicity of vocabulary and syntax, explanatory notes, dialogue and direct style, clear narrative, and logical time sequencing.
IV. Additional instructional or pedagogical materials.

4.3   Results and Discussion

4.3.1   Book Format and Design

All the books, except Anaya, have a similar size and are in hard cover, since they are easier to handle by young readers and are more durable. According to reader response theories, "Alongside the words, illustrations provide a starting point from which the reader gets meaning and to which the reader gives meaning" (Evans, 1998, p. xv). In the case of young readers, this aspect is particularly relevant, as the covers should be eye-catching enough to attract their attention. Hence, they usually include striking colours and illustrations. However, in the case of *Frankenstein*, due to its genre and topic, the colours on the covers of the books are dark, portraying night time scenes: in Usborne and Sterling they depict Frankenstein in his laboratory right at the moment the monster is about to come to life; in RBA the monster has just woken and Frankenstein is shocked and horrified; while in Susaeta and Anaya the only character depicted is the monster, who occupies the whole cover, again in a nocturnal setting.

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[5] Henceforth, Susaeta.

[6] Henceforth, Anaya.

[7] Henceforth, RBA.

Three of these covers also reflect the stormy night of the experiment with lightening in the back. As for the characters themselves, on those covers where the two main protagonists appear, the monster is bigger than his creator and his skin colour is greenish with the stitch lines of scars visible, to suggest the numerous body parts used for his creation. The monster on the cover of Susaeta is notable in that he is looking directly at the reader and is clearly inspired by the monster in the 1932 film adaptation by James Whale, portrayed by Boris Karloff, so recognisable and still present in our collective imaginary. In Anaya, on the contrary, the reader can only see the back of the monster, who is on the top of a mountain expressing his power through the posture of his body.

Turning to the text on the front cover of the books, all of these refer to the shortened title: *Frankenstein*, even though Anaya includes the whole title on the title page inside. The author of the text, Mary Shelley, is also present in all cases; however, the two adaptations in English specify further: "Based on the story by Mary Shelley" (Usborne) and "Retold from the Mary Shelley original" (Sterling). In Susaeta, it is clearly stated on the cover that it is an adaptation, while in the other two Spanish adaptations the reader has to infer the type of text from the images on the cover and the collection to which the book belongs. The back cover is used for additional information on the books and their respective collections, although some of the texts here provide more images to contextualise the story, such as the diverse components of a nineteenth-century laboratory. Curiously enough, the Spanish editions do not allude to the fact that they are translations, although the reader might suppose as much. The editors of Anaya, however, in one of their paratexts, do specify that the adaptation has been carried out from the English edition of Shelley's novel, specifically the first one, from 1818 (p. 12). In the other two Spanish adaptations, it is not clear whether the adaptation is from the English text or from a Spanish translation.

The information on the back cover is instrumental in defining the readership to which the books are addressed. Susaeta belongs to the collection "el placer de LEER con SUSAETA" (the pleasure to read with Susaeta), level 4 (+ 11 year olds). It is their highest level series, for youths who enjoy reading, and includes adaptations of other classic texts, among them *Gulliver's Travels*, *Dracula*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Don Quixote*, *Oliver Twist*, *Jane Eyre*, and poetry by Miguel Hernández and Pablo Neruda. The back cover of the book gives a brief introduction to the text, but does not refer to the story itself, but rather to its genesis. Usborne is part of the "Usborne Young Reading" collection, Series Three (also the highest level in this collection), "which combines good stories with easy reading text" and "is for readers who are ready for longer stories" (n.p.). There is also a very short text to introduce the story in the form of a question, which will perhaps induce the reader to start the book in order to answer it: "Victor Frankenstein dreams of creating life. As lightning flashes across the sky, his creature stirs. Will it be the perfect being he imagines, or a monster"? (n.p.).

Sterling uses a similar strategy in providing information about the story in the book. Thus, after an explanation of how Frankenstein brings the horrible monster to life, the reader is asked: "Can Frankenstein's monster be stopped"? (n.p.). The book belongs to the "Classic Starts" collection, which incorporates "timeless stories […]

[a]bridged for easier reading and carefully rewritten" in order to maintain the original "magic and excitement" (n.p.). RBA is part of the collection "Clásicos del terror" (terror classics), which features chilling classics in updated and adapted editions. In this case the reader is told that the story deals with an experiment in which a monster has been created; once abandoned by his creator, the monster will take vengeance. This short paragraph finishes with an ellipsis, inviting the reader to continue the story. Finally, Anaya is included in the collection "Clásicos a medida" (tailored classics), for 14 + year olds. The text on the back cover describes how the text was created, its contemporary relevance, alluding to those significant values that the text brings to the reader (Klingberg, 1986, p. 10), as well as a short summary of the plot.

The length of the texts depends on the adaptation and the age range of the readership. The Spanish Susaeta and English Usborne versions are for younger readers than the other texts. They have fewer pages, 70 and 64, respectively, bigger font size, and a greater number of more colourful illustrations, on both the right and left pages. The adaptation by Sterling represents the next level of complexity (153 pages, medium font size), and finally Anaya and RBA are the longest adaptations, at 167 and 204 pages, respectively. Sometimes it is the publishing house which imposes limitations on the text length, typically a (low) number of pages, as a requirement for inclusion in a specific collection (Navarro Durán, 2006, p. 21). While Sterling and RBA include fewer and black and white illustrations, Anaya offers the readers a significant number of colourful images within the book, although most of these are small and serve to enhance and suggest an appropriate atmosphere.

4.3.2   Structure and Content

The original novel is organised into three volumes. The first includes a dedication (to the author's father, William Godwin), a preface, four letters from Robert Walton to her sister, Mrs. Saville, and seven chapters. The second volume comprises nine chapters. The third and final volume has seven chapters. However, as Newman notes, the structure of *Frankenstein* is complex, as it contains a series of frames, and can be described as a "Chinese box of stories-within-stories in the form of writing" (1986, p. 144). First, the reader encounters Captain Walton's letters to his sister, which reveal the presence of another character, Victor Frankenstein, who narrates his story to Walton. Frankenstein's story includes the creature's confessions, and finally, the monster tells the narrative of the Delacey family. Notwithstanding this multiple voices in Shelley's novel, all the adaptations, except Usborne, maintain the original narrative model; indeed, first person narratives are rather frequent in stories for young readers (Sotomayor, 2005, p. 225). Similarly to what Rodríguez-Chaparro has observed in adaptations of other classic texts (2017, pp. 92–93), in the current adaptations the number of chapters or events from the original novel that are included depends on the age range to which the book is addressed, with fewer chapters in texts for younger readers.

None of the adaptations includes the dedication or preface, and since they are all one-volume books, the chapters are numbered consecutively. However, this number

varies. Usborne, the shortest text, reduced the chapter count to nine, all of which have a title to announce the content to provide guidance for the young reader. Table 1 sets out each chapter in this edition, in which the corresponding chapters of the original version and the main events and characters present in them are mentioned.

After observing the table, it is clear that there are some original chapters that have been omitted, but also some events, which might be considered secondary in the text; for instance, Chaps. 1 and 2 in the first volume, which address Victor Frankenstein's childhood and adolescence, and Chaps. 4 and 5 in volume II, which deal with Sefie's story. Some characters have been also omitted or merely mentioned in passing, such as Safie and the other characters in her story, Professor Krempe, Mr Kirwin and Mrs Saville, in that there are not letters from Captain Walton to her in this adaptation. Indeed, all the letters of the original text are excluded, except one, since the narrative in Usborne is mainly third person narrative with some inner reflections by Frankenstein, plus some very short dialogues. The only exception is Chap. 5, "The monster's tale", which, as its title indicates, is a first person narrative of the creature, and where, to differentiate it from the rest of the text, a different font is used.

In Susaeta the process of simplification also involves a reduction in the number of chapters, some events and characters, but less than in the previous adaptation. The really significant aspect of this adaptation in terms of its structure is the imbalance between the resetting of the original text in chapters. The number of chapters has been reduced, as occurred in the previous adaptation; however, in Susaeta the dénouement, after the encounter between the monster and Victor, is very quick, covering just two chapters, although these are indeed longer than the previous chapters. As can be observed in Table 2, Chap. 9 includes almost all the third volume of Shelley's original text. As for the omissions in Susaeta, Sefie is mentioned, but her story does not appear, and Victor's trial after Henry's murder is also eliminated. The number of letters in the original has also been reduced and they are briefer, yet this notable narrative strategy from the original is indeed present in the adaptation. As for the narrative style, most of the text is in the first person, narrated by both Frankenstein and the monster, with just a brief section at the beginning of the text in third person in order to recount Captain Walton's situation on board the ship.

Our analysis of the remaining adaptations will be briefer, pointing out specific modifications, since these texts follow to a large extent the number of chapters of the original work. The Sterling adaptation contains 19 chapters, each of these with a title to guide the reader. The first four letters are summarised in the first chapter, in which Captain Walton himself narrates his own story. In this first person narrative, his dialogue with Frankenstein is included, mainly in direct speech, which is more accessible than the reported speech. Similarly, the rest of the letters in the text are also substituted by other strategies, such as brief summaries. For most of the story, first person narrative is used, as Victor and the monster, in their respective sections, recount what happened to them. Most of the chapters are based on a chapter from the original; however, the story of the creature, which in the original occupies six chapters, is shortened in Sterling to one and a half, mainly because Sefie's story is omitted. There are also some significant changes in the development of the story. For instance, the origin of Elizabeth is completely different; here she is described

Table 1 Usborne adaptation

Chapters	Analysis
Chapter 1—Icebound	– Events: Captain Walton is heading to the Pole on a ship, when he sees two sleds racing to the North, Frankenstein is helped on board – Volume I: The four initial letters by Walton – Characters: Walton and Frankenstein, and the sailors
Chapter 2—To create life	– Events: Frankenstein is at the university, researching hard and forgetting his family and friends, obsessed about creating new life, the experiment, the monstrous creature is alive – Volume I: Chap. 3, 4 and 5 – Characters: Frankenstein and the monster, allusion to family and friends
Chapter 3—Fever	– Events: Frankenstein's nightmares, the monster has gone, Victor is ill for months, his friend Henry helps him recover – Volume I: Chaps. 5 and 6 – Characters: Frankenstein and Henry, allusion to the monster and Elizabeth
Chapter 4—Death in Geneva	– Events: A letter from Victor's father, his younger brother has been murdered, he returns to Geneva, the monster is there, Justine (the nanny) accused of the murder, Victor tortured by remorse, his encounter with the monster – Volume I: Chap. 7 and Volume II: Chap. 1 – Characters: Frankenstein, his father, Henry, Elizabeth and the monster, allusion to Justine
Chapter 5—The monster's tale	– Events: the monster's learning, he wants to be part of the family he met, he wants company and speaks to the blind old man, says he was rejected by the children and in Geneva he took vengeance by murdering William, he put the locket in Justine's pocket – Volume II: Chaps. 3, 7 and 8 – Characters: the monster, the old man and the children, William, Justine, Frankenstein
Chapter 6—A monster bride	– Events: The monster needs a companion, Frankenstein proposes to Elizabeth, he leaves for Scotland with Henry, he starts his new experiment and finally destroys the monster's bride – Volume II: Chap. 9, Volume III: Chaps. 1, 2 and 3 – Characters: the monster, Frankenstein, his father, Elizabeth and Henry
Chapter 7—Death in Scotland	– Events: Victor leaves the island, Henry has been murdered, he returns to Geneva and is going to marry Elizabeth – Volume III: Chaps. 3, 4 and 5 – Characters: Victor, a policeman, Victor's father, Elizabeth
Chapter 8—Wedding night	– Events: Victor's wedding, honeymoon, Elizabeth is murdered, his father dies, he is locked up in an asylum, when released Victor pursues the monster to destroy it – Volume III: Chap. 6 – Characters: Frankenstein, Elizabeth, the monster, allusion to his father

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Chapters	Analysis
Chapter 9—The ice breaks	– Events: Victor and captain Walton on the ship, the monster shows up, Victor is dead, the monster's final reflections, he runs north to kill himself – Volume III: Chap. 7 – Characters: Captain Walton, Frankenstein and the monster

as living with a poor family, although she had come from a rich one, and Victor's mother brought her to live with them.

RBA adaptation maintains the structure of the book and the content of the chapters. There is a slight change, with the initial four letters by Captain Walton being grouped together in a chapter, and thus, the book comprises 24 chapters in total. However, the text is shortened considerably, as many passages alluding to Frankenstein's inner thoughts and feelings, as well as descriptions of places he visited, are omitted or summarised. Thus, as occurs in all the other adaptations, Sefie's story is the most abbreviated episode of the book. It is also interesting to note that the long paragraphs of the original have been divided into shorter ones. In Anaya the structure of the book is very similar to the original, except for some divisions of chapters, which have been modified to include part of two chapters of the original. As happened in the previous adaptation, most of the omissions here refer to Victor's wanderings and inner reflexions, for instance, almost all the descriptions of Victor's and Henry's journey across England in Chap. 2, Vol. III. Finally, something observed in all the adaptations is the exclusion of all the interspersed poems that the original text incorporates from time to time. Although a fashionable strategy when the book was published, this is no longer the case, and might even be considered rather weird nowadays.

4.3.3 Language and Style

Issues of both language and style habitually arise during the processes of the simplification and updating inherent in adaptations. Obviously, in the adaptations analysed here the age of the target readership is an essential consideration. As can be observed in Tables 3 and 4 below, particularly in the words and expressions highlighted in bold, the texts of the two adaptations for younger readers are much shorter than the original, and when they allude to the main ideas of the original they do so very basically. On the other side of the spectrum, Anaya maintains some challenging terms, as well as some references to authors, books and theories from the original which are omitted in the other adaptations; this Spanish adaptation assists readers here through the inclusion of a significant number of explanatory notes, which also serve to enrich their vocabulary and knowledge.

Simplification also involves softening the impact of certain episodes and eliminating some deep and unsettling passages (Navarro Durán, 2006, p. 20). Hence the readers of these adaptations will not come to know Victor Frankenstein in the same

Table 2 Susaeta adaptation

Chapters	Analysis
Chapter 1—El joven explorador (The young explorer)	– Events: Young Walton is heading north on a ship, a letter to her sister (see two men on sleds, they rescue Frankenstein) – Volume I: The four initial letters by Walton – Characters: Walton, Frankenstein, the sailors and Mrs Saville
Chapter 2—Una infancia infeliz (An unhappy childhood)	– Events: Frankenstein's childhood and adolescent, her parents, brothers, Elizabeth and his friend Henry, the death of her mother, he leaves to study at the university – Volume I: Chaps. 1 and 2 – Characters: Frankenstein, his parents, Elizabeth, Henry, allusion to his two brothers (Ernest and William)
Chapter 3—Estudios científicos (Scientific studies)	– Events: Victor at the university, meets a professor, obsessed about scientific research and about the origins of life – Volume I: Chaps. 2 and 3 – Characters: Frankenstein and the professor
Chapter 4—El monstruo tiene vida (The monster is alive)	– Events: Frankenstein brings to life a monstrous creature which disappears, Victor is very ill and Henry takes care of him until he recovers – Volume I: Chaps. 4 and 5 – Characters: Victor, Henry, the monster, allusion to Elizabeth
Chapter 5—La primera desgracia (The first misfortune)	– Events: Victor receives a letter, his younger brother has been murdered, in Geneva he sees the monster, he is the murderer, but Justine is accused – Volume I: Chap. 6 – Characters: Frankenstein, Henry, the monster, Ernest, Elizabeth, father
Chapter 6—La segunda víctima (The second victim)	– Events: Justine's trial, Victor and Elizabeth visit Justine in prison – Volume I: Chap. 7 – Characters: Frankenstein, Elizabeth and Justine
Chapter 7—El encuentro esperado (The expected encounter)	– Events: Victor travels to Chamonix, in the mountains he encounters the monster, who wants to be listened to – Volume II: Chaps. 1 and 2 – Characters: Frankenstein and the monster

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Chapters	Analysis
Chapter 8—La historia del monstruo (The monster's story)	– Events: the monster's learning, he wants to be part of the family he has met, he wants company and speaks to the blind old man, what he knows about the family and Safie, he was rejected by the children, the incident with a little girl in the lake, in Geneva he took vengeance by murdering William, he put the locket in Justine's pocket – Volume II: Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 – Characters: the monster, the family (father, Felix, Agatha, Sefie), the little girl, her father, William, Justine
Chapter 9—El deber del creador (The creator's duty)	– Events: The monster needs a companion, Frankenstein agrees to create a bride for him, he leaves for Scotland with Henry, he starts his new experiment, but destroys the monster's bride, Victor leaves the island, Henry has been murdered, he is in prison for a time, he returns to Geneva and marries Elizabeth, she is murdered their wedding night, his father also dies – Volume II: Chap. 9, Volume III: Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 – Characters: Frankenstein, the monster, Victor's father, Henry, Elizabeth, allusion to a judge
Chapter 10—La venganza final (The final vengeance)	– Events: Victor accuses the monster of the crimes, but he decides to take vengeance himself and to pursue him. Victor and Captain Walton on the ship, the monster shows up, Victor is dead, the monster's final reflections, he runs north to kill himself – Volume III: Chap. 7 – Characters: Frankenstein, Captain Walton, the sailors, allusion to a judge

depth as in the original; however, his main reflections, doubts and fears about his experiments and his creation are present in all the adaptations, although perhaps somewhat diffused in the shortest versions.

4.3.4 Aditional Materials

As habitually occurs with books for children and young readers, additional materials are incorporated into the book, this towards a better comprehension of the text (Rodríguez-Chaparro, 2017, p. 90). In the adaptations of *Frankenstein*, the quantity of such additional educational resources varies substantially. RBA, which is for older readers, does not provide its readers with any didactic paratexts of this kind. However, on the front and back flyleaves there are drawings of the six main

Table 3 Comparison of language and style in English adaptations [italics mine]

Original [Broadview]	Usborne	Sterling
Whence, I often asked myself, did *the principle of life* proceed? It was a bold question, and one which has ever been considered as a mystery; yet with how many things are we upon the brink of becoming acquainted, if cowardice or carelessness did not restrain our inquiries. […] To examine the causes of life, *we must first have recourse to death.* I became acquainted with *the science of anatomy*: but this was not sufficient; I must also observe the natural *decay and corruption* of the human body (p. 79)	"What is *the secret of life itself*? He demanded. And he began to take extra classes in *anatomy*, and to visit the dead and dying, to try to understand *what separates life from death* (p. 9)	What *gives a creature to life*? It was a hard question, but I needed to know the answer. […] In order to discover the secrets of life, *I needed to learn more about death.* A gloomy thought indeed, but it made sense to me at the time. I started to study *the human body* and looked at *what happens to the body* after life has left it (p. 32)

Table 4 Comparison of language and style in Spanish adaptations [italics mine]

Susaeta	RBA	Anaya
Mi mayor curiosidad era saber *de dónde procedía la vida.* Para averiguarlo *tuve que analizar primero la muerte* (p. 19)	A menudo me preguntaba sobre *el origen de la vida.* Una pregunta audaz ¡pero la ciencia no avanza con la cobardía! […] Pero para estudiar las causas de la vida *hay que investigar antes la muerte.* Para ello me familiaricé con la *anatomía*, pero no era suficiente, y tuve que observar, también, la *descomposición* del cuerpo humano (p. 34)	¿De dónde, me preguntaba con frecuencia, procede *el principio de la vida*? Era una pregunta atrevida, una de las que han sido siempre consideradas un misterio. […] Para examinar las causas de la vida, *debemos recurrir primero a la muerte.* Estudié *anatomía,* pero no era suficiente. Tuve también que observar la *descomposición y putrefacción* del cuerpo humano (p. 48)

characters along with their names. By contrast, Anaya, with the same target readership, provides abundant material to contextualise the novel: An introduction, in which the circumstances surrounding the origin of the text are set out, as well as an explanation about the subtitle, the modern Prometheus, and information on the edition used for the adaptation. Also, there is an appendix at the end of the book with the following sections: Shelley's biography, her literary production, the genre of the novel, and its circulation. As Rodríguez-Chaparro notes, those printing houses which are involved in the creation and design of educational textbooks, such as Anaya, are

more conscious of the needs of teachers when using texts in the classroom, and they habitually incorporate resources to this end (2017, p. 93).

Sterling is particularly interesting regarding its additional materials, which are at the end of the book. The first section here is entitled "What Do *You* Think? Questions for Discussion", and is addressed to the young reader. It contains questions that "might make you think in a completely new way" (p. 147). For instance, question seven is as follows: "The monster asks Frankenstein why he was created if the whole world was just going to hate him. Do you think Frankenstein gave much thought to his creation's feelings when he was creating him"? (p. 148). Furthermore, following the questions is a section addressed to parents and teachers, written by Dr. Arthur Pober, EdD, an expert in children's education, whose professional biography is also provided. This final chapter serves to underline the importance of offering classic texts to children and young readers, as well as to justify the previous section with questions for the readers. Hence, this adaptation underlines the intermediary role of adults, as buyers, supervisors, selectors, and even censors of what minors read (Grenby & Reynolds, 2011, p. 5).

Susaeta also helps the young reader at the beginning of the book, indeed, prior to the table of contents, by means of a kind of dramatis personae, including a portrait and some features of each of the main characters. The rest of the educational materials are at the end: a short biography and a portrait of the author, plus one page describing the historical context, focusing on the Romantic period and the myth of Prometheus, very useful to better understand the story. Finally, Usborne's extra materials are also at the end of the book, and include a very short biography of Mary Shelley, and a very brief description of the genesis of the text, "one of the most famous stories in the English language" (p. 64).

5 Conclusion

The analysis of the English and Spanish adaptations of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* for young readers has confirmed that current adaptations for this target audience maintain the central narrative lines of the text quite faithfully. Hence, young readers will recognise the original text if they subsequently come to read it. However, it is also true that the excisions, expurgations and abridgements to which the text is subjected, mostly involving descriptions and scenes of introspection, effectively convert Shelley's text into an adventure novel, in that the adaptations focus on the succession of events or adventures of the protagonist. Be that as it may, as Dr. Pober notes in the "Afterword" of the Sterling adaptation:

> Reading an abridged version of a classic novel gives the young reader a sense of independence and the satisfaction of finishing a 'grown-up' book. And when a child is engaged with and inspired by a classic story, the tone is set for further exploration of the story's themes, characters, history, and details. As a child's reading skills advance, the desire to tackle the original, unabridged version of the story will naturally emerge (pp. 151–152).

Furthermore, one of the main features of classic texts is the combination of values that they convey. As noted above, *Frankenstein* may teach younger generations of readers such values as the importance of family relationships, the consequences of progress and modernity, these not always positive, and how to confront abandonment and loneliness, among others. They are unquestionably valid issues for young readers of the twenty-first century to encounter; however, the context in which the text was initially produced is different from our own, and the language, for instance, is very distant from the way we speak and communicate today. Hence, adaptations play an important role in bringing classic texts closer to young readers.

After comparing and contrasting these adaptations, the most significant differences evidently derive from the age range of the target readership, and the two adaptations for younger readers, in English (Usborne) and Spanish (Susaeta), involve more simplifications and present far more omissions and abbreviations. There do not seem to be any particularly significant differences between those adaptations in English and in Spanish; language, then, is not the most relevant factor here, but rather the target reader. The second significant aspect is temporal distance from the original, since in all the adaptations a considerable modernising of language and style can be observed.

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Translating Taboos: An Analysis of the Arabic Translation of Manson's *'The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck'*

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Abstract Translating Taboo words/expressions is one of the challenges that translators face during the process of translation due to various reasons whether they are cultural, religious, and/or the functions and types of the taboo words/expressions used. This study aims to analyze Alnabhan's (2019) Arabic translation ((فن اللامبالاة)) of Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* to identify the translation strategies used for translating taboo words/expressions. Accordingly, data have been collected from both ST (English) and TT (Arabic). Almijrab's (2020) classification of the appropriate translation strategies that translators are advised to use for translating English taboos into Arabic is adopted in this study. These strategies are omission or censorship, substitution, taboo for taboo and application of euphemism. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used for data analysis. The purpose of the quantitative analysis was to find out the frequency use and percentage of the translation strategies adopted by the translator. The qualitative analysis aimed to see how those strategies are used. Throughout the analysis, it has been found out that there are 136 taboo words and expressions in the ST to be analyzed. The analysis has shown that the translator used various strategies to transfer English taboo words/expressions into Arabic. The findings agree with Almijrab's (2020) classification that applying euphemism is the widely used strategy in dealing with taboos as the current study has proven that euphemism is the most frequently used strategy in translating English taboo words/expressions into Arabic. The findings have also shown that the second frequently used strategy is translating taboo for taboo, which is attributed to the nature of the ST as using many taboo words/expressions in the ST is intended by the writer. The significance of this study, therefore, lies in the fact that it helps readers identify and understand taboos, their translatability, the challenges they cause for translators, and the strategies used in translating English taboos into Arabic.

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1   Introduction

Language and Culture are two indivisible terms. As translation is simply defined as "the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)", (Catford, 1965, p. 20); it is by nature a process that transfers meaning from one language into another and from one culture into another too. Culture is "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression", (Newmark, 1988, p. 94). Culture includes habits, customs, behaviours of a group of people who use a particular language for communication. Since translation is an intercultural bridge, it is important to take full consideration to the cultural aspects in the texts being translated. Idioms, proverbs, collocations, taboos, etc. are all types of culture-bound references that cause some issues and challenges during the process of translation. Translators deal with such translation challenges differently because of various reasons like the text type and genre, the language and audience, purpose of translation, etc. by using different translation strategies as well. "Differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Almijrab, 2020, p. 22).

Taboo is a type of cultural issues that might be the hardest part a translator may face during the process of translation. The word *taboo*, according to Cambridge Dictionary (2021) means "a subject, word, or action that is avoided for religious or social reasons". Using taboos in daily life for communication is unprofessional and unsuitable as it refers to unacceptable banned words and expressions in religions and societies as such words/expressions sound rude and offensive in many cultures. According to Allan & Burridge (2006, p. 2), "taboo is considered prohibited when it is used for insulting other people, describing sex, and our bodies and their functions". On the other hand, some think that it is an indivisible part of the language and it refers to other things as well. According to Jay cited in Pratma (2017), taboo words are often said or written to express not just negativity, but to carry and render strong emotions and feelings. When a person cannot express their feelings whether they feel sad, excited, angry, or even happy; they basically use swear words. For instance, the taboo word in the "*I mean, if you look at your Facebook feed, everybody there is having a fucking grand old time*". from Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* shows excitement more than swearing or referring to something bad. Although, the word *fucking*, here is a taboo and unacceptable in many cultures like Arabic.

The process of translating taboo words and expressions causes challenges to translators. According to Lovihandrie et al. (2018), it is a challenging task due to the difficulty in rendering the same meaning taboo words have in the SL to the TL. As translators need to pay attention to the cultural differences between the source culture and the target culture. Missing such point causes misunderstandings and problems.

As a result, translation in such situations might be inappropriate and wrong since it does not convey the exact meaning of the ST. Almijrab (2020, p. 24), for example, highlights three types of difficulties a translator might face in translating taboo words: "First, the SL taboo term is not taboo in the TL. Second, the SL taboo term is also taboo in TL. Third, the term which is not taboo in the SL is considered taboo in the TL". He claims that the first is considered less problematic, unlike the second and the third ones.

Accordingly, translating taboo words/expressions is considered challenging to translators, but could they overcome such challenge? There are many translation strategies that help translators deal with the translation problems in many texts. But when it comes to translating taboo words/expressions, especially between two too different languages like English and Arabic, the choices of translation strategies narrow down. However, Almijrab (2020, pp. 24–28) suggests four strategies that translators constantly use in translating taboo words/expressions from English into Arabic. These strategies are censorship and omission, substitution, taboo for taboo, and the application of euphemism. Almijrab's (2020) suggestion is adopted here as it is a recent study that is basically concerned with the translation of taboo expressions from English into Arabic, in general, and the current study deals with translating English taboo words/expression into Arabic in a specific corpus: Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck*.

Censorship or omission provides the easiest solution in dealing with taboos in translation. Censorship, by definition, is "the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is condemned as subversive of the common good" (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 13). Translators, therefore, just omit the SL taboo term from the sentence in the TL. For instance, the taboo word *hell* in this English sentence *What the hell are you doing here?* can be omitted in Arabic and translated to ما الذي تفعله هنا؟ According to Almijrab (2020), censorship means censoring the taboo as an extra term in the SL that does not need to be mentioned in the TL. However, this strategy is considered inappropriate in some contexts where the taboo is a key word and cannot be deleted, because omitting it could affect the meaning. In contrast, some scholars (c.f. House, 1977) think that omission or censorship sometimes functions better than translating taboos literally. For instance, "the literally translating of *bitch* into its Arabic version كلبة (lit. female dog) is not so accurate and certainly not faithful to the original text" (Almijrab, 2020, p. 25).

Substitution, literally to change or replace, is used to replace a SL word that is unknown to the target audience with a TL word that has the same effect on the reader. Substitution is "the process by which the translator replaces a source text (or an item or a meaning in the source text) by a text (item or meaning) in the target language, deemed to have some relation of equivalence to it" (Laver & Manson, 2018, p. 128). For instance, substitution in translating the word *bar* in English into خمّارة in Arabic. *Bar* which is a place for gathering, chatting drinking, dancing and playing games is considered taboo from a religious point of view in Arabic. However, خمّارة in Arabic means a place for drinking alcohol (Almijrab, 2020). Another clear and well-known example is the substitution of the English word *f*ck* with اللعنة or تبّاً لك in Arabic.

However, both words in Arabic have different meanings from that of the original *f*ck* in English. اللعنة literally means *damn* or *curse* while تبّاً لك literally means *screw you* (Almijrab, 2020). However, Almijrab (2020) argues that this strategy often mispresents the original meaning of the taboo.

Another strategy is taboo for taboo which is considered easy for translators to use. According to Atanasovska (2016), most of the time it embarrasses the target audience while reading the text. Even though the translator knows that these taboos are not accepted in the society, they prefer to translate them using this strategy. For example, the word "*womanizer*" from Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* has been translated in the Arabic version of the book as زير النساء Similarly, the word *"lout"* in the same book has been translated into أخرق Both words have exactly the same meanings and are taboos in Arabic too. A good example given by Almijrab (2020) is the word شاذ which is a new term/synonym of مثلي and has the same meaning of the word *gay* in English. Almijrab (2020) mentions that in such case, it embarrasses specifically Muslims since such terms are not suitable to their community.

The last strategy suggested by Almijrab (2020) for translating taboos is the application of euphemism. Euphemism is used to make the word or the expression more acceptable and unobtrusive to the reader of the target text. Euphemism means to speak with good terms instead of taboos. It is one of the useful solutions in dealing with taboos in translation. An example from Abdulla (2009) is the common use of كريم العين instead of أعور in Arabic that corresponds to *blind* in English. Religion plays a vital role here as well as it urges believers to use soft and inoffensive language when addressing people. Similarly, Almijrab (2020) mentions that Muslims cannot eat pork which is لحم الخنزير in Arabic. Therefore, it can be translated as لحم which means *meat* only in English without adding pork for the sake of respect to Muslims. Moreover, since taboos are sensitive words for many, using for example the phrase انتقل إلى رحمة الله that literally means *someone went to the mercy of god* is a replacement of مات (lit. died*)*. According to Enab (2020) these expressions can be inoffensive to the target reader and acceptable in their society.

The current study aims to analyze the strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) in the Arabic translation ((فن اللامبالاة)) of taboo words and expressions appeared in *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* by the American author and blogger Mark Manson (2016). It is obvious from the title of the book that the ST author has used many offensive and taboo words/expressions, which is the main reason for choosing this book as a case study for analysis. As it is well known that Arabic and English are two different languages that belong to two different language families and cultures, their speakers have different ways of thinking that are governed by different rules whether they are political, religious, or ideological. Consequently, this study is an important one as it comes to answer the following questions: what are the strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) in translating taboo words/expressions from English into Arabic in the aforementioned book? And whether the findings agree with Almijrab's

(2020) suggestion of the translation strategies that best used in translating taboos from English into Arabic.

2   Literature Review

To many, translating texts with taboo words/expressions causes problems in producing an equivalent text that preserves the same meaning and respects the cultural norms of the target language reader. Nasery and Pishkar (2015, p. 28) argue that "translation of taboo words is one of the most difficult tasks for the translators because they should be familiar with culture of source and target languages". Therefore, many studies have been undertaken to see how taboo words and expressions are transferred from one language to another. A Study titled "Translation of Taboos from English into Persian: A Skopos-Based Study" has been conducted by Alavi et al. (2013) in which they compared the use of taboo words in the original English dramas and the translated Persian dramas. The study aimed to identify the most frequent translation strategies proposed by Robinson (2006) and used by Persian translators to translate taboos. The authors explained the origins of the word "taboo" and where it came from, then proceeded to define the concepts that are recognized as taboo in English. The authors mentioned that taboo words are shown less in translation than in the original text and that taboos are stronger when written than when spoken. The researchers chose randomly 30 commonly used taboos from ten dramas, then evaluated how they were translated based on Robinsn's proposed strategies of translation. Data were analyzed by using Chi-square method to see if there was any significant difference between Robinson's (2006) proposed strategies and to see which strategy has the greatest statistical value, which is directly related to their hypothesis. The findings of the study show that the most common strategy used by Persian translators for translating taboos was censorship.

A study on "Subtitling Tarantino's Offensive and Taboo Dialogue Exchanges into European Spanish: the case of *Pulp Fiction*" has been undertaken by Ávila-Cabrera (2015). The study aimed to focus on the way offensive words were translated in the movie "*Pulp Fiction*" (Quentin Tarantino) from English into Spanish to identify the strategies and methods used by the translator. The study showed how language is used in subtitling, what translation strategies and techniques adopted, and the way meaning was transferred into the TL. Ávila-Cabrera (2015) concludes that there are various translation strategies adopted by the translator and omission is the most used one. However, Ávila-Cabrera (2015) states that it is actually very hard to omit, but looking for the right technique whether omission, neutralization or even to reduce the strength of words and expression in the TL depends on the audience's reaction.

"A case Study of Translation of Taboo Words Based on Anthony Pym's Model' is conducted by Nasery and Pishkar (2015). The study aimed to analyze the translation of taboo terms from Simin Daneshvar's (1969) novel "*Suvashun*". What has been discovered is that Persian novels are such good resources to transfer taboo expressions in an attractive way to the reader. Thus, these expressions have been selected from

the ST's dialogues to be analyzed with their translations based on Anthony Pym's (2004) model. This study revealed that the cultural meanings should be taken into consideration by the translator, because they have a huge effect on the translation of taboo words in the TL. Moreover, the findings of this study show that some terms were changed during the process of translation in order to get rid of ambiguous meanings in the TT and for some other reasons too including the lack of acceptance of some terms in the Persian culture.

A study titled "The functions of taboo words and their translation in subtitling: a case study in *'the help'*" has been conducted by Pratama (2017) where he discussed the translation of taboo words in subtitling the movie "*The Help*" from English to Indonesian. The study investigates the strategies used in the process of translating. Pratama (2017) looked at different studies to define concepts like "taboo", "subtitling", "AVT", etc. Then he explored the various functions of the taboo words used in the movie and how they were translated in the TL. The author highlighted the cultural differences between both the SL and TL regarding the use of swearing words. He mentioned that it is inappropriate in the TL (Indonesian) to curse in public due to cultural constraints. However, the different aspects of movies can help the translator render the hidden meaning and mainly the function of using the taboo words. For instance, the gestures and movements of the characters in the movie show whether, for example, the taboo word said indicates anger or annoyance. Then data were analyzed by classifying the taboo words mentioned in the movie and their translations according to their functions. He classified them into "swearing and non-swearing words" and provided plenty of examples from the ST and TT with explanations. The findings of this study show that there were 69 taboo words mentioned in the movie that had 16 different functions and were translated using three different strategies: omission, transfer, and euphemism.

An analysis of the "Translation Strategies Used by Lingliana in Translating Taboo Words in Sylvia Day's *'Bared to You'*" is a study conducted by Lovihandrie et al (2018). This study aimed to analyze the translated taboos appeared in Sylvia Day's "*Bared to You*" from English to Indonesian, and to identify the translation strategies and procedures used. The researchers adopted various approaches for data collection and analysis as they classified taboo words and expressions according to Batistilla's (2005) taboo categorization. In addition, they adopted Robinson's (2006), Davoodi's (2007) and Brownlie's (2007) framework to analyze translation strategies, and Nida and Taber's (1969) to analyze the translation equivalence. Then, they discussed the implementation of each of the six translation strategies the translator used in the process of the translation finding out that the translator used omission (33.51%), euphemism (22.70%), substitution (21.98%), and other strategies (21.81%) in translating taboo words from English to Indonesian.

A recent study on the "Translation Strategies of Taboo Words in Interlingual Film Subtitling" has been conducted by Slamia (2020). This study aimed to analyze the translation strategies used in translating taboo words from English into Arabic in film subtitling, and the incorrect use of these strategies that affected the TT. It also aimed to determine the instruments used in translating taboos. The data were collected from more than 428 different Arabic TV stations and from different movie genres. Data

were classified according to the 10 translation strategies used in the translation of those movies. Slamia (2020) concluded that the most used translation strategy in these TV channels is transference.

Another recent study on the "Strategies Used in Translating English Taboo Expressions into Arabic" has been conducted by Almijrab (2020). This study aimed to compare the ways that English and Arabic deal with taboos as well as to suggest strategies for translating English taboo words into Arabic. Almijrab (2020) discussed the concept of taboo, its untranslatability, and the non-descriptive nature of taboo words. He concluded by suggesting some strategies that he believed to be best used in rendering English taboo expressions to Arabic. These strategies are omission, substitution, taboo for taboo, and euphemism.

The previously discussed literature contained analysis of the translation of taboo words and expressions in different languages like Arabic, English, Spanish and Indonesian in different text types and genres such as novels, movies, and TV shows. The literature has shown some comparisons of taboo translations from SLs to TLs, and analyses of strategies used to translate taboo words and expressions. Adopting Almijrab's (2020) proposed strategies for translating taboos, this study is similar to some of the literature discussed earlier but focuses on a specific corpus, i.e., Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* and its Arabic translation اللامبالاةفن by Alnabhan (2019).

3 Research Methods

This study introduces an analysis of the strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) in his Arabic translation (فن اللامبالاة) of the taboo words/expressions appeared in Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck*. The theoretical bases for this study have presented the theoretical concepts and reflected on some studies on the translation of taboo words/expressions. Therefore, to collect and analyze data for this study, four main procedures have been followed: (1) Identifying and selecting the taboo words and expressions in the ST (English). (2) Finding the translations of the selected words and expressions in the TT (Arabic). (3) Classifying data based on Almijrab's (2020) suggestion of translation strategies used for translating taboos from English to Arabic. (4) Analyzing the TT to identify the translation strategies used.

Of course, data could be classified either based on the taboo types (e.g., vulgarity, slang, cursing, epithets, etc.) and functions, or based on the strategies used in the translation. In the current study, the classification of data collected is based on the later (translation strategies) concentrating on Almijrab's (2020) proposed strategies for translating English taboos to Arabic.

4 Data Analysis

The main purpose of this research is to analyze the data collected according to Almijrab's (2020) suggestion of the strategies best used in translating English taboo words/expressions to Arabic. He suggested four strategies: censorship or omission, substitution, taboo for taboo, and applying euphemism. Following the aforementioned procedures, below is a discussion of the translation strategies used along with the examples taken from Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* and its Arabic translation (فن اللامبالاة) by Alnabhan (2019). Back translation (BT) for each example is provided.

4.1 Censorship or Omission

Censorship or omission is used when a translator simply decides to omit the SL taboo word/expression while rendering the ST to the TL. This strategy is an appropriate one and opted for in cases where using other strategies is not possible and when the deleted word/expression does not affect the overall meaning. However, in some cases, the censorship or omission of the taboo word/expression distorts the meaning. Therefore, translators need to resort to other strategies (Almijrab, 2020). The following examples illustrate Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST This is what is so admirable. No, not me, *dumbass*—the overcoming adversity … (p. 16).

TT هذا أمرٌ يدعو إلى الإعجاب كثيراً. لا، لست أقصد الشخص الذي كنت أتحدث عنه بل أقصد التغلب على الصعاب، … (p. 26).

BT This is very impressive. No, I don't mean that person I was talking about, but I mean overcoming problems.

ST You really don't know what the *fuck* you're doing (p. 152).

TT فإنك لا تعرف ما الذي تفعله (p. 201).

BT You have no clue on what you are doing.

ST Scares the *shit* out of us (p. 192).

TT تخيفنا كثيراٍ (p. 251).

BT It scares us.

4.2 Substitution

Substitution simply means to substitute a SL taboo word/expression with another untabooed TL word/expression. However, House (1977) argues that this strategy

might distort the meaning of the ST because translators are often faced with communicative difficulties when the text starts unshared assumptions about its communicative purposes. Therefore, Warren (1992) proposes some other strategies to deal with taboo words/expressions including compounding, derivation, and borrowing. Some examples of Alnabhan's (2019) use of substitution are shown below and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST   Now look at you, you're angry at yourself getting angry about being angry. *Fuck you*, wall (p. 6).

TT   انظر إلى نفسك الآن. أنت غاضبٌ من نفسك لأنك تغضب من غضبك. **اللعنة عليك** أيها الجدار... (p. 14).

BT   Look at yourself now, you're mad at yourself because you get mad from your madness. Damn it, wall.

ST   That I'm an entitled little *shit* who thinks the world should revolve around me (p. 113).

TT   وأنني لست إلا شخصاً **تافهاً** يشعر باستحقاق أكثر مما يجب ويظن أن على العالم أن يدور من حوله (p. 146).

BT   And I'm just a foolish person who feels more deserving than he should and thinks that he is the center of the universe.

ST   If someone is being an *asshole,* you tell him he's being an *asshole* (p. 161).

TT   وإذا رأيت شخصاً **تافهاً أحمق،** فأنت تقول له أنه **تافه و أحمق** (p. 213).

BT   If you saw a stupid fool person, you'd say he is stupid and fool.

4.3   Taboo for Taboo

This strategy is to find the equivalent of the SL taboo word/expression and use it in the TL. However, this strategy is not always preferable due to cultural and religious constraints. The following examples show Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST   Thirty years went by like this, most of it is a meaningless blur of *alcohol*, drugs, *gambling and prostitutes* (p. 2).

TT   مضت ثلاثون سنةً على هذه الحال؛ ثلاثون سنةً كان الشطر الأعظم منها سديماً عديم المعنى من **الكحول والقمار والعاهرات** (p. 9).

BT   30 years went on this way, 30 years of alcohol, gambling, and prostitutes.

ST   That getting married and having a family is more important than rampant *sex,* that … (p. 114).

TT   أن الزواج وتكوين أسرة أكثر أهمية من **الجنس** في حد ذاته (p. 147).

BT   Marriage and having a family are more important than sex itself.

ST   … the torture of prisoners of war, and the *rape* and/or murder of family members (p. 147).

TT   تعذيب سجناء الحرب **والاغتصاب** وقتل أفراد من الأسرة (p. 195).

BT   Torturing war prisoners and raping women and murdering family members.

4.4   Applying Euphemism

Euphemism is a politeness strategy that involves the replacement of an impolite and offensive word/expression with a polite and inoffensive one. Leech (1981, p. 53) defines euphemism as "the practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant or becoming than it really is". Below are some examples of Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST   The Subtle Art of Not Giving a *F*ck.* (Cover Page).
TT   فن اللامبالاة.(Cover Page).
BT   The Art of Carelessness.
ST   *Shitty* Values (p. 81).
TT   قيم لا قيمة لها (p. 109).
BT   Worthless values.
ST   What are we choosing to give a *fuck* about? (p. 95).
TT   ما الذي نختار أن نوليه **اهتمامنا؟** (p. 126).
BT   What do we choose to care about?

4.5   Other Translation Strategies

The analysis of the data shows that there were some other strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) to translate some taboos other than the four strategies, suggested by Almijrab (2020), and discussed previously. These strategies, which discussed below, are generalization, borrowing, transposition, and naturalization.

4.5.1   Generalization

Generalization happens when replacing a specific ST word/expression with a more general word/expression in the TT. It "implies that the TT expression has a wider and less specific denotative meaning than the ST expression" (Dickins et al, 2002, p. 56). An example of generalization would be the word, خَال , which means an uncle on the maternal side of the family. It is specific, however, the translation of this word in English is (uncle) which is more generalized. The following example shows Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST   Nothing illicit or illegal, no *narcotics*, not even anything against school policy (p. 50).
TT   ليس فيها شيء محظور أو غير مشروع ... لا **مخدرات**، ولا حتى أي شيء يخالف أنظمة المدرسة. (p. 71).
BT   There's nothing illicit or illegal… no drugs, or anything that violates the school regulations.

4.5.2 Borrowing

Borrowing or transference "is the process of transferring a ST word to a TL text as a translation procedure" (Newmark, 1988, p. 81). Borrowing is a process described by Pym as copying words or transcription which takes place "where items from one language are brought across to another" (Pym, 2018, p. 43). Examples of English words borrowed in Arabic include video فيديو, tennis التنس, and cafeteria كافيتريا ; and Arabic words borrowed in English include زكاة Zakat, حلالHalal, انتفاضة Intifada, etc. (c.f. Zagood, 2019, p. 25). The following example shows Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST And I also cut a secret compartment into the bottom of my backpack to hide my *marijuana* (p. 51).

TT وفوق هذا كله، صنعت جيباً سرياً صغيراً في أسفل حقيبتي الظهرية لكي أخبئ **الماريغوانا** (p. 73).

BT All over that, I made a small hidden pocket under my backpack to hide the Marijuana.

4.5.3 Transposition

According to Newmark (1988), shifts or transposition is the shift of grammar from ST to TL. There are four types of transposition, namely change from singular to plural, simple present to present perfect, verb to noun, and indefinite to definite (Newmark, 1988). An example of transposition from English to Arabic is changing the verb in *after he comes back* to a noun in " بعدعودته". The following example shows Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST Men *rape* and abuse women out of their certainty that they're entitled to women's bodies (p. 127).

TT ويقدم رجال على **اغتصاب** النساء والإساءة إلهين انطلاقاً من ثقتهم بأن أجساد النساء حق لهم وقد دفعوا ثمنه. (p. 170).

BT Men rape and abuse women because they believe that women's bodies are their right and they have paid for it.

4.5.4 Naturalization

Naturalization "succeeds transference and adapts the SL word first to the normal pronunciation, then to the normal morphology (word-forms) of the TL" (Newmark, 1988, p. 82). Taking Arabic into consideration, Ghazala (1995, p. 193) defines naturalization as "the attempt to adopt the English terms to the morphology of Arabic word structure and can be seen as evolution of the transcription method". An example of that would be the word *computers* where in Arabic it is translated as كمبيوترات The following example shows Alnabhan's (2019) use of this strategy and more examples are shown in the Appendix:

ST   Stoned a majority of the time, and spending as much money in *bars* and fine
       restaurants as he did … (p. 42).

TT   (p. 61). كان يجلس معظم وقته وينفق في **البارات** والمطاعم الفاخرة مالاً

BT   He used to spend most of his time in bars and fancy restaurants.

5   Findings and Discussion

This study has analyzed the Arabic translation of Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art
of Not Giving a F*ck* to identify the strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) in trans-
lating with taboo words/expressions. The analysis focused on the four strategies
suggested by Almijrab (2020) as the appropriate and useful ones for translating
English taboos into Arabic, namely censorship or omission, substitution, taboo for
taboo, and applying euphemism. However, it is found out that these are not just the
only strategies used by Alnabhan (2019) in his translation of taboo words/expressions
appeared in Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck*. The analysis shows
that there were 136 taboo words and expressions (see the Appendix) found in the ST.
However, due to time and space constraints and to avoid repetition, similar examples
were skipped but shown in the Appendix. Table 1 below shows the frequency use
and percentage of each strategy used in the translation.

As Table 1 shows, the most frequently used translation strategy is the application
of euphemism. Almijrab (2020) states that applying euphemism means replacing
unacceptable or offensive words into ones that are polite or less offensive. Arabic is a
religion-oriented language, and Arabs do not accept offensive words and expressions
as they are signs of impoliteness and disrespect. As shown in Table 1 above, there were
57 (41.91%) taboo words/expressions translated into Arabic by applying euphemism.
Some examples are shown earlier and more examples are shown in the Appendix
too.

The next most used strategy is taboo for taboo. Here there are 39 (28.68%)
taboo words/expressions appeared in the ST were translated into equivalent taboo

Table 1 Total number of
taboo words based on the
strategy used

Translation Strategy Used	Number of Taboos	Percentage
Censorship or Omission	23	16.91%
Substitution	11	8.09%
Taboo for taboo	39	28.68%
Applying Euphemism	57	41.91%
Other	6	4.41%
Total	136	100%

words/expressions in Arabic. For instance, the word *booze* in the following example was translated to الشراب in Arabic. Both words are taboos in both languages.

ST   He got paid shit money and spent most of it on *booze*. He gambled away the rest at the racetrack (pp. 1–2).

TT   وكان ينفق أكثر من ذلك المال على **الشراب**، ثم يخسر بقيته في القمار. (pp. 8–9)

BT   He used to spend a lot of money on alcohol, then lose the rest in gambling.

Omission or censorship is found as the third most used strategy in translating English taboo words/expressions into Arabic. It was used in 23 (16.91%) cases. As it is known, omission is an easy and simple way translators use in dealing with challenges during the process of translation. However, Alnabhan (2019) did not do so in his translation. He did not use this strategy in many cases because of the function and importance of the taboo words/expressions in the ST. Of course, this depends on the genre and purpose of the text too. Although, he omitted taboos in 23 (16.91%) cases to show respect the target audience as some words/expressions are too offensive. Accordingly, censorship or omission is adopted as in the following example:

ST   I said, "No, screw that, Mom. We're going to lawyer *the fuck up* and go after this asshole (p. 16).

TT   قلت: "لا. لن نقبل هذا يا أمي. وسوف نذهب إلى المحامي لكي نلاحق هذه الحقيرة. (p. 25)

BT   I said: "No, I won't accept this, Mom. We're going to a lawyer, and we're going to sue this vile.

The fourth frequently used strategy is substitution. The findings show that Alnabhan (2019) used substitution in translating 11 (8.09%) taboo words/expressions only. Almijrab (2020, p. 25) defines substitution as to "substitute SL taboos with other TL terms" adding that it often changes the original meaning of the word as in the following example:

ST   And though the concept may sound ridiculous and I may sound like an asshole, … (p. 13).

TT   صحيح أن الفكرة قد تبدو سخيفة، وقد أبدو كأنني شخص معتوه، … (p. 13)

BT   This idea might seem very silly, and probably it makes me look an idiot.

The analysis has also shown that 6 (4.20%) taboo words/expressions were translated by the use of different strategies such as generalization, transposition, borrowing and naturalization as illustrated earlier.

6   Conclusion

This study has analyzed Alnabhan's (2019) Arabic translation (فن اللامبالاة) of Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* to identify the translation strategies used in translating taboo words/expressions. The analysis is made

adopting Almijrab's (2020) classification of the frequently used translation strategies in translating English taboos to Arabic. These strategies are omission or censorship, substitution, taboo for taboo, and applying euphemism. Following the procedures mentioned earlier, data were collected from both versions of the book; the English ST and Arabic TT. Throughout the analysis, it is found out that 57 (41.91%) taboos were translated from English into Arabic by applying euphemism due to cultural and religious reasons. It is also found out that the translator did not want to omit taboo words/expressions due to their importance, nature, and genre of the ST. It is, therefore, important that the meaning is preserved and any kind of translation loss is avoided. However, the euphemism used in many cases did not affect the overall meaning of the ST. Moreover, the findings of this study have shown that applying euphemism is the most frequently used strategy in translating English taboos into Arabic and, consequently, agree with Almijrab's (2020) proposed strategies. The analysis has also shown that translating taboo for taboo was the second strategy used (29.37%) and this is attributed to the nature and genre of the ST. Almijrab (2020, p. 26) argues that "applying this method (strategy) to the translation of taboos into Arabic is often embarrassing to the TL Muslim community". However, the ST is full of taboo words/expressions that were intended by the writer and are key to meaning due to the nature of the text and using taboo for taboo is a strategy best used in such case.

In addition, there were some instances where the translator used different translation strategies (4.20%) other than those suggested by Almijrab (2020). These strategies are borrowing, transposition, generalization, and naturalization. As shown in the findings; this study proves Almijrab's (2020) suggestion that applying euphemism, omission or censorship, substitution, and taboo for taboo are the widely used strategies in translating English taboo words/expressions into Arabic.

Appendix

No.	ST	TT	Translation Strategy	Back Translation
1	The Subtle Art of Not Giving a <u>F*ck</u>. (Cover Page)	فن اللامبالاة. (Cover Page)	Euphemism	The Art of Carelessness
2	Charles Bukowski was an <u>alcoholic</u>, a <u>womanizer</u>, a <u>chronic gambler</u>, a <u>lout</u>, a cheapskate, a deadbeat, and on his worst days, a poet. (P.1)	كان تشارلز بوكوفسكي <u>مدمناً على الكحول</u>؛ وكان <u>مقامراً</u>، وزير نساء، وبخيلاً، <u>أخرق</u> ومتهرباً من سداد ديونه. وكان في أسوء أيامه شاعراً! (p.8)	Taboo for taboo	Charles Bukowski was an alcoholic, a gambler, and a womanizer and stingy. He was also clumsy running away from paying his debts, and a poet in his worst days.
3	His work was horrible, they said. <u>Crude. Disgusting. Depraved.</u> (P.1)	كانوا يقولون إنه عمل في غاية السوء. عمل <u>فظ ومقزز وفقير.</u> (p.8)	Taboo for taboo	They were saying his work was very terrible. Rude, disgusting, and poor.
4	He got paid <u>shit</u> money and spent most of it on booze. He gambled away the rest at the racetrack. (P.1-2)	وكان ينفق أكثر ذلك المال على الشراب، ثم يخسر بقيته في القمار. (P. 8-9)	Omission *(censorship)*	He used to spend a lot of money on alcohol, then lose the rest in gambling.
5	He got paid shit money and spent most of it on <u>booze</u>. He gambled away the rest at the racetrack. (P.1-2)	وكان ينفق أكثر ذلك المال على <u>الشراب</u>، ثم يخسر بقيته في القمار. (P. 8-9)	Taboo for taboo	He used to spend a lot of money on alcohol, then lose the rest in gambling.
6	He got paid shit money and spent most of it on booze. He <u>gambled</u> away the rest at the racetrack. (P.1-2)	وكان ينفق أكثر ذلك المال على الشراب، ثم يخسر بقيته في <u>القمار</u>. (P. 8-9)	Taboo for taboo	He used to spend a lot of money on alcohol, then lose the rest in gambling.
7	Thirty years went by like this, most of it is a meaningless blur of <u>alcohol</u>, drugs, <u>gambling</u> and <u>prostitutes</u>. (P.2)	مضت ثلاثون سنةً على هذه الحال؛ ثلاثون منها كان الشطر الأعظم منها سديماً عديم المعنى من <u>الكحول والقمار والعاهرات</u>. (P.9)	Taboo for taboo	30 years went on this way, 30 years of alcohol, gambling, and prostitutes.
8	Thirty years went by like this, most of it is a meaningless blur of alcohol, <u>drugs</u>, gambling and prostitutes. (P.2)	مضت ثلاثون سنةً على هذه الحال؛ ثلاثون منها كان الشطر الأعظم منها سديماً عديم المعنى من الكحول والقمار والعاهرات. (P.9)	Omission *(censorship)*	30 years went on this way, 30 years of alcohol, gambling, and prostitutes.
9	But he had a weird affection for the <u>drunk loser</u>, so he decided to take a chance on him. (P.2)	لكنه أظهر عطفاً غريباً تجاه ذلك <u>السكير الفاشل</u> فقرر المراهنة عليه. (P.9)	Taboo for taboo	But he showed a weird affection towards that drunk loser, so he decided to bet on him.
10	Bukowski didn't give a <u>fuck</u> about success. (P.3)	لم يكن بوكوفسكي مبالياً بالنجاح. (P.10)	Euphemism	Bukowski didn't care about success.
11	He still exposed himself in public and tried <u>to sleep with every woman</u> he could find. (P.3)	ظل يكشف عن عريه أمام الناس ويحاول <u>أن ينام مع كل امرأة</u> يستطيع العثور عليها. (P.10)	Taboo for taboo	He still exposed himself nude in front of people and tried to sleep with every woman he could find.
12	Buy more, own more, make more, <u>fuck more</u>, … (P.5)	اشتر أكثر، واكسب أكثر، واصنع أكثر، <u>وضاجع أكثر</u>، … (P.12)	Taboo for taboo	Buy more, earn more, make more, and fuck more.
13	The Feedback Loop from <u>Hell</u>. (P.5)	الحلقة <u>الجحيمية</u> التي تكرر نفسها. (P.13)	Taboo for taboo	The Hellish episode that repeats itself.
14	There's an insidious quirk to your brain that, if you let it, can drive you absolutely <u>batty</u>. (P.5)	هنالك هوس خبيث يمكن أن يصيب دماغك، بل يمكنه، إذا سمحت له، أن يجعلك <u>معتوهاً</u> تماماً. (P.13)	Taboo for taboo	There is a malicious obsession that can infect your brain and if you let it, it makes you a complete idiot.
15	Now look at you, you're angry at yourself getting angry about being angry. <u>Fuck you</u>, wall. (P.6)	انظر إلى نفسك الآن. أنت غاضبٌ من نفسك لأنك تغضب من غضبك. <u>اللعنة عليك أيها الجدار</u>…(P.14)	Substitution	Look at yourself now, you're mad at yourself because you get mad from your madness. Damn it, wall.

16	Ah, <u>fuck</u>! I'm doing it again! See? I'm a loser! Argh! (P.6)	آوه اللعنة على كل شيء! إنني أفعلها من جديد! ألا ترون أنني شخصٌ فاشل! يا للهول! (P.15)	Substitution	Ah, damn everything! I'm doing it again! Don't you see that I'm a loser! Oh My God!
17	I mean, if you look at your Facebook feed, everybody there is having a <u>fucking</u> grand old time. (P.7)	ما أعنيه هو أنك إذا نظرت إلى ما يأتيك عبر فيسبوك، فأنت تجد أن كل شخص في العالم يعيش وقتاً رائعاً! (P.15)	Omission (censorship)	What I mean is that if you look at your Facebook inbox, you will find out that everyone is having an awesome time!
18	Back in Grandpa's days, he would feel like <u>shit</u> and think to himself, "Gee whiz, I sure do feel like a cow turd today. (P.7)	في أيام أجدادنا، كان الجد يمر بحالة سيئة فيقول في نفسه: " اللعنة على هذا كله! من المؤكد أنني أشعر اليوم كما لو أنني روث بقرة، ... (P.16)	Substitution	Back to the days of our ancestors, when the grandfather goes through bad situations, he would say to himself: "damn everything! For sure I'm feeling today as if I'm cow dung…
19	Back in Grandpa's days, he would feel like shit and think to himself, "<u>Gee whiz</u>, I sure do feel like a cow turd today. (P.7)	في أيام أجدادنا، كان الجد يمر بحالة سيئة فيقول في نفسه: " اللعنة على هذا كله! من المؤكد أنني أشعر اليوم كما لو أنني روث بقرة، ... (P.16)	Taboo for taboo	Back to the days of our ancestors, when the grandfather goes through bad situations, he would say to himself: "damn everything! For sure I'm feeling today as if I'm cow dung…
20	This is a total <u>mind-fuck</u>. (P.9)	هذا شيءٌ يتعب العقل حقاً! (P.18)	Euphemism	This thing is very mind-blowing
21	And though the concept may sound ridiculous and I may sound like an <u>asshole</u>, … (P.13)	صحيح أن الفكرة قد تبدو سخيفة، وقد أبدو كأنني شخص معتوه، ... (P.23)	Substitution	This idea might seem very silly, and probably it makes me look like an idiot.
22	Why you would want to emulate a psychopath, I have no <u>fucking</u> clue. (P.14)	فلماذا تريد أن تكون إنساناً مضطرباً عقلياً؟ ليست لدي إجابة على هذا السؤال! (P.24)	Omission (censorship)	Why would you want to be a mentally disturbed person? I don't have an answer to this question!
23	I pissed off. I said, "No, <u>screw that</u>, Mom. We're going to lawyer <u>the fuck up</u> and go after this asshole. (P.16)	قلت: "لا، لن نقبل هذا يا أمي. وسوف نذهب إلى المحامي لكي نلاحق هذه الحقيرة. (P.25)	Omission (censorship)	I said: "No, I won't accept this, Mom. We're going to a lawyer, and we're going to sue this vile.
24	But instead, I was indignant. I pissed off. I said, "No, screw that, Mom. We're going to lawyer the fuck up and go after this <u>asshole</u>. (P.16)	لكني غضبتُ لما حدث. بل غضبت كثيراً لما حدث. قلت: "لا، لن نقبل هذا يا أمي. وسوف نذهب إلى المحامي لكي نلاحق هذه <u>الحقيرة</u>. (P.25)	Substitution	I was very angry when it happened, very angry indeed. I said: "No, I won't accept this, Mom. We're going to a lawyer, and we're going to sue this vile.
25	When we say, "<u>Damn</u>, watch out, Mark Manson just don't five a fuck," (P.16)	عندما نقول: " اللعنة على هذا، انتبهوا ... إن ذلك الشخص لا يهمه شيء" (P.26)	Substitution	When we say:" Damn this, watch out, this person does not care about anything"
26	This is what is so admirable. No, not me, <u>dumbass</u>—the overcoming adversity … (P.16)	هذا أمرٌ يدعو إلى الإعجاب كثيراً. لا، لست أقصد الشخص الذي كنت أتحدث عنه بل أقصد التغلب على الصعاب، ... (P.26)	Omission (censorship)	This is very impressive. No, I don't mean that person I was talking about, but I mean overcoming problems,
27	She hasn't had <u>sex</u> in over thirty years. (P.17)	كما أنها لم تمارس الجنس منذ أكثر من ثلاثين عاماً. (P.27)	Taboo for taboo	Also, she didn't have sex for more than 30 years.

28	The problem with people who hand out fucks like ice cream at a <u>goddamn</u> summer camp is that they don't have anything more fuck-worthy to dedicate their fucks to. (P.18)	المشكلة مع الأشخاص الذين يبالون بأشياء متعددة أكثر مما يجب، هي أنه ليس لديهم شيء أكثر جدارة وقيمة يكرسون اهتمامهم لها. (P.28)	Omission *(censorship)*	The problem with people that care more than they should, is that they don't have something more worth dedicating their attention to.
29	We realize that we're never going to cure cancer or go to the moon or feel <u>Jennifer Aniston's tits</u>. (P.20)	يدرك الواحد منا أنه لن يتوصل إلى اكتشاف علاج لمرض السرطان، وأنه لن يسافر إلى القمر ولن يداعب <u>ثديي جينيفر أنستون</u>. (P.30)	Taboo for taboo	We realize that none of us is able to discover the cure of cancer, reach the moon, or feel Jennifer Aniston's breast.
30	And soon the prince came to the conclusion that his grand idea, like his father's, was in fact a <u>fucking</u> terrible idea, … (P.25)	سرعان ما توصل الأمير إلى أن فكرته العظيمة، مثل فكرة أبيه من قبل، كانت فكرة <u>شديدة السوء</u> في حقيقة الأمر، … (P.38)	Euphemism	Soon the prince came over to a great idea, just like his father's idea before him, in reality, the idea was very terrible..
31	It teaches us to not <u>fuck</u> around near hot stoves or stick metal objects into electrical sockets. (P.29)	إنه يعلمنا أن علينا ألا نعبث بالقرب من المدفأة الحارة وألا ندخل أجساماً معدنية في المقابس الكهربائية. (P.42)	Euphemism	It teaches us that we shouldn't mess near hot stones or stick metallic objects in electrical sockets.
32	Problems never <u>fucking</u> go away, he said—they just improve. (P.30)	قال إن المشاكل لا تزول أبداً — من الممكن فقط أن تتحسن! (P.43)	Omission *(censorship)*	He said that problems do not go away ever… they can only get better!
33	Warren Buffet's got money problems; the <u>drunk</u> hobo down at Kwik-E Mart's got money problems. (P.30)	يعاني وارن بوفيت مشكلات مادية؛ ويعاني ذلك <u>السكير</u> المتشرد عند المتجر الكبير مشكلات مادية أيضاً. (P.43)	Taboo for taboo	Warren Buffet struggles with financial problems; the homeless drunkard in front of the big store also struggles with financial problems.
34	… and unraveling the logistics of <u>fucking</u> in a small bathtub filled with too many bubbles. (P.31)	… وإعادة اكتشاف الأساليب العملية لممارسة الجنس في حوض الاستحمام الصغير المليء بفقاعات الصابون الكثيرة. (P.45)	Taboo for taboo	And rediscovering the practical methods for having sex in a small bathtub overfilled with bubbles.
35	That's because they <u>fuck things up</u> in at least of two ways: (P.32)	هذا لأنهم يفسدون الأمر كله بطريقة من الطريقتين التاليتين، أو بالطريقتين معاً: (P.46)	Euphemism	That is because they ruined the whole thing by at least one of these following ways:
36	You know what else Three-year-old kids. And dogs do? <u>Shit</u> on carpet. (P.35)	وأنت تعرف ما قد يفعله الكلب وابن السنوات الثلاث، أليس كذلك؟ إنه <u>يقضي حاجته</u> على السجادة! (P.50)	Euphemism	You know what dogs and three-year-olds do? They relieve themselves on the carpet.
37	Any <u>badass</u> guitar song I heard, … (P.39)	وكلما سمعت أغنية جيدة على الغيتار،… (P.54)	Euphemism	Any good song I heard on the guitar…
38	Stoned a majority of the time, and spending as much money in <u>bars</u> and fine restaurants as he did … (P.42)	كان يجلس معظم وقته وينفق في <u>البارات</u> والمطاعم الفاخرة مالاً… (P.61)	Naturalization	He used to spend most of his time in bars and fancy restaurants…
39	The worst part was that Jimmy believed his own <u>bullshit</u>. (P.43)	لكن أسوأ ما في الأمر كله أن جيمي كان مؤمناً بهذا <u>الهراء</u>. (P.62)	Euphemism	The worst of this situation, is that Jimmy believed in that nonsense.
40	Jimmy, who <u>smoked pot</u> every day and had no … (P.44)	جيمي الذي يتعاطى <u>المخدرات</u> كل يوم والذي ليست لديه … (P.63)	Generalization	Jimmy that used to use drugs daily and had no…

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41	After all, it takes a lot of energy and work to convince yourself that your <u>shit</u> doesn't <u>stink</u>, especially when you've actually been living in a toilet. (P.45-46)	ففي نهاية المطاف، لابد من قدر كبير من الطاقة والجهد لكيْ تقنع نفسك بأن <u>خراءك لا رائحة له</u>، خاصة إذا كنت تمضي حياتك كلها في مرحاض. (P.65)	Taboo for taboo	In the end, it takes a lot of energy and effort to convince yourself that your shit does not have a smell. Especially if you spent all your life in a toilet.
42	Nothing illicit or illegal, no <u>narcotics</u>, not even anything against school policy. (P.50)	ليس فيها شيء محظور أو غير مشروع ... لا <u>مخدرات</u>، ولا حتى أي شيء يخالف أنظمة المدرسة.(P.71)	Generalization	There's nothing illicit or illegal... no drugs, or anything that violates the school regulations.
43	And I also cut a secret compartment into the bottom of my backpack to hide my <u>marijuana</u>. (P.51)	وفوق هذا كله، صنعت جيباً سرياً صغيراً في أسفل حقيبتي الظهرية لكي أخبئ <u>الماريجوانا</u>.(P.73)	Borrowing	All over that, I made a small hidden pocket under my backpack to hide the Marijuana.
44	And that's why I'm so <u>fucking pissed off</u> (P.71)	هذا ما يجعلني <u>منزعجاً حقاً</u>، بل غاضباً! (P.96)	Euphemism	That's what makes me really upset, not only upset, but rather angry!
45	Because it feels like he doesn't give a <u>shit</u> about me (P.74)	لأن لديه رغبة في عدم الاهتمام بي (P.100)	Euphemism	"he doesn't want to care about me."
46	<u>Shitty</u> Values (P.81)	<u>قيم لا قيمة لها</u>. (P.109)	Euphemism	worthless values
47	These things make us feel like <u>shit</u>. (P.84)	فتجعلنا هذه الأمور نشعر <u>باستياء شديد</u>. (P.112)	Euphemism	These things make us feel very upset
48	People who are terrified of what others think about them are actually terrified of all the <u>shitty</u> things they think about themselves being reflected back at them. (P.86)	يكون الناس الذين يخشون آراء الآخرين فيهم خائفين، في داخلهم، من كل الأشياء <u>السيئة</u> التي يظنون أنها موجودة فيهم، وهم يخشون أن ترتد عليهم من خلال الآخرين. (P.115)	Euphemism	(side note: as a result of this, people who fear of the others' opinion of them, are inwardly afraid of all the bad things which they think it exists in them; They fear to see the reflection of these actions on them by others.)
49	Dominance through manipulation or violence, indiscriminate, <u>fucking</u>, feeling good all the time… (P.87)	الهيمنة من خلال العنف أو التلاعب، <u>والجنس المنفلت</u>، والرضا عن النفس طيلة الوقت…. (P.115)	Substitution	Dominancy through violence or manipulation, incontrollable sex, and feeling complacent all the time, ….
50	We are essentially giving <u>fucks</u> about the things that don't matter. (P.88)	عندما تكون لنا قيم سيئة (أو معايير سيئة نضعها لأنفسنا وللآخرين)، فإننا <u>نهتم اهتماماً</u> زائداً بأشياء لا أهمية لها. (P.117)	Euphemism	When we have bad values (or bad standers that we set for ourselves and others), we care too much about things that do not matter, …
51	We are able to divert our <u>fucks</u> to something better. (P.88)	فإننا نكون قادرين على توجيه <u>اهتمامنا</u> إلى أشياء أفضل . (P.117)	Euphemism	We will be able to care of better things, …
52	Choosing better thing to give a <u>fuck</u> about, because when you give better <u>fucks</u>, you get better problems. (P.89)	واختيار أشياء أفضل لكي تمنحه <u>اهتمامك</u>. هذا لأن مشاكلك تكون أفضل عندما تركز <u>انتباهك</u> على أشياء أفضل. (P.117-118)	Euphemism	And choosing better things to get your attention. That's because the more you focus on good things, the better your problems become.
53	That would <u>suck</u>. (P.90)	<u>ما أسوأ</u> هذا (P.120)	Euphemism	How bad is this!
54	There is no such thing as not giving a single <u>fuck</u>. (P.95)	لا وجود في الواقع الحقيقي لشيء اسمه <u>عدم الاهتمام</u> بأي شي على الإطلاق. (P.125)	Euphemism	It's because the fact that there is nothing called carelessness to anything at all
55	It's impossible we must all give a <u>fuck</u> about something. (P.95)	هذا أمر مستحيل. لا بد لأي منا من <u>الاهتمام</u> نهتم بشيء ما. (P.125-126)	Euphemism	It's impossible. We all must care about something.

56	To not give a <u>fuck</u> about anything is still to give a <u>fuck</u> about something. (P.95)	إذا قررت ألا تَهتم بأي شيء فإن هذا يظل اهتماماً بشيء ما! انه اهتمامك بألا تَهتم بشيء! (P.126)	Euphemism	Even if you decided to not care about anything, it's already a thing to care about! You care about not caring to anything.
57	What are we choosing to give a <u>fuck</u> about? (P.95)	ما الذي نختار أن نوليه اهتمامنا؟ (P.126)	Euphemism	What do we choose to care about?
58	As you can imagine, his dating life <u>sucked</u>. (P.97)	علاقته بالنساء كانت في حالة مزرية. (P.128)	Euphemism	Obviously, his relationship with women was messed up.
59	… if you <u>fuck up</u>, you're on the hook for making it right. (P.98)	إذا أسأت، فإن عليك أن تصحح إساءتك أو تعوض عنها. (P.129)	Euphemism	If you screw up, you have to fix it or make it up.
60	That I had a role to play I am enabling the <u>shitting</u> relationship to continue for as long as it did. (P.101)	أدركت أنه كان لي دور في تمكين علاقة فاشلة من الاستمرار ذلك الزمن الطويل كله. (P.132)	Euphemism	I realized that I played a role in making a broken relationship lasts for a long period of time.
61	And if I dated someone with <u>shitty</u> values for that long. (P.101)	فإذا كنت على علاقة مع شخص يحمل قيماً سيئة، واستمرت العلاقة ذلك الزمن كله. (P.132)	Euphemism	If you were in a relationship with a person who has bad values, and this relationship lasted for that long, …
62	He accused me of not knowing what true pain was and said that I was an <u>asshole</u> for suggesting he himself was responsible for the pain he felt over his son's death. (P.104)	اتهمني بأنني لا أعرف المعنى الألم الحقيقي, ثم قال إنني وغد تافه لقولي إن عليه أن يكون مسؤولاً عن الألم الذي أحسه نتيجة وفاة ابنه. (P.136)	Substitution	He accused me by saying that I don't know the true meaning of pain, then said that I am a foolish villain for telling him that he should be responsible of the pain he felt over his son's death.
63	Perhaps I was way in over my head and had no idea what the <u>fuck</u> I was talking about. (P.105)	التفكير في أنني قد بالغت كثيراً وفي أنني لا أمتلك أية فكرة عما أتحدث عنه. (P.137)	Omission *(censorship)*	And thinking that I have exaggerated so much, also that I am having no idea what I'm talking about.
64	That I'm an entitled little <u>shit</u> who thinks the world should revolve around me. (P.113)	وأنني لست إلا شخصاً تافهاً يشعر باستحقاق أكثر مما يجب ويظن أن على العالم أن يدور من حوله(P.146)	Substitution	And I'm just a foolish person who feels more deserving than he should and thinks that he is the center of the universe.
65	What to give a <u>fuck</u> about, so change is as simple as choosing to give a <u>fuck</u> about something else. (P.113)	…تختار ما تهتم به؛ وهذا يعني أن التغيير أمر بسيط لا يحتاج أكثر من أن تهتم بشيء مختلف. (P.146)	Euphemism	You choose what interests you; it's a simple changing that does not need anything unless to care about something different.
66	It's not easy because you're going to feel like a loser, a fraud, a <u>dumbass</u> at first. (P.113)	وهو ليس سهلاً لأنك ستحس نفسك أول الأمر فاشلاً مزيفاً، غبياً. (P.146)	Taboo for Taboo	It's not easy because you will feel like a loser, fake and dumb at the beginning.
67	You may get <u>pissed off</u> at your wife or your friends or your father in the process. (P.113)	ومن الممكن أن تنفجر غضباً على زوجتك أو أصدقائك أو أهلك خلاص مجرى هذه العملية. (P.146)	Euphemism	And you might flare up on your wife, or your friends, or your family during the process.
68	These are all side effects of changing your values, of changing the <u>fucks</u> you're giving. (P.113)	وهذه كلها آثار جانبية لتغيير قيمك, أي لتغيير ما تهتم به حقاً. (P.146)	Euphemism	These all are side effects in order to change your values; the change of what you really care about.
69	That getting married and having a family is more important than rampant <u>sex</u>, that … (P.114)	أن الزواج وتكوين أسرة أكثر أهمية من الجنس في حد ذاته. (P.147)	Taboo for Taboo	marriage and having a family are more important than sex itself.

70	These are necessary, though painful, side effects of choosing to place your <u>fucks</u> elsewhere. (P.114)	هذه نتائج جانبية لا بد منها (وإن تكن مؤلمة) لاختيارك توجيه اهتمامك وجهة أخرى ووضعه في مكان أكثر أهمية وأكثر استحقاقاً. (P.147)	Euphemism	Although these side effects are painful but necessary to carry your interest elsewhere that is more important and worthiest your energy
71	Living in obscure places, and laughing at my own <u>farts</u>. (P.117)	العيش في أماكن نائية معزولة، والضحك بأقصى ما أستطيع. (P.153)	Euphemism	And living in isolated places and laughing as much as I can.
72	A certain man works his <u>ass</u> off and believes he deserves a promotion. (P.118)	هنالك رجلاً يفني نفسه في العمل ويظن أنه يستحق ترقية. (P.153)	Euphemism	And let's say that there's a man ruined his work completely and he thinks that he deserves a promotion, …
73	Or that my boss is an <u>asshole</u> so why bother (P.118)	اعتقادي بأن مديري في العمل شخص سيء تافه، فلماذا أتعب نفسي؟ (P.154)	Substitution	Or I think that my boss is bad and fool, so why do I tire myself?
74	It means not cutting your own arm open to cure a cold or splashing dog <u>piss</u> on your face to look young again. (P.119)	وهو لا يعني إحداث شق في ذراعنا (قصد) لكي نشفي من المرض، ولا أن نرش وجهنا ببول الكلاب حتى نبدو شباباً من جديد. (P.155)	Taboo for Taboo	And it doesn't mean to cut our arms (make it bleed) to be cured or spraying dog's piss on our face to look young again.
75	She claims to heal cats the same way Jesus healed Lazarus- come the <u>fuck on</u>. (P.126)	أعني أنها تزعم القدرة على شفاء القطط مثلما شفى المسيح البرص (P.169)	Omission *(censorship)*	I mean she claims that she's able to cure cats as how Jesus Christ cured the lepers!
76	And yet her values are so <u>fucked</u> that none of these matters. (P.126)	ورغم هذا, فإن قيمها سيئة إلى حد يجعل هذا كله لا أهمية له. (P.169)	Euphemism	Despite this, her values are bad enough that all these do not matter.
77	Men <u>rape</u> and abuse women out of their certainty that they're entitled to women's bodies. (P.127)	ويقدم رجال على اغتصاب النساء والإساءة إلهين انطلاقاً من ثقتهم بأن أجساد النساء حق لهم وقد دفعوا ثمنه. (P.170)	Transposition (Verb to noun)	Men rape and abuse women because they believe that women's bodies are their right and they have paid for it.
78	If your husband beats the <u>crap</u> out of you for burning the pot roast. (P.136)	إن كان الزوج يضرب زوجته لأنها أحرقت قدر الطعام (P.181)	Omission *(censorship)*	If the husband was beating his wife because she burnt a food pot,
79	There's really no way to explain his own behavior other than through his own insecurities and <u>fucked-up</u> values. (P.137)	فلن يجد شيئاً يفسر به سلوكه غير إحساسه بعدم الأمان وقيمه السيئة. (P.183)	Euphemism	he will find no reason of his behavior other than feeling unsecure and having bad behaviour.
80	But probing questions are necessary in order to get at the core problems that are motivating his, and our, <u>dickish</u> behavior. (P.138)	لكن هذه الأسئلة الكاشفة ضرورية حتى نصل إلى المشكلات الجوهرية التي تولد سلوكنا المزعج السيء. (P.183)	Euphemism	But these probing questions are necessary, in order to be able to reach the core of the problems that creates our annoying bad values
81	We're totally neurotic <u>fuckwads</u> taking our fucks out on everyone. (P.138)	أو أننا عصابيون فاشلون نضايق الجميع, بما في ذلك أنفسنا. (P.183)	Euphemism	Or we are neurotic losers who annoy everyone, including ourselves.
82	He would rather <u>fuck up</u> his relationship with his sister than consider he might be wrong. (P.139)	أنه فضل إفساد علاقته بأخته على التفكير في أنه قد يكون مخطئاً (P.185)	Euphemism	In fact, he preferred to spoil his relationship with his sister rather than thinking that he might be wrong, …
83	I say I was fortunate because I entered the adult world already a <u>failure</u>. (P.141)	أقول إنني كنت محظوظاً لأنني كنت في حالة فشل أصلاً عندما دخلت عالم الكبار (P.188)	Taboo for taboo	I say that I was lucky because I entered the adult world already a failure.

84	Then starting a blog and a <u>stupid</u> internet business doesn't sound like such a scary idea. (P.142)	فإنك تذهب وتنشئ مدوّنة على الانترنت لأن (عمل غبي ما) عن طريق الانترنت لا تبدو لك فكرة مخيفة جداً في تلك الظروف. (P.189)	Taboo for taboo	So, you create a blog on the internet because "a stupid online business" isn't a very scary idea in those circumstances.
85	Kind of the same way teenage boys draw <u>penises</u> on bathroom stalls. (P.143)	مثلما يرسم الصبيان المراهقون رسوماً جنسية على جدران المراحيض. (P.191)	Euphemism	"as how the teenage boys draw sexual drawings on the bathroom walls."
86	A lot of this of failure comes from having chosen <u>shitty</u> values. (P.145)	يأتي قسم كبير من خشية الفشل هذه من أننا اخترنا قيماً سيئة. (P.193)	Euphemism	Much of this fear of screwing up comes from the fact that we chose bad values.
87	And you spend twenty years working your <u>ass</u> off to achieve it. (P.146)	ثم أمضيت عشرين عاماً في عمل مرهق حتى تصل إلى هذا المقياس. (P.194)	Omission (censorship)	And then you spent twenty years working in a grueling work just to reach this level.
88	..., but as guides for the overall trajectory of our life, they <u>suck</u>. (P.146)	أما إذا كنا نهتدي بها خلال مسار حياتنا كله، فهي سيئة (P.194)	Euphemism	But if it guides us throughout the course of our lives, then it is bad.
89	..., so things had been pretty <u>gruesome.</u> (P.147)	أي الوضع كان مروعاً حقاً. (P.195)	Taboo for taboo	Things were truly terrible.
90	… the torture of prisoners of war, and the <u>rape</u> and/or murder of family members (P.147)	تعذيب سجناء الحرب والاغتصاب وقتل أفراد من الأسرة (P.195)	Taboo for taboo	Torturing war prisoners and raping women and murdering family members
91	Just <u>shut up</u> and do it. (P.150)	أطبق فمك، وافعلها! (P.199)	Taboo for taboo	Just shut up and do it!
92	That women would think I was <u>creepy rapist</u> if I so much as said, "Hello." (P.151)	فسوف تظن تلك المرأة مثلاً أنني أريد اغتصابها إذا قلت لها (مرحباً). (P.200)	Transposition (Noun to verb)	Otherwise, that woman would think I want to rape her if I said "Hello".
93	You really don't know what the <u>fuck</u> you're doing. (P.152)	فإنك لا تعرف ما الذي تفعله (P.201)	Omission (censorship)	you have no clue what you are doing.
94	So <u>fuck it</u>, I decided to start blog about crazy dating life. (P.153)	وهكذا قررت أن أنشئ مدونة على الانترنت تتحدث عن حياة العلاقات المجنونة التي كنت أعيشها. (P.202)	Omission (censorship)	So, that's how I decided to start an online blog about the crazy relationship life I used to live.
95	If you're in the midst of an existential <u>shitstorm</u>. (P.156)	إذا كنت في خضم أزمة وجودية كبيرة. (P.206)	Omission (censorship)	If you are amid a major existential crisis.
96	But as <u>sexy</u> and heroic as my plan sounded. (P.158)	رغم ما تبدو عليه تلك الخطة من جاذبية وبطولة. (P.210)	Euphemism	Despite how attractive and heroic the plan is.
97	…, the "real traumatic <u>shit</u>" of my teenage years had left me … (P.159)	كانت الأزمة الحقيقية التي عشتها في سنوات مراهقتي قد خلفت لي … (P.211)	Omission (censorship)	The real crisis I lived during my adolescence had left me…
98	…, have <u>sex</u> with anybody I wanted. (P.159)	ممارسة الجنس مع أي شخص أريد أن أمارس الجنس معه (P.211)	Taboo for taboo	Having sex with anybody I wanted...
99	The food <u>sucked</u>. The weather <u>sucked</u>. (P.160)	كان الطعام سيئاً. وكان الطقس سيئاً أيضاً. (P.213)	Euphemism	Both food and weather were bad.
100	Are you <u>fucking</u> kidding me? (P.160-161)	هل تمزحون؟ (P.213)	Omission (censorship)	Are you kidding?
101	The people were <u>rude</u> and smelled funny. (P.161)	الناس أجلافاً لهم رائحة غريبة (P.213).	Taboo for taboo	Rough people smelled weird
102	If something is <u>stupid</u>, you say it's <u>stupid</u>. (P. 161)	ان كان هنالك شيء غبي فإنك تقول عنه إنه شيء غبي. (P.213)	Taboo for taboo	If there was something stupid you would say it is stupid.
103	If someone is being an <u>asshole</u>, you tell him he's	إذا رأيت شخصاً تافهاً أحمق، فأنت تقول له أنه تافه وأحمق.	Substitution	If you saw a stupid fool person, you would say he's

	being an <u>asshole</u>. (P.161)	(P.213)		stupid and fool.
104	Russia had me reexamining the <u>bullshitty</u>, fake-nice communication that is ... (P.162)	جعلتني روسيا أعيد النظر في أسلوب التواصل ذي اللطف الزائف... (P.215)	Omission *(censorship)*	Russia made me reconsider the fake-nice communication
105	That means I'm (probably) choosing not to make <u>cocaine-fueled hooker orgies</u> an important part of my life. (P.164-165)	فإن هذا يعني أنني (على الأرجح) أختار ألّا أجعل <u>المُجون والتهتّك</u> جزءاً من حياتي. (P.218)	Taboo for taboo	And that means I (probably) should not make promiscuity and blasphemy parts of my life.
106	We all must <u>give a fuck</u> about something. (P.165)	علينا كلنا <u>أن نهتم</u> بشيء ما. (P.218)	Euphemism	We all must care about something…
107	But the boy snuck into a party hosted by the girl's family because he was kind of a <u>dick</u>. (P.166)	لكن الصبي ذهب إلى احتفال أقامته أسرة الفتاة لأنه يحب أن يقوم بأشياء <u>حمقاء</u>. (P.219)	Euphemism	But the boy went to the party hosted by the girl's family because he likes doing stupid things.
108	Their families find out about the marriage and throw a <u>shit-fit</u>. (P.166)	تكتشف الأسرتان أمر الزواج وتغضبان <u>غضباً شديداً</u>. (P.220)	Euphemism	Both families find out about the marriage and get very angry.
109	Thinking he's going to be with her in the afterlife or some <u>shit</u>. (P.166)	ظناً منه أنه سيكون معها في الحياة الأخرى... أو <u>شيء من هذا القبيل</u>. (P.220)	Euphemism	Thinking he'll be with her in the afterlife or something like that.
110	These kids are absolutely out of their <u>fucking</u> minds. (P.167)	تجد أن هذين المراهقين كانا <u>مجنونين تماماً</u>. (P.220)	Omission *(censorship)*	You find that these teenagers were insane.
111	We all get brain boners for this kind of <u>batshit crazy</u> love. (P.167)	فإننا نخطئ كثيراً عندما يفتننا هذا النوع من الحب <u>المجنون الغبي</u>. (P.221)	Taboo for taboo	We make a lot of mistakes when we fall in such stupid crazy love.
112	…burying our faces in a <u>fucking</u> mountain of it. (P.168)	ندفن وجوهنا في جبل من ذلك الكوكايين. (P.222)	Omission *(censorship)*	We bury our faces in a mountain full of cocaine.
113	My coworkers are <u>idiots</u>. (P.169)	زملائي في العمل <u>حمقى</u>. (P.224)	Taboo for taboo	My co-workers are idiots.
114	When I tell her this, she usually gets <u>pissed off</u>. (P.176)	<u>تنزعج كثيراً</u> عندما أقول لها شيئاً كهذا. (P.231)	Euphemism	She gets mad when I tell her such things…
115	She calls me out of my <u>bullshit</u> too. (P.176)	تفعل زوجتي مثلما أفعل فتنبهني <u>كلما أخطأت</u>. (P.231)	Euphemism	My wife does the same as I do, so she warns whenever I make mistakes.
116	I <u>bitch</u> and complain and try to argue. (P.176)	<u>فأغضب</u> وأتذمر وأحاول المجادلة. (P.231)	Euphemism	I get angry, I complain, and I try to argue.
117	And <u>holy crap</u> she makes me a better person. (P.176)	إنها بقول <u>حقيقة</u> ما تراه تجعلني شخصاً أفضل. (P.231)	Euphemism	She truly makes me a better person.
118	It's not about the <u>sex</u>. (P.177)	لا علاقة للأمر بالجنس في حد ذاته. (P.232)	Taboo for taboo	It has nothing to do with sex.
119	It's about the trust that has been destroyed as a result of the <u>sex</u>. (P.177)	بل انها الثقة التي انهارت نتيجة <u>الجنس</u>. (P.232)	Taboo for taboo	It's the trust that has been destroyed because of the sex.
120	As if <u>penises</u> fell into various orifices completely by accident. (P.178)	كما لو أن الجنس حدث بفعل المصادفة وحدها. (P.233)	Euphemism	As if sex had happened accidently.

121	…, and don't question the values and <u>fucks given</u> by their partner. (P.178)	لا يتساءلون عن القيم التي لدى الشريك وعما يهتم به حقاً. (P.233)	Euphemism	They never wonder about their partners' values or what they care about.
122	It may be validation through <u>sex.</u> (P.178)	وقد يكون سعياً إلى تعويض إحساس ما بالنقص من خلال <u>ممارسة الجنس.</u> (P.233)	Taboo for taboo	It may be a validation to compensate for a sense of inadequacy through having sex.
123	Things are likely to be <u>pretty shitty.</u> (P.179)	من المرجَّح أن تكون الأمور <u>سيئة حقاً.</u> (P.235)	Euphemism	Things are likely to be bad.
124	<u>Romantic /sexual partners</u> (P.181)	وعلى الشركاء العاطفيين <u>والجنسيين أيضاً.</u>(P.237)	Taboo for taboo	Romantic and sexual partners as well.
125	But low enough that with the right combination of <u>alcohol.</u> (P.184)	وأما في وجود المزيج المناسب <u>من الكحول.</u> (P.242)	Taboo for taboo	But in the presence of a good mix of alcohol.
126	<u>Drinking beers</u> and talking as young angsty males do. (P.185)	كنا نشرب البيرة ونتحدث مثلما يتحدث شخصان حريصان على اثبات أنهما <u>ذَكَرَيْن.</u>(P.243)	Taboo for taboo	We were drinking beer and chat as normal persons trying to proof their masculinity.
127	The autopsy would later say that this leg had cramped up due to dehydration from the <u>alcohol.</u> (P.186)	وقد جاء في تقرير التشريح فيما بعد أن ساقه تشنجت بفعل ف جـ الجـ اف الناتج عن الافراط في <u>تناول الكحول.</u> (P.245)	Taboo for taboo	due to the dehydration from alcohol addiction.
128	But now I gave a fuck about something more important than my insecurities and my baggage. (P.188)	لكنني صرت الآن **مهتماً** بما هو أكثر أهمية من الأشياء التي تثير قلقي ومخاوفي. (P.247)	Euphemism	But now I care more about things that annoy and scare me.
129	Scares the <u>shit</u> out of us. (P.192)	تخيفنا كثيرا. (P.251)	Omission *(censorship)*	It scares us.
130	We're all driven by fear to <u>give way too many fucks</u> about something. (P.193)	أننا مدفوعون جميعاً بالخوف من الافراط في الاهتمام بأشياء كثيرة. (P.253)	Euphemism	That we are all scared of the idea of over caring about a lot of things.
131	It's really <u>fucking</u> far; your mind reminds you. (P.196)	المسافة بعيدة حقاً، يذكرك دماغك بهذا. (P.256)	Omission *(censorship)*	The distance is so far. Your brain reminds you.
132	Gently lower myself onto my <u>butt.</u> (P.198)	وأخفض <u>مؤخرتي</u> ببطء. (P.259)	Taboo for taboo	And I slowly lower my butt.
133	Because we have no <u>fucking</u> clue what we're doing. (P.199)	لأننا لا نمتلك أي فكره عما نفعله في هذه الحياة. (P.260)	Omission *(censorship)*	We have no idea of what we are doing in this life.
134	This feels <u>sexy.</u> (P.201)	قد يكون هذا مغرياً. (P.261)	Taboo for taboo	This might be attractive.
135	Bought yourself a <u>sweet-ass</u> boat. (P.202)	اشتريت لنفسك زورقاً حديثاً <u>فاخراً.</u> (P.262)	Euphemism	You bought yourself a modern deluxe boat.
136	Or through doing crazy <u>shit.</u> (P.202-203)	عن طريق فعل <u>أشياء</u> مجنونة. (P.264)	Euphemism	Through doing crazy things.

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Translation as Censorship: Analysing the Role of Censorship and Manipulation in the Audiovisual Translation of Gender and Sexuality-Related Texts

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Abstract The research aims to analyse the relationship between translation and censorship within the framework of audiovisual products. Terms such as "censorship" and "manipulation" are often considered as interchangeable, almost overlapping. The latter may not have an entirely negative connotation since it is the result of technical considerations, even though it can also be linked to influence and control unfairly exerted. The first concept, "censorship", goes beyond since it suppresses information, but also decides how to deal with the values and morals of the culture of the source text. However, we also have linguistic constraints and general public expectations on style form and content that require manipulation of the target text. Nowadays, we indeed find it easier to detect manipulation in the translation and adaptation done for television and cinema. Italy is well known for its propensity to use dubbing instead of subtitling and for its long tradition of dubbing specialists. However, there is no lack of examples of bad translations and adaptations. In particular, the purpose of this research is to focus on the strategies and modality through which Italian translators and adaptors translate concepts and expressions considered as taboo by their culture. Undoubtedly, as mentioned, manipulation in translation can also happen due to linguistic issues and difficulties in the transfer from English to the Italian language. An example is gayspeak, the fictitious language spoken by gay men and women in the audiovisual world, which in Italy often undergoes forms of censorship—along with any reference to sexuality in general—such as edulcoration, to render a concept more suitable for a particular audience. It must be said that Italy approached to the LGBTQ+ world only recently, failing to construct an equivalent gayspeak vocabulary, but, often, what causes audiovisual products to be censored is the will from television broadcasters to "protect" the younger audiences from "potentially harmful" contents. By way of example, TV series dialogues containing gayspeak language will be examined to identify the strategies used by Italian adaptors in translating these specific cultural references and in order to see if any improvement can be detected in the adaptation of references to homosexuality and sexuality in general over the years.

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1   Introduction

"[…] There is in every act of translation […] a touch of treason" (Steiner, 1975/1998, p. 356). This statement is especially true if we consider that translating a language inevitably implies a passage from a culture to another. Scholars of translation have often highlighted the importance of the relationship between the linguistic aspects of translation and the social, cultural, and political context of the target culture. Their contributions have allowed Translation Studies to adopt an extra-textual approach to bring out the peculiarities of the national and cultural context (Baker, 2006; Bourdieu, 1982; Hayes, 1976; Harvey, 2003; Lefevere, 1983, 1992; Toury, 1995; Tymoczko, 1999; Venuti, 1998). Censorship can be detected as an aspect of the target culture, which is often considered dominant since it uses repressive cultural, esthetic, and linguistic measures. According to a set of values and beliefs peculiar to the dominant culture, it functions as a filter, deciding whether to suppress information or not (Billiani, 2007).

The present work provides as a starting point the translational analysis of audio-visual texts, focusing on gender and sexuality issues, such as *gayspeak*, with the aim of detecting the strategies put into place by Italian translators and adaptors in the translation of concepts considered as taboo by the target culture. These references are often manipulated or "sweetened", affecting the comprehension of the source text's original message, which is therefore presented as distorted. In Italy, the issue has been studied by translation scholars such as Sandrelli (2016), Chiaro (2007), Ranzato (2012) and Bucaria (2007, 2018), who focused their attention on the strategies implemented by adaptors in the translation of taboo concepts, identifying a tendency to tone down references to homosexuality. However, it is essential to highlight that Italian television broadcasters need to respect the *Codice di Autoregolamentazione TV e Minori* (Self-Regulation Code on Television and Minors)[1] to protect the audience from "potentially harmful contents", and this is especially the case of homosexuality which is still considered a closeted issue in Italy. Nevertheless, the manipulation of homosexuality related content has unquestionably seen a downturn as same-sex themed series are becoming increasingly popular with the spreading of streaming platforms. Nonetheless, manipulation of taboo issues can be observed at a more subtle level; Italy has approached LGBTQI+ issues only relatively recently, hindering the development of a corresponding gayspeak lexicon (Ranzato, 2012). Moreover, prudery in dealing with taboo topics has undoubtedly contributed to manipulation, with references being once again diluted or sweetened.

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[1] https://www.mise.gov.it/images/stories/documenti/Codice%20Tv%20e%20Minori%20-%20firmato%2029%20nov%202002.pdf (last accessed on: 10/03/2021).

2   Gayspeak and 'Sounding Gay'

Through the years, cinema and television have often provided a stereotyped depiction of homosexuality. As Russo (1987, p. 9) claims, "Homosexuality in the movies, whether overtly sexual or not, has always been seen in terms of what is or is not masculine". Gay men were usually portrayed as effeminate—the perfect epitome was the role of the *sissy* in the 1920s and 1930s movies—while, on the contrary, gay women were supposed to show a more masculine attitude (Russo, 1987). Both of them often use gayspeak, a term first coined by Hayes in his paper first published in 1976 and then reprinted in 1981. Hayes identifies three settings—the secret setting, the social setting and the radical activist setting—and three respective functions:

- gayspeak is a code-language and is aimed at secrecy. It is, thus, characterised by the use of allusions, euphemism, innuendo, and nouns and pronouns of the opposite gender when referring to the partner;
- it allows the user to play a range of roles within the gay subculture through the use of camp—according to Hayes, this is the most notable aspect to the general public;
- it is used to re-evaluate dysphemic terms such as "dyke" or "fag".

As subsequent studies have demonstrated, these settings and functions are not univocally related to gay men and women and stem from a stereotyped view of homosexuality. Darsey (1981) points out that the gayspeak features identified by Hayes are all qualities of camp which, according to Sontag (1964), is neither exclusive to the gay subculture nor universal within that subculture. Subsequent studies by Leap (1996) and Murray (1996) have focused on the expressive and inferential strategies used by gays and lesbians in conversation, proving that the use of allusions, metaphors and the other characteristics listed by Hayes are proper to any language, not only to gayspeak.

3   Homosexuality and TV-Series

American TV legitimised homosexuality with the spreading of TV-series dealing with gay and lesbian characters and homosexual relationships. *Ellen* (1994–1998), starring Ellen De Generes, marks a turning point in this sense, being the first TV-series in which the protagonist comes out as lesbian. The episode aired shortly after Ellen DeGeneres' public coming out, and since then, ABC used a parental advisory at the beginning of each episode[2].

In *Will & Grace,* we have two homosexual characters: Will Truman, a successful lawyer but unlucky in love, and Jack MacFarland, unsuccessful actor and dancer and openly gay and effeminate. Unlike *Ellen*, Will and Jack's sexual orientation is evident since the very beginning and what the audience can see is a stereotypical portrayal of

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[2] https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-03-03-ca-34276-story.html.

homosexuality: Will is gay but acts more like a heterosexual man, while Jack is the complete opposite. However, this particular representation, the non-effeminate gay man, seems less threatening and more acceptable for the audience. This process of heterosexualisation also becomes evident in the relationship between Will and Grace since they behave almost like a heterosexual couple (Connolly, 2003).

However, series like *Queer as Folk*, in its UK and USA version (*1999–2000*) and *The L Word* (2004) broke the old patterns of representation, providing the audience with the description of the life of gays and lesbians, including sex scenes and explicit language and dealing with burning issues such as LGBT parenting, homophobia and assisted insemination. In Italy, these shows were broadcasted following a discontinuous television schedule, at late night or on pay-TV channels, without much success (Sandrelli, 2016). Another series dealing with homosexuality issues is *Six Feet Under* (2001–2005). The show was heavily manipulated in its Italian adaptation, translating homosexual references into heterosexual ones to obey the strict Italian TV broadcasting standards (Ranzato, 2012).

As already mentioned, the Italian public and private television companies and broadcasters undertake to comply with the "*Codice di autoregolamentazione TV e minori*" (Self-regulation Code for TV and Minors). In particular, "[television companies] are committed to give themselves instruments to evaluate the admissibility on television of films, serials, TV film, fictions and various entertainment shows, to protect the moral, physical and psychic well-being of minors".[3] Consequently, the main reason for Italian adaptors to censor or manipulate particular references in TV programmes is due to the need to make them available for a young audience, protecting them from "potential harmful contents", "despite the fact that both state-owned (RAI) and privately owned (Mediaset) Italian television channels habitually adopt scantily dressed women in provocative poses to fulfil a purely decorative function on daytime television" (Chiaro, 2007, p. 255).

In recent times, with the widespread success of streaming platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime Video and Infintiy TV, to name but a few, the Italian adaptation of series shows little or no manipulation, since the audience can choose for themselves what to watch in complete autonomy, unlike the unencrypted broadcasting, which tends to adapt the product to the tastes of the general public.

4 Homosexuality and Italian TV: A Complicated Relationship

As mentioned before, Italy has approached homosexuality in comparatively recent times. Unlike today, references to same-sex relationships in TV series were often censored or manipulated as not to upset an audience that was not ready yet to address

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[3] Self-Regulation Code par. 2.4 https://www.mise.gov.it/images/stories/documenti/Codice%20Tv%20e%20Minori%20-%20firmato%2029%20nov%202002.pdf (last accessed on: 10/03/2021).

what was considered a sensitive issue. In particular, *Moige*—Movimento Italiano Genitori (Italian Parents Movement) established a TV Observatory to protect children from harmful content. In 1997, psychologist Vera Slepoj—the then director of the Observatory—vigorously attacked the broadcasting of *Sailor Moon*—an *anime* series—since it was considered guilty for undermining the sexual identity of young boys, leading them to homosexuality.[4] Therefore, censorship and manipulation of homosexual contents in TV series are essentially due not only to the need to comply with the Codice di Autoregolamentazione Tv e Minori, but also to the social perception of homosexuality seen as a taboo.

Before focusing on the Italian rendition of gayspeak in *Will&Grace—The Revival* (2017–2020), a brief look at the adaptation of homosexuality contents from English to Italian from the early '90s to the present day will be provided. As before mentioned, Italy has "opened up to homosexual themes much more slowly than the Anglosaxon world" (Ranzato, 2012, p. 382), often resulting in discriminatory use of language in translation or in removal of homosexuality related content. This was especially common in the historical period between the 1990s and the early 2000s. The following examples show how Italian adaptors managed to translate these specific cultural references, in a period in which these issues were not supposed to be shown in daytime TV, especially in a country in which the influence of Vatican and the Catholic Church is still present. The intent is to scrutinise the ways in which adaptors and translators decided to render these references in Italian and to verify if any improvement in the translation of these references over the years can be detected.

4.1 *"Some Things Are Better Left Unsaid": Queerness and Italian TV*

The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air (1990–1996) is an American sitcom well known for having Will Smith as the main character, a teenager sent to Bel-Air to move in with his wealthy uncle's family. The show is, clearly, a product of its time, displaying scenes and dialogues steeped in overt racism, homophobia and misogyny. The following dialogue from episode 3, season 2, shows Uncle Phil baring his soul to the man he believes to be his nephew, who works as a waiter in a pirate-themed restaurant. Unfortunately, the man turns around, revealing the mistake:

PHIL:	Can I talk to you for a minute? Look, I'm human. Sometimes I make mistakes. Now, I admit I had some preconceived ideas about you, mainly that you just didn't care about anything, but I guess I'm gonna have to let that go, because today, you've shown me that you are a very, very fine young man and I'd just want us to be closer together
WAITER:	What did you say, pervert?

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[4] https://web.archive.org/web/20151102111929/, http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/1997/aprile/08/Sailor_Moon_pericolosa_per_ragazzini_co_0_9704084403.shtml.

(continued)

PHIL:	Oh, I'm sorry, I-um…
WAITER:	Look, man, this is Treasure Island, OK? Now, Pleasure Island, that's a block down the street!
PHIL:	I-I thought…
WAITER:	No, I know what you thought, but, if you'll notice, *the parrot is sitting on my left shoulder!*

(Example 1)

As said before, the show was produced during the 1990s, a period in which it was broadly socially acceptable to make fun of someone for their sexual orientation. The waiter points out that his parrot is on the left shoulder, not the right. This is a reference to the outdated stereotype that gay men pierced their right ear as a sign of their sexual preference. The Italian adaptors chose to translate said reference differently:

	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
WAITER:	Lo so cosa credevi. *Ma a me basta il volatile che è sulla mia spalla sinistra*	I know what you thought. *But for me, the bird on my left is just enough*

(Example 1.1)

The translator decided to water down the reference, although the stereotyped allusion concerning piercing ears and homosexuality is also present in the Italian language. However, the Italian adaptation appears to be not faithful to the original message of the show. Italian speakers can refer to their male genitalia with the word "uccello" (bird). Nonetheless, in this case, the translator chose to use "volatile" that in Italian is a more scientific term that does not convey the same undertone of the English reference and, on the contrary, seems to reveal the man's eccentricity—as though he preferred the company of birds to that of humans. The choice was likely a judgement call since the show aired during daytime on private TV channel "Italia1". Consequently, the primary interest was to protect a younger audience from "potential harmful content".

Manipulation can also be detected in *Xena: The Warrior Princess* (1995–2001). The show tells the story of Xena and her travelling companion Gabrielle (Olimpia, in the Italian adaptation). Innuendos and other subtle evidence of a romantic relationship between the two women are present throughout the series. However, Italian adaptators concealed any reference to a possible romantic relationship between Xena and Gabrielle. In the last two episodes of season 6—the series finale—entitled *A Friend in Need 1–2*, we can see other references to the relationship between Xena and Gabrielle that the Italian translation tried to tone down:

	ORIGINAL VERSION	ITALIAN TV ADAPTATION	ITALIAN DVD ADAPTATION
XENA:	Gabrielle, if only I had thirty seconds to live, this is how I'd want to live them: looking into your eyes. *Always remember that I love you*	Olimpia, se mi rimanessero solo pochi attimi di vita, è così che vorrei viverli, guardandoti negli occhi. *Ricorda sempre che ti voglio bene*	Olimpia, se solo avessi trenta secondi di vita, vorrei viverli in questo modo, guardandoti negli occhi. *Ricorda sempre che ti amo*

(Example 2)

In Italian, the expression "I love you" can be translated both with "Ti amo" and "Ti voglio bene". The first one is usually used between lovers to express their feelings, while the second one is more likely to be pronounced by two friends or relatives. Consequently, the Italian TV adaptation made Xena and Gabrielle just two friends. However, in the DVD edition, all the sanitised passage were re-adapted.

Gilmore Girls (2006–2016) fell victim to manipulation as well. The series revolves around the relationship between a single mother, Lorelai Gilmore, and her daughter, Rory Gilmore, living in Stars Hollow, a fictional town of Connecticut. In episode 15 of season 5, Luke, local diner owner, is involved in a school theatre production and later introduced to two school kids who are going to help him:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
TEACHER:	Well, this is Damon	Ti presento Damon	This is Damon
LUKE:	Hey there, Damon	Ciao, Damon	Hi, Damon
DAMON:	My mother's a *lesbian*	Sai che mia madre è *gay*?	Do you know that my mother is *gay*?

(Example 3)

And shortly after this exchange:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
DAMON:	Do you know *any lesbians?*	Conosci *molte gay*?	Do you know *many gays*?
LUKE:	Uh…I'm sure I do	Oh, beh, sì, certo. Ovvio	Oh, well, yes, sure. Of course
DAMON:	How many?	E quante?	And how many?
LUKE:	Three, maybe four	Tre, forse quattro	Three, maybe four
DAMON:	*Maybe* four?	Perché 'forse'?	Why 'maybe'?
LUKE:	Well, I'm waiting on confirmation	Beh, sto ancora aspettando la conferma	Well, I'm still waiting on confirmation
DAMON:	I like *lesbians*	*A me piacciono molto*	*I like them very much*

(Example 4)

In the original script, the kid refers to her mother as "lesbian", but in the Italian adaptation, the word used is "gay". Although the MacMillian Dictionary reports that the term is "mainly used about men" (Macmillan Dictionary, 2021), it is not uncommon to detect it when referring to female homosexuals, as seen in examples 3 and 4 above. However, in Italian, the term "gay" is commonly used to refer to male homosexuals (Sandrelli, 2016, p. 131). The adaptors' decision could have been influenced by the fact that a general audience would have negatively perceived the word "lesbian", especially if pronounced by a minor, since it is still probably conceived as a form of slur or a "bad word" for a kid to pronounce. In episode 3 of season 7, Rory and Lorelai, while at dinner with Lorelai's mother, Emily, have a conversation with a girl studying etiquette to attend her first cotillon:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
RORY:	Hey, you're gonna wow them at your cotillon	Stenderai tutti al ballo	You're gonna knock them out at the cotillon
GIRL:	Did you ever attend a cotillon?	Sei mai stata ad un ballo d'estate?	Did you ever attend a summer ball?
RORY:	No, I haven't actually, but I had *a coming-out party*	No, veramente no. Ma sono andata a *balli diversi*	No, not really, but I attended a *different type of balls*
LORELAI:	*And I totally supported her decision. She shouldn't have to hide her love for women*	*Vuoi dire balli di 'diversi'. Non c'è niente di male ad essere omosessuali*	*You mean balls organised by 'different' people. There's nothing wrong with being homosexual*
EMILY:	Lorelai, *there's nothing funny about being a lesbian*	Lorelai, *non sei divertente, credimi*	Lorelai, you're not funny, believe me

(Example 5)

The Italian adaptation shows the manipulation of the lines containing homosexual references. While Rory talks about a coming-out party in the original script, she talks about having attended a "different type of balls" in the Italian dialogue. Lorelai further clarifies her daughter's words by saying that this kind of balls are "balli *di* diversi", implying that homosexuals are different, even though she points out that there is nothing wrong about being homosexual immediately afterwards. In Italian, the dialogue assumes a negative and homophobic connotation. Emily's lines were edulcorated as well: it is Lorelai who is not funny, not being a lesbian, so that the "L-word" is not even uttered. The Italian adaptor chose to sanitise the reference to a coming-out party (maybe not a very popular trend in Italy during the first broadcasting of the episode), but showing, at the same time, an old stereotyped conviction about homosexual people.

The tendency to avoid using the word "lesbica" is also present in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997–2003), a drama series focusing on the journey of a girl named Buffy, the "chosen one" destined to fight against vampire and demons. In episode 9 of season 4, Buffy's boyfriend, Riley, puts a poster up which says "Lesbian Alliance". Here below the following dialogue:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
BUFFY:	Is there something you want to tell me?	C'è forse qualcosa che vorresti dirmi?	Is there something you'd like to tell me?
RILEY:	What? Oh. Yes. *I am a lesbian*	Cosa? Oh, sì. *Nessuno voleva attaccarlo e…*	What? Oh, yes. *Nobody wanted to put it up and…*
BUFFY:	Well, it's good that you're so open about it	E hai pensato bene di farlo tu, vero?	So you thought you'd do it, do you?

(Example 6)

Again, the word "lesbian" does not appear in the Italian dialogue. The extract is also one of the cases in which the visual part plays an important role; in the original version, Buffy's facial expressions match with the lines uttered, since she and Riley are joking, while, in the Italian version, her expressions seem to show disapproval for what Riley has done—that is, putting the poster up.

4.2 Will & Grace—Revival and Its Italian Adaptation: To Gayspeak or Not to Gayspeak?

As to determine if any improvement is to be traced in the Italian rendition of gayspeak and gay references, the revival of TV series *Will & Grace* (1998–2006/2017–2020) and its Italian adaptation were chosen as final objects of the analysis. The sitcom is set in New York and focuses on the relationship between Will Truman, a gay lawyer, and Grace Adler, a heterosexual interior designer. Also featured are Karen Walker, a rich, alcoholic woman working as an assistant for Grace and Jack McFarland, openly gay, permanently unemployed and whose dream is to become a Broadway star. In Italy, the show revival is currently available on the streaming platform *Infinity TV*.

Will & Grace, although undergoing manipulations as well in its Italian adaptation (Caselli, 2013), shows a less restrictive use of censorship than in other drama series; this is likely due to the fact that homosexuality is still considered something "which is best dealt with through laughter" (Ranzato, 2012, p. 382). However, it is possible to notice that specific American gay references have been modified in favour of more edulcorated or familiar Italian references. Nonetheless, it is sometimes possible to find the same references in the Italian version or an equally effective alternative.

In the third episode of season 9, Will decides to go out with a 23-year-old boy named Blake, who is entirely unaware of all the trials and tribulations homosexual people have suffered in the past; he does not know anything about Stonewall, making an embarrassing gaffe and saying ‹‹I know all about Stonehenge››. Will decides to teach him, trying to make him realise how difficult it was to be a gay man in the past, even exaggerating:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
BLAKE:	Can you go back to the part about gay dinosaurs? Like, how would they have known?	Puoi tornare alla parte dei dinosauri gay? Come facevano a saperlo?	Can you go back to the part about gay dinosaurs? How would they have known?
WILL:	I made that part up. Like, there's no such thing as a *'fagosaurus'!*	Me lo sono inventato, Blake. Non è mai esistito un *'frociosauro'!*	I made that up, Blake. There has never been a *'fagosaurus'!*

(Example 7)

The adaptor opted for a transliteration of the original term—a compounding of "frocio" (fag)+ "sauro" (saurus). The source text's original meaning was, thus, successfully preserved. In the following excerpt from episode 2 of season 9, we can identify a similarly effective translation strategy. Grace tells Will and Jack that she is going to the gynaecologist. The two men cannot help showing their disgust:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
GRACE:	What's with the faces? You both came out of vaginas!	Perché quelle facce? Siete usciti anche voi da una vagina!	What's with the faces? You also both came out of vaginas!
JACK:	I didn't. I am a *Platinum Star Gay*	Io no. Sono un Gay Stella di Platino, Grace	I didn't. I am a *Platinum Star Gay,* Grace
GRACE:	*Gay-splain*, please?	*Traduzione dal gayese?*	*Translate from gayese*, please?
WILL:	A *Gold Star Gay* has never been with a woman. *Platinum* haven't been with a woman, and they were born via C-section	Uno *Stella d'Oro* non è mai stato con una donna, *di Platino* non è mai stato con una donna ed è nato col parto cesareo	A *Gold Star one* has never been with a woman, *a Platinum one* has never been with a woman and he was born via C-section
JACK:	Hence, they've never touched a *vagine*	Quindi non ha mai toccato una *vagina*	So, he has never touched a *vagine*

(Example 8)

The terms "Platinum Star Gay" and "Gold Star Gay" are literally translated into Italian, while Grace's ‹‹Gay-splain, please?››—a blending of the words "gay" and "explain"—is rendered with the expression ‹‹Traduzione dal gayese››, with "gayese" being a reference to the gay language.

However, in other episodes, it is possible to trace manipulation of the original references, sometimes with mixed results. In the fourth episode of season 9, for example, Jack talks with Grace about his new romantic interest:

	ORIGINAL DIALOGUE	ITALIAN TV ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
JACK:	I've had two dates this week with a *bear* who clogged my drain	La mia nuova fiamma è un *orsacchiotto* che mi ha intasato lo scarico	My new boyfriend is a *teddy bear* who clogged my drain

(continued)

	ORIGINAL DIALOGUE	ITALIAN TV ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
GRACE:	Since when are *bears* your thing? I thought you were into *twinks, twunks*, and *everything else Dr Seuss didn't write about*	E da quando ti piacciono gli *orsacchiotti*? Pensavo preferissi le *volpi*, i *pulcini* e *ogni tipo di animale da compagnia…*	And since when are *teddy bears* your thing? I thought you were more into *foxes, chicks and every kind of pet animal…*

(Example 9)

The term "bear" was translated with "orsacchiotto" although in the Italian gay jargon "orso" is a much more used term (De Lucia, 2015, p. 475) while the pun and the reference to Dr Seuss—and particularly to the book "Twink, Twink, Twinkle, Twinkle Lovely Little Star"—is completely removed. The term "twink" refers to an effeminate young gay man, perfect equivalent of the stereotype of the "dumb blond" and opposite of bear (Urban Dictionary, 2020; De Lucia, 2015), "twunk" indicates a muscular and tanned gay man (Urban Dictionary, 2020). The pun used by Grace turned out to be very challenging to render in Italian, so the adaptor opted for a reference to animals—central characters in Dr Seuss' books—to translate the lines, with a loss in terms of irony and wordplay. However, De Lucia, in his glossary of Italian gay jargon, identifies metaphorical terms to refer to different "types" of gay men, such as "coniglio" ("rabbit") and "capretto" ("young goat") (De Lucia, 2015).

In episode 5 of season 9, it is possible to notice a case of edulcoration of the term "lesbian":

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
WILL:	Hey, this suit says 'senior partner', right? Not *'lesbian minister'*?	Ehi, sono vestito da 'socio anziano', vero? Non da *'vecchio ministro gay'*?	Hey, am I dressed as 'senior partner', am I? Not as *'old gay minister'*?

(Example 10)

Here, again, the adaptor chose to use "gay" instead of "lesbica". However, in the previous episode, the word is present in one of Jack's line:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
JACK:	No, the theatrical magic, where thespians work on stage and lespians build the sets	No, parlo della magia del teatro, sai, dove gli attori sono sul palco e le *lesbiche* preparano le scene	No, I'm talking about theatrical magic, you know, where the actors are on stage, and the *lesbians* build the set

(Example 11)

It is possible to notice the loss of the wordplay between the words "thespians" and "lespians"—almost impossible to render in Italian. The adaptor opted for the use "lesbica", due to the difficulty in translating the expression.

In the following and last extract from episode 8 of season 10, Jack and Will decide to "switch" their personality—and flats too—so that Will can win McCoy's heart, his last love interest who is more into frivolous men—hence the reason for the "switched" personalities. Will and McCoy date takes place at Jack's house—which is actually Will's. When Will gives Jack the signal—a sneeze—Jack is supposed to leave them alone, but starts blurting out the whole plot:

	ORIGINAL SCRIPT	ITALIAN ADAPTATION	BACK TRANSLATION
JACK:	I'm just gonna head home. Yeah	Sì, me ne vado subito a casa, sì	Yes, I'm just gonna head home, yes
MC COY:	Isn't this your home?	Non è questa casa tua?	Isn't this your home?
JACK:	*I meant my hag's home, yeah. I have a hag.* We spend a little too much time together. It's sad	*A casa della mia amica. Lei è etero* siamo quasi sempre insieme. È triste	I mean, *to my girlfriend's home. She is straight,* we're together most of the time. It's sad

(Example 12)

In gay slang the word "fag hag" refers to ‹‹a woman who enjoys the company of male homosexuals›› (Merriam Webster, 2020). In the above example, the term is toned down in favour of the term "amica", not conveying the exact undertone of the original reference. In Italian gay jargon, a "fag hag" is usually referred to with terms such as "omosorella" or "frociarola" (De Lucia, 2015). However, in one of the following episodes the same term is translated in Italian with "gay groupie", a slightly more effective solution.

5   Conclusions

According to the analysis, the treatment of homosexuality references in Italian audio-visual translation has undeniably seen a downturn throughout the years. Manipulation of homosexuality related content was much heavier on Italian TV between the late 90s and early 2000, and this was essentially due—as already mentioned—to the need to comply with the *Codice di Autoregolamentazione TV e Minori*, ensuring the localisation of a show on a daytime slot. The excess of prudery in the treatment of taboo issues—and especially those challenging the traditional Catholic concept of heteronormativity—also contributed to the will to dilute and sanitise unwanted references. Nowadays, thanks to the widespread diffusion of streaming platforms, same-sex themed shows and gayspeak in general are less liable to be censored.

In *Xena: The Warrior Princess,* the romantic relationship between two women was entirely hidden from the audience, while in the excerpts from *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air, Gilmore Girls* and *Buffy: the Vampire Slayer*, references to homosexuality were manipulated to favour more neuter solutions. It follows that homosexuality was such a closeted issue that the only way to face it was to hide it.

As for *Will & Grace—the Revival*, although the series did not undergo heavy manipulation of its homosexual content, we can still trace a tendency to tone down and edulcorate gay references and gayspeak, causing what can be described as "reduced camp sensibility in the dub" (Filmer, 2021, p. 223). That was likely due to the lack of balance between the English and Italian gay lexicon (Ranzato, 2012), along with the difficulties linked to the lip-synchronicity constraints (Chaume Varela, 2004). Besides, Italian adaptors and translators' need to meet tight deadlines may also affect the audiovisual products' quality (Biocca, AIDAC).[5] However, it is also important to highlight the fact that culturemes are often untranslatable even for the most highly experienced translators (Filmer, 2021).

Although imbued with regionalisms (De Lucia, 2015; Nossem, 2016, 2019; Ranzato, 2012), an Italian gay jargon already exists. Adaptors and translators are probably reluctant to use it because its terms are still considered vulgar or taboo or simply because their knowledge of Italian gayspeak is minimal. As Ranzato (2019) also points out, it is important to raise awareness of gender and sexuality issues and differences of any kind in the training of future dialogue adaptors and translators.

While accepting, Italy is among the European countries with the highest level of LGBTQI+ discrimination and still has a long way to guarantee a safe environment for the queer community.[6] A more significant effort is needed, and it is to be hoped that Italian gayspeak—especially the one showed on screen—can expand since language can play a fundamental role in contributing to a more accurate and inclusive narration of queerness.

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[5] From Toni Biocca's speech during a Zoom talk entitled *Unorthodox. Traduzione, adattamento, cultura,* retrivable at this link: https://www.facebook.com/laboratorioformentini/videos/807541313 144367 (last accessed on: 29/01/2021).

[6] https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/17/world/europe/italy-lgbt-hate-crimes.html.

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Relevance and Cognition: Translating Nominal Metaphors in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*

Qijun Song

Abstract The study argues for the translation principle of "adapting to the audience's cognition" in the context of metaphor translation and aims to demonstrate the correlation between this principle and our idea of adapting to the audience's cognitive environments in political discourse. While a Chinese authoritative political publicity document *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II* shows strong presence of nominal metaphors, the research into such metaphors in Chinese political discourse has received relatively little interest. By classifying the nominal metaphors in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*, the study puts forward five methods of translating nominal metaphors together with a tentative model based on the insights from the relevance translation theory. They are respectively domain preservation, domain elimination, domain substitution, explanation, and domain preservation with annotation. It is also found that the intra-discourse factor and the outer-discourse one influence the choice of those methods.

Keywords Nominal metaphor translation · Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II · Relevance Translation theory

1 Introduction

Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II was published with the holding of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2017. As a significant work of publicity document, it has condensed the latest thought of state governing by Chinese general secretary Xi Jinping, and recorded the latest practice of the Communist Party and the whole nation in the new era (Xi, 2017). Revised and finalized by a professional translation team, including experts from the Ministry of foreign affairs, the Central Compilation Bureau, its English rendition compared with that of the first volume has incorporated new translation methods of political terms with Chinese characteristics,

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enjoying profound reference significance both for the C-E translation of Chinese political terms in publicity texts and for the going out of Chinese voices.

Wang (2017), former deputy director of the China foreign languages administration and general finalizer of the book, states that in order to make foreigners understand the text, it is a must to put accuracy and readability as the top priority in translating Xi's thoughts as there is a big difference between Chinese and English. While the assertion focuses much on the formal construction of the two languages, the two parameters "accuracy" and "readability" are two-fold, that is with both precision in rendering the thoughts and intelligibility for the target audience. This seems indistinct in the sense that the actual means incorporating and balancing the parameters and its validity remain underexplored. Earlier, Huang (2004) proposes the "San Tie Jin" principle (direct translation: Three Approach) in view of political publicity translation. It covers three underlying principles, respectively approaching the Chinese social development, approaching the foreign audience's information preference, and approaching the foreign audience's habit of mind. The "approach" here is a direct translation of "Tie Jin" in Chinese. It metaphorically regards the above three concepts as entities and links them with distance relation. In such a relation, the translator can be inclined to a certain principle as he "approaches" it. The third principle of "approaching the target audience's habit of mind" can be incorporated into Wang's point underpinning the "readability" parameter as a reference for yielding the translation methods, in that the two both are concerned with the audience's cognitive aspect. The "habit of mind" presents the cognitive habit that may have been constantly impacted by the cultures in a community, so that Huang (2004) supposes that translators are bound to take foreign cultures and foreigner's cognition into account and have a good command of discovering the features and differences of Chinese and foreign cultures. Therefore, it is reasonable to refine the third principle to a more accurate one: adapting to the audience's cognition. The principle endorses that to include the "readability" parameter requires viewing translation at a cognitive level with a conclusion drawn from the target audience's cognitive habits, especially in translating political discourses that may share varied cognitive representations with those of other communities.

The question, however, still lies through what linguistic forms can we examine the principle and in what way can a translator mediate the two varied cognitions. According to cognitive linguistics, language is based on our experience of the world, serving as the tool for organizing, processing and transmitting the information (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Modern cognitive research generally follows three views: experiential view, prominence view, and attentional view (Wen, 2018). Experiential view as the key element in cognitive linguistics holds that a language user's description of the world is not only limited to objective description but it is also a richer and more natural description of the meaning (Wen, 2018). Metaphors in political discourses are the projection of the whole Party's political practice, as well as the people's accumulated living experience in the country. However, metaphors may differ due to the target audience's unique cognitive habits. *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II* bears a strong metaphorical prominence in expressions that are close to the practice of Chinese life (Cao & Wang, 2017). Therefore, metaphor is

likely to be a mirror by which we can explore the cognitions of different communities, while the study of metaphor translation isvital in accurately conveying the connotation of the source text and guarantee the readability. It is thus significant to study at the cognitive level as metaphors are expressions related to human cognition. To adapt to the audience's cognition requires first and foremost manifesting the relevance between the source and target cognitions as a mediating way in translation. Based on the observation, the paper explores the methods of nominal metaphor translation from the perspective of relevance translation theory and correspondingly suggests a tentative model. Hopefully it will provide a reference for similar metaphorical expressions and contribute to further studies due to the similarity and considerable amount of metaphors in political discourses.

2   Nominal Metaphor and Metaphor Translation

Cognitive linguists revealed the essence of metaphors that one thing is employed to comprehend another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors, in the light of their lexical attributes, can be categorized into verbal metaphors, adjective metaphors, nominal metaphors, and so forth. In terms of a nominal one, it can be defined that a nominal metaphor is a nominal metaphorical term that serves as the subject, predicative, object, or appositive in a sentence (Shu, 2000).

The current studies are concerned about the properties and functions of nominal metaphors. Nominal metaphors have constantly been the major concern in cognitive linguistics though conceptual metaphor theory had created a new horizon (Tang, 2007). In Tang's study (2007), Aristotle's argument is strengthened that a metaphor originated from the similitude of two entities by comparing and contrasting the structure-mapping model and property attribution model on nominal metaphors. Du and Xu (2007) reveal the legibility of nominal metaphors as referring expressions, in view of the fact that the differences between conventional references and novel references are conspicuous for the audience to identify. They further put forward three translation strategies of nominal metaphors in Russian literary works, respectively literal translation, free translation, and annotation. Following their views, Yan (2008) finds that nominal metaphors account for the maximum proportion in ten famous political speeches, considering that they are more imaginable than those of other parts of speech. Different from the above, based on Fauconnier's blending space theory, Kong (2004) discusses four categories of metaphors of body nouns: analogical, raised, logical, and transferring, proofing the hypothesis of men's identical metaphorical cognitive process.

It is obvious that they all demonstrate strong feasibility and significance in the research of nominal metaphors as a basic lexical branch of metaphors. The translation studies of them, nevertheless, are still inadequate in amount. Next, we will expand our review into metaphor translation and explore its academic trend, as well as the translation methods for reference.

As for metaphor translation, the recent twenty decades have witnessed an increasing number of scholars analyze properties of metaphors and propose translation methods under the guidance of the theories in linguistics and translation studies. British linguists and translation theorist Peter Newmark first classifies metaphor into dead metaphor, cliché metaphor, and stock metaphor in *Approaches to Translation.* In terms of stock metaphor, he further proposes seven translation methods: (1) add the identical metaphor into the target language; (2) replace the source metaphor with that in the target culture; (3) use simile to translate the metaphor; (4) use simile with explanation; (5) explain its connotation without the metaphor itself; (6) abandon the metaphor; (7) keep the metaphor with explanation (Newmark, 1981).

According to the seven translation methods, Newmark only views metaphor as a rhetoric device, focusing on the formal and semantic equivalence based on the source language. In the light of Newmark's research, Gideon Toury shifts to the target language and concludes four types of translation method: (1) translate into the same metaphor; (2) translate into different metaphors; (3) apply other rhetoric devices; (4) zero metaphor (Toury, 2001). It is not difficult to find that Tury's methods are the classification and summary of Newmark's and he has not elaborated on the four methods with examples.

Later, Mary Snell-Hornby proposes an integrated method of translation studies with the view that translation is a cross-cultural activity. She supposes that cultural difference is the barrier of metaphor translation. Out of the varied concept transforming and metaphor mapping in different cultures, the connotation of metaphor is closely related to the source culture (Snell-Hornby, 1988). Metaphor evolves along with cultural development. Therefore, the choice of metaphor translation method is dependent on the cultural background embedded in the texts.

Zhang (1980) puts forward the translation methods of rhetoric devices: (1) direct translation, (2) free translation; (3) transform the original device to the target language image; (4) keep original text with explanation. However, the four methods mainly focus on parallel, simile, etc., without taking the different types of metaphor into consideration.

Liu (2008) lays stress on the translator's capability of metaphor transforming as a premise of metaphor translation. Apart from that, he compares and contrasts Chinese metaphor with English one in culture and style and then puts forward three principles in metaphor translation: (1) keep the feature of the metaphor, (2) reveal the cultural connotation behind the metaphor; (3) compensate for the lost vehicle based on context. The three principles are only based on Chinese to English metaphor translation.

Zhang and Xue (2009) point out that the analysis of the cultural background and psychological mechanisms from a cognitive perspective should be adopted in metaphor translation. In their research, the metaphor translation methods are given as follows: (1) literal translation; (2) change the vehicle; (3) keep the metaphor; (4) keep the metaphor with explanation; (5) free translation. It is clear that the methods are in line with those of Newmark's.

Metaphor translation in literary works is also the domestic major concern. Xiao and Li (2010) discuss the poetry translation of *Dream of the Red Chamber* and

pointed out that poetry translation is a process of recreation, and thus it is necessary to adopt the principle of domestication in form and foreignization in context so as to transmit the culture behind the poems. Wang (2007) proposes three translation methods by studying the metaphors in Fortress Besieged: (1) keep the vehicle; (2) replace the original vehicle for the target one; (3) keep the vehicle with the annotation of its meaning; (4) abandon the vehicle with the meaning remained.

In conclusion, the results of studies on metaphor translation are generally fruitful. Based on the linguistic data from various genres, the translation methods are put forward emphasizing the original language culture, target language culture, or the role of the translator in metaphor translation. However, the monographs on metaphor translation are much fewer. It is also noticeable that few studies have included relevance translation theory in their research.

3   Cognition, Relevance, and Translation

Ernst August Gutt puts forward the Relevance Translation Theory where the translation is considered as the communication between the translator and target audience, as well as an inference process of brain mechanism (Gutt, 2000). According to Gutt, any type of translation can be elaborated "in terms of the interaction of context, stimulus, and interpretation through the principle of relevance". (Gutt, 2000, p. 198).

The principle of relevance requires contextual effects and processing efforts. "What makes an input relevant is the fact that it is worth processing, and what makes an input worth processing is explained in terms of the notions of cognitive effect and processing efforts" (Wilson & Sperber, 2001, p. 166). Cognitive Effects would be yielded as an utterance is processed with available assumptions in a context. When the cognitive environment is changed by the stimulus, contextual effects would be produced, including new contextual meaning, confirming the original assumption, or eliminate the original one (Wilson & Sperber, 2001). Contextual effects and processing efforts are closely related to the degree of relevance. That is to say, other things being equal, the greater the cognitive effects achieved by processing an input are, the stronger the relevance is, while the smaller the processing efforts required, the greater the relevance is (Wilson & Sperber, 2001).

As is considered as a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communication in Relevance Translation Theory, translation is composed of two rounds of ostensive-inferential process, where three communicators are involved, namely the author of the source text, the target reader and the translator. The first round goes as the author of the source text conveys his communicative and informative intention to the translator, while the translator, as the reader in the first round, infers his intentions in the light of the contextual information of the source text and the principle of relevance. After that, the second round goes as the translator being the communicator manifests the intentions he recognized of the author in the first round. In conclusion, the translator serves as both the reader in the first round and the communicator in the second round (Fig. 1).
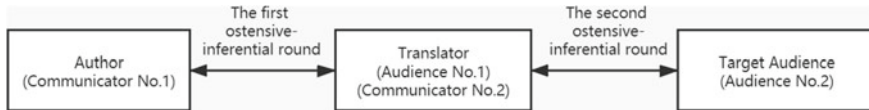
Fig. 1 Two rounds of ostensive-inferential process

As the communication between two languages, translation becomes complicated with the translator intervening, where the cognitive environment of both the author and the target reader must be taken into account.

As has been discussed, the cognitive environment is stored in the brain in the form of assumptions, participating in comprehending utterances so as to help the audience make manifest to the communicator's intentions. Similarly, in translation the source author's cognitive environment, the translator's cognitive environment, and the target reader's cognitive environment are included, among which the translator's cognitive environment is highly important, as the translator, the audience of the first round, must possess adequate knowledge of the cognitive environment in terms of the source language, reacting to the stimulus from the author, activating the corresponding information and understanding the author's intentions. Also, the cognitive environment of the translator and that of the reader should be identical or mixed. In this way, the translator can decide what kind of stimulus can act on the reader so as to let the reader grasp information from the background to produce enough contextual effects. Hence, "to make communication successful, the key question is how the reader tries to select the correct assumptions from all the ones available in his cognitive environment that the communicator is trying to convey" (Wilson & Sperber, 2001, p. 161).

4 Analysis on Nominal Metaphor Translation in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*

In this study, a digital version of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II* has been applied in the process of data collecting. In terms of the searching method, keyword matching is our preference with corpus and artificial distinguishment supplemented (in a triangulation way). A total of 160 metaphors are found in the discourse, with 63 of them adopting the method of explanation and 54 using vehicle preservation. The methods of vehicle substitution and vehicle elimination have been respectively used 21 times, while vehicle preservation with annotation only once.

One thing to note is that the study follows cognitive linguists' viewing derived from Lakoff's conceptual metaphor theory of a metaphor as the mapping from the source domain (an intelligible and familiar entity) to the target domain (the abstract and complex one) instead of the tenor and vehicle in rhetorics.

4.1 Methods of Nominal Metaphor Translation

The methods can be categorized into domain preservation, domain substitution, explanation, domain elimination, and domain preservation with annotation. The examples selected are on account of frequency as representatives.

4.1.1 Domain Preservation

Metaphors act as the window reflecting our experience and cognition of the world. Generally speaking, people from varied countries may differ in experience out of diversity in practices and cultures, thus leading to diverse uses of metaphors. However, human beings at times share the homogenous cognition to the objective world, their metaphors used being necessarily similar in such condition where the source audience and target audience share similar or even the same cognitive environment. For example, "fence" as a metaphor is considered as a barrier in one's carrier both in Chinese and English. The target audience could build the relevance via the experience of being stopped by fences if it does not appear frequently in some other target languages. Therefore, it is favorable to preserve the domain in the target text as the target audience would achieve the optimal cognitive effects with minimal processing efforts.

E.g. 1 面对国际国内政治风波，他冷静观察、从容应对，坚信马克思主义、坚守
共产主义理想，坚持在**社会主义道路**上推进我国现代化事业。

He observed domestic and international political turbulence with calm and composure, and drove China's modernization along *the socialist path* with a firm faith in Marxism and his communist ideals.

"Path" as an iconic metaphor appears 123 times in the book. The most frequently used collocation is "socialist path" as an implication of the state development as a road. The example is set in the context that Deng Xiaoping, the national pioneer, leads the Party comrades as travelers to continue their exploration, proceeding on the socialist path. Oxford English Dictionary (2004) defines the word as a way or track that is built or is made by the action of people walking, as well as a plan of action or a way of achieving sth. Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (1996) also defines '道路'(path) as the course to a certain goal or the approach by which something or someone develops and changes. Besides, Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) includes 50 data of "development path" from news, magazines, and videos, with the most recent CBS material "… to finally get on a development path that is sustainable as the African continent…" in 2019. The common interpretation of the word reveals that English and Chinese users share the overlapping part of cognitive environment where a national goal or affair could be described as the path in need of efforts to trek on. Based on the content that the whole country lies in a decisive situation where the Party still firmly upholds the path as socialism, the contextual assumption would be strengthened. Accordingly, '社会主义道路'translated

into "socialist path" requires little efforts for English readers to build the relevance to the upholding of the socialist cause.

It is worth mentioning that an exception exists in the book though the majority is translated into "path". See E.g. 8.

E.g. 2 让我们以杭州为新起点，引领世界经济的**航船**，从钱塘江畔再次扬帆启航，驶向更加广阔的**大海**！

Let us make the Hangzhou Summit a new starting point, lead the *convoy* of the world economy on a voyage from the Qiantang River here, and head into the vast *ocean*.

Chapter 15 introduces China's cooperation with other countries, compiling Xi's speeches on Belt and Road Initiative, G20 summit, etc. On economic issues, Xi's opening speech at the G20 summit compares the world economy to a convoy and its prospect to the ocean. In such a context, the participating countries are considered as pilot and mariners cooperating on the convoy to a booming economy, while waves are challenges they confront. It is common to see that the ocean has been frequently used to imply the economy in political documents. In 2018 Davos World Economic Forum, Xi put forward the Ocean Theory elaborating his thought of considering the tenacious and adaptive Chinese economy as the ocean, depicting a vivid vision for the audience to interpret the Chinese economy. In E.g. 2, the translator as the audience in the first ostensive-inferential round makes the contextual assumption that the convoy and ocean possess the features of the world economy so that the domains are kept in the text of the second round as the cognitive stimulus to the target audience. Similarly, the stimulus with the common cognition that the sea and ocean serve as the channel to prosperity in human history further activates the target audience's knowledge of connecting the ocean with the economy, thus building and strengthening their relevance by Xi's further metaphorical expression that the wharf lies in the Qiantang River.

4.1.2 Domain Substitution

Human cognitions may vary due to the huge cultural diversity and various living habits of different countries, though similarities exist in them. Accordingly, the same metaphor would be given varied connotations based on the differences in our cognitions of the world. For example, it would be offensive to use ·狗·(dog) as a metaphor to imply someone in Chinese as dogs are usually associated with inferiority, while "lucky dog" in English will not bother because they are considered as intimate friends in western countries. Under the circumstances, a sensible choice would be replacing the domain. Apart from that, the same method should be adopted when an unfamiliar source domain appears as it may weaken the cognitive effects of the target audience, leading to more efforts used to build the relevance. Therefore, it is agreeable for the translator to substitute the source domain for the target expression (idiom, metaphorical terms, etc.) that exists in the object audience's cognitive environment in case of their misunderstanding and puzzling of the author's communicative intention.

E.g. 3 但现在再按照过去那种粗放型发展方式来做，不仅国内条件不支持，
国际条件也不支持，是不可持续的，不抓紧转变，总有一天会走进**死胡同**。

But now neither the domestic nor international environment allows China to maintain this mode of unsustainable economic development. If we do not change it, we will hit the *buffers*.

Chapter 7 gives an account of the key points of new normal (the economy recovering from an abnormal phase), as well as an emphasis on the reform of economic work. Here in E.g. 4, an expression with Chinese characteristics ·死胡同· (dead end) has been employed to indicate the consequence of maintaining the obsolete economic mechanism. Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (1999) defines ·死胡同· as a blind alley, which is also used to imply a failure. ·死胡同· has not been cited in English as a metaphor though Oxford English Dictionary (2004) has included "hutong" as a loanword (a word that is borrowed from another language). Hence, the keeping of "hutong" as a metaphor in the target text will increase the difficulty in building the relevance to its connotation, with more processing efforts used in inference. Obviously, the translator has realized in the first ostensive-inferential round that the expression may puzzle the audience so that it has been replaced by "buffers" as a stimulus in the second round. Buffer means something that reduces shock and can protect others, while the idiom "hit the buffers" denotes that an idea, plan, or project experiences difficulties, causing it to fail. In line with the meaning of ·死胡同·, it activates the target audience's corresponding cognitive environment as a classical idiom with the same communicative intention conveyed. Therefore, it costs fewer efforts for the audience to strengthening their assumption of the meaning of "failure", setting up the optimal relevance.

E.g. 4 我经常讲，**鱼和熊掌**不可兼得，当官发财两条道，当官就不要发财，发财
就不要当官。

I have often said this: you cannot *have your cake and eat it*. You must choose between office and riches, and choose only one.

In chapter 5, Xi's speeches on the Party discipline are compiled with Chinese traditional idioms and metaphors. E.g. 4 contains the famous quotation from *Fish Is What I Desire* by Mengzi. ·鱼· (fish) and ·熊掌·(bear's paw) refers to the mutually exclusive things that one desires. Here, Xi also uses them as metaphors to indicate office and riches, only one of which could be chosen, conveying the communicative intention that officials should be highly disciplined and upright without being tempted by fortunes. In the first round of the ostensive-inferential process, it is easy for the translator to grasp the communicative intention, achieving optimal relevance based on Xi and the translator's overlapping cognitive environment both as Chinese. Similarly, the audience is not likely to grasp the intention because there is no overlapping part of the cognitive environment where relevance does not exist between fish and office, as well as bear's paw and riches. Therefore, the two metaphors have been replaced by "have your cake and eat it", an English idiom implying two desired but contradictory things that are normally impossible for one to have simultaneously. As an idiom that the target audience is familiar with, it takes fewer efforts for them to build the relevance, accepting the communicative intention that office and riches are contradictory according to the Party spirit.

4.1.3 Explanation

Domain substitution is a favorable way for the translator to adopt, for the reappearing of familiar expressions would avoid the erroneous assumption caused by the source metaphor, strengthening the relevance to grasp the communicative intention in need of less processing efforts. However, it is uncommon to find the idioms, slangs or metaphorical expressions that are semantically equivalent to the author's intention, while preserving the domain with a direct translation may waste the audience's efforts to comprehend and even cause misconception. Therefore, an explanation could be employed to directly convey the connotation of the metaphor, canceling the process of ostension and inference.

> E.g. 5 所以说，科技创新是核心，抓住了科技创新就抓住了牵动我国发展全局的 "牛鼻子"。

All in all, innovation holds the *key* to the development of our country.

> E.g. 6 在推进这"四个全面"过程中，我们既要注重总体谋划，又要注重牵住 "牛鼻子"。

In implementing this strategy, we should attend to both general planning and *specific, critical problems*.

'牛鼻子' (an ox nose) in Chinese is used to indicate the key to an issue or problem, influencing the overall picture. In E.g. 5, the communicative intention of the author is that innovation is vital in the development of the country. The term '牛鼻子' in the source text as a figurative expression helps the Chinese audience to better grasp the intention. However, the keeping of the domain in the target text may cause ambiguity in the building of the relevance for the target audience to grasp the communicative intention, for there is no overlapping area of the author's and target audience's cognitive environments in terms of such metaphorical expression. Hence, the domain has been removed with "key" as the explanation added in the translation. Similarly in E.g. 6, the domain is also explained in the target text, revealing the intention that it is required to tackle specific and critical problems, and solving them would be critical in implementing the strategy. By doing so, the translator cancels the second ostensive-inferential round with the author's communicative intention directly transmitted to the target audience.

> E.g. 7 我们党在长期实践中形成的党内政治生活的光荣传统，不论过去、现在还 是将来，都是党的宝贵财富。光荣传统不能丢，丢了就丢了魂；**红色基因 不能变，变了就变了质。**

The great tradition of political activities that our Party has brought into being in its long practice is its permanent treasure, whether in the past, the present, or the future. We must never cast aside this tradition, which gives us our soul; neither should we change our *nature as a true Communist Party*.

E.g. 7 reveals the Party's treasuring good tradition and call for sustaining the Party's spirit. '红色基因' (red gene) as a metaphor implies that the spirit of Communism acts as the basis of the whole Party, as well as its nature. It is common that

red as color often symbolizes good fortune and the Communist Party. However, the preservation of the domain in the target text may cause discomfort and misinterpretation, for "red" in English prevails as a negative symbol. The Bible describes "red" as evilness and ill omen: "And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads (Coogan & Brettler, 2001)". Here the red dragon is the incarnation of Satan (the demon in the Bible). Apart from that, "red" also represents the danger, deficit, and sex as in "see the red light", "go into red", and "a red light district". Therefore, the domain kept in the English text may be associated with the assumption of negative implications, impeding the process of the target audience's setting up relevance to the Party's good tradition as the negative cognitive assumption would be at variance with the context. In case of misunderstanding, the explanation cuts off the ostensive-inferential process so that the ambiguity due to the erroneous inference no longer exists.

4.1.4 Domain Elimination

Metaphorical expressions in the source culture will create a vivid image for interpretation. However, defamiliarization may occur if the metaphorical expression exists in the target text, contrary to the principle of adapting to the target audience's cognition. For this purpose, explanation should be applied so as to make explicit the author's intention. At times, explanation requires more processing efforts to process the information, due to the semantically repeated expressions, redundant information, or other unidiomatic expressions in English, reducing the readability. In such a situation, it is encouraged to eliminate the domain to form a neat and concise expressive style without unnecessary processing efforts.

E.g. 8 前一句规定了根本方向，我们的方向就是中国特色社会主义**道路**，而不是其他什么道路。

The former defines our fundamental *orientation* – Chinese socialism**,** rather than anything else.

As has been discussed in 4.1.1, it is acceptable to collocate "path" with words concerning the economy or social system, according to the data in COCA. Therefore, the preservance of the domain is the preference for the translator. However, in E.g. 8, the exception lies in the unidiomatic collocation of "orientation" and "path". The 317 searching results of "orientation is" in COCA bear no sign of the predicative "path", but more concrete entities, such as modernism, life, and a free market. Hence, it is believable that eliminating the domain would modify the expression into a succinct one, conveying the author's communicative intention in need of the minimal processing efforts that the orientation is Chinese socialism, rather than confusing the target audience via the conception of "orientation is a path".

E.g. 9 同时，我们正在全面推进依法治国，让它同全面深化改革一起构成全面建成小康社会的两个**翅膀**、两个**轮子**。

At the same time, we are advancing the rule of law, together with furthering reform; these form the "*wings*" of moderate prosperity.

In E.g. 9, ‘翅膀’ (wing) and ‘轮子’ (wheel) as metaphors imply that advancing the rule of law with furthering reform constitutes the stimuli of moderate prosperity. Wings help birds fly, while wheels help cars move ahead. Such experience from daily life forms as common sense in our cognitive environment, where the homogeneity of wings and wheels as assistors help us to interpret them as metaphors. Nevertheless, the co-existence of the two domains will cause semantical repetition, forming a redundant expression, unnecessarily wasting the target audience's efforts to process the information. Therefore, it is a preference to delete the domain "wheels", for the preservation of "wings" is competent in transmitting the author's communicative intention in a concise way that advancing the rule of law helps to boost moderate prosperity.

4.1.5   Domain Preservation with Annotation

In most cases, the target audience will achieve the optimal relevance with a little effort via the source domain preserved in the target text. However, at times, the terminology may include metaphorical expressions, which will demand more effort for the audience to process. Hence, it is suggested that the translator should add an annotation so as to make it fully and easily comprehended.

E.g. 10 处理好改革"**最先一公里**"和"**最后一公里**"的关系，突破"中梗阻"，防止不作为，把改革方案的含金量充分展示出来，让人民群众有更多获得感。

We must handle well the relationship between *"the first kilometer" and "the last kilometer" [the initiation and the implementation]* of reform, eliminate obstacles in between, prevent nonfeasance, and publicize the highlights of reform plans so as to give the people a stronger sense of gain.

Xi in chapter 3 conceives the reform as a long-distance race via the metaphors of ‘最先一公里’ (the first kilometer) and ‘最后一公里’ (the last kilometer). The first kilometer represents the beginning of the race, which also denotes the initiation of the reform plan, while the last kilometer stands for the last decisive dash before the finish line, implying the implementation of reform. Although the experience of marathon and race is shared by most of the human-beings so that our cognitive environments in relation to the two expressions are similar, it still requires a lot of efforts for the target audience to grasp the intention as the two terminologies are rarely transferred into political documents. Therefore, the annotation has been added in the translation, following the two domains. It is worth mentioning that frequent annotation will affect readability. By examining through all the texts in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*, the study has identified only one case, as in E.g. 10.

4.2 Factors in Nominal Metaphor Translation

4.2.1 Outer-Text Factor

Human-beings' cognitions may vary due to the different living experiences and cultural varieties. Those cognitions form as cognitive environments in our minds. The more areas the communicators share in cognitive environments with each other, the fewer efforts will they take in processing the mutual information as the audience.

In translation, the author, translator, and audience are in the activity of unidirectional communication, where the audience infers the intention from the translator's informational stimuli. Metaphors serving as the mirror in language reflecting our cognitions to the world connect subjectivity with objectivity. In translating metaphors, the translator has to infer the real communicative intention disguised as metaphors, as well as considering the most acceptable translation that the target audience can retrieve the intention from, via the methods of metaphor translation (domain preservation, domain elimination, etc.) based on guiding principles. With the principle of adapting to the audience's cognition for better readability, the translator must give priority to the differences between the author's and audience's cognitive environments. For instance, '死胡同' (dead end) as a typical Chinese metaphorical expression is not commonly shared in English readers' cognitive environments. Therefore, it is hard for most of the target audience to build the relevance between '死胡同' and failure based on their own cognition, so that the translator must replace the domain, explain it, add an annotation, or even abandon it to manifest the meaning. Besides, our cognitive environments concerning a metaphor may share the overlapping part as much of our cognitions are similar or even the same in that our experiences like natural phenomena are basically common in the objective world. For example, the common experience that a fence will block the way shared in our cognitive environments can be easily retrieved to set up the relevance between fences and obstacles, so that the domain can be preserved in the target text.

In conclusion, the outer-text factor lies in the communicators' cognitive environments. The translation is decided by not only the overlapping part of the author's and the audience's cognitive environments, but most importantly, the translator's awareness of both sides' varied areas.

4.2.2 Intra-Text Factor

Apart from the outer-text factor influencing the translation, the intra-text factor may also make a difference concerning the context.

In E.g. 2, the coexistence of '航船' (convoy) and '大海' (ocean) as metaphors echoes with the context that the theme of the conference is cooperation in economy, which is also hosted beside the Qiantang River. On the one hand, the domains as natural experience will not hinder the comprehension. On the other hand, adjusting the metaphors may cause a semantic loss. Under such circumstances, the domains are

preserved. Besides, to make the text more readable, repeated domains will be aban-doned, as in '轮子'(wheel) in E.g. 9, due to its identical connotation compared with that of '翅膀'(wing). Another example is in E.g. 10, the method of annotation has only been applied for one time, out of the inserting of phrases, which to a degree affects the audience's reading experience, requiring more efforts taken in processing new information, though it is a semantic supplement to the given one.

5 Conclusions

The aim of the study is to examine the principle of adapting to the audience's cogni-tion in the rendition of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II*. By applying the relevance theory approach into metaphor translation studies, the paper finds a total of five major methods in terms of nominal metaphor translation: Domain Preservation, Domain Substitution, Domain Elimination, Explanation, and Domain Preservation with Annotation. In addition, a tentative model of is established based on the findings (Fig. 2).

In the model, translation as a way of communication involves two rounds of ostensive-inferential process. In the first ostensive-inferential round, the author conveys his communicative intention to the translator in the form of informational
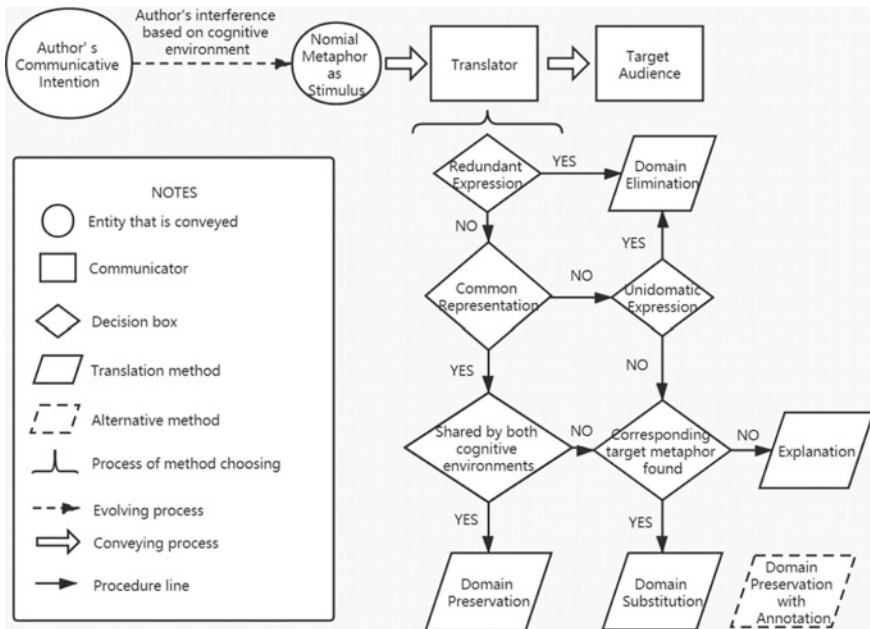

Fig. 2 Translation model for nominal metaphors

stimulus (the stimuli in the paper are domains, while the intention refers to the conno-tation of a metaphor) based on his own cognitive environment. The translator in the first round plays the role of the reader, processing the stimulus from the author to infer his communicative intention. At this point, it is crucial for the translator to share more areas of the cognitive environment with the author as much as possible. The more areas they share, the better relevance will the translator achieve and the less cognitive efforts will he take so that the preciseness of his comprehension of the author's intention will be guaranteed. In the second round, the translator becomes a "speaker". To process the original intention into a new stimulus, the translator will adopt methods to make it better understood.

In terms of metaphors, the translator first has to take into account whether the expression is a redundant one (two or more metaphors that are semantically iden-tical; the metaphor is semantically identical to its adjoining expressions) or an unid-iomatic one (corpus data can be included in examination). If it is, domain elimination is suggested in case of unnecessary cognitive efforts. If it is not and neither does the metaphor denote the common representation (in this paper, we define common representation as the entity by which human-beings share the same cognition, for instance, natural phenomena), which is to say that the metaphor is exclusive in Chinese, then searching for the corresponding metaphor for substitution is a pref-erence, or explanation can be further applied. It is also significant that the target audience's cognitive environments should be taken into consideration, examining whether the metaphors are shared by both the author and the audience. Enjoying the feature of both common representation and shared cognitive environment, the domain can be at length preserved. The fifth method, domain preservation with anno-tation, can be considered as an alternative, as annotation may require more efforts in processing the information.

One thing to note is that the choice of the methods aims at the audience achieving the optimal relevance via the minimal cognitive efforts so as to grasp the communica-tive intention. The results of the quantity of nominal metaphor translation methods adopted in *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China II* have seen a majority of expla-nation, with only one domain preserved with annotation, which proves the principle of adapting to the audience's cognition in political document translation and thus echoes Wang's readability idea.

Overall, experience in human cognition integrates with the historical and daily practices of a nation. Out of the diversities embedded in the nature of human cultures, their experience varies and thus the discourses are assigned with different connota-tions. A typical example of the phenomenon is metaphor. As the Communist Party of China engages in more advanced and ongoing practices, new metaphorical terms would come into existence in its political discourses. However, for those metaphors with Chinese prominence, the study helps to place them in the framework of rele-vance, cognition, and readability. It tries to build a tentative model for metaphor trans-lation by which the target audience will get the intentions with the minimal efforts. Hopefully, it will be a reference for translating the Chinese publicity discourses so as to let the Chinese insights be more comprehensible for foreign audience. The model may also shed light on other varied cognitive communities in their metaphor translation practices to ensure readability.

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From Translationese to Emergent Irony: A Usage-Based Approach to Chinese *Bèi* Passive

Andrew H. C. Chuang and Haoran Yang

Abstract This study investigates how Chinese *bèi* passive (B0, default) has developed from a byproduct of translation (B1) between English and Chinese toward two emergent ironic constructions (B2 and B3) in modern Mandarin. Despite their low frequency counts from any existing Chinese corpora, B2 and B3 expressions (notably the former) have worked their way into today's Chinese popular discourse. We conducted an online survey using a questionnaire to examine the B2 and B3 constructions that reflect a speaker's cognitive-pragmatic need for communicating an ironic thought to provide the very first systematic study of the development of the *bèi* passive from B0 (non-irony) and B1 (translationese) to ironic B2 and B3. We also used Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) test and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to shed new light on the important claims we have made regarding the *bèi* constructions.

Keywords Chinese *bèi* passive · Usage-based · Translationese · Irony · Cognitive pragmatics

1 Introduction

One of the most frequently adopted strategies for expressing present-day Chinese passive voice is using a number of passive lexical markers, such as *bèi*, *ràng*, *jiào*, *gěi*, *āi*, and *shòu*,[1] amongst which *bèi* is the most salient (see Huang, 2013; Huang & Shi, 2016; Teng, 2017; Wiedenhof, 2015). However, since the mid-1900s the *bèi* passive has been classed as a low-productivity construction[2] (1a; henceforth,

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[1] That is, *ràng* (讓), *jiào* (叫), *gěi* (給), *āi* (挨), *shòu* (受), etc.

[2] For our definition of a linguistic construction, please see Croft (2001), Fillmore, Kay, & O'Connor (1988) and Goldberg (1995, 2006).

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B0) often carrying a negative semantic prosody (Li & Thompson, HYPERLINK "sps:refid::bib46|bib47") despite its extended accommodation to non-adversative events (1b; henceforth, B1) in modern Mandarin (Liu, 2011). The "neutralization" of the *bèi* passive is generally thought to be the result of a practical need to translate massive Western texts into Chinese (mostly from English) because Mandarin does not necessarily require an explicit morphosyntactic marker to passivize an event—namely, the "null *bèi* construction" or "notional passive construction (NPC)" (Loar, 2011, p. 314) patterned on the Chinese topic-comment alignment (2a-b). In fact, NPC[3] had often been referred to as "the most common form of passive voice" (Yip & Rimmington, 2004, p. 210) or "the earliest mode of passive expression" in Chinese (Wang, 1957, 1958/2004, p. 418; Zhang, 2018b, p. 84) until the widespread use of the *bèi* passive (B1). Many have since criticized such translation-oriented *bèi* expressions as an "Europeanized" or "Anglicized" style (Chen, 1997; Hung, 2011; Ye, 2013; Yu, 2002; Zhang, 1993, among others) alluding to its stylistic unorthodoxy—that is, "translationese". However, today's Chinese speakers are neither aware nor duly informed of the differences between NPC, B0, and B1, much less speaking of "tolerating" any translationese attached to any *bèi* construction.

1 a

Tāde	nǎichá	bèi	hē	le
3SG.POSS	milk.tea	PAS	drink	PERF

His milk tea got drunk.

b

Tā	bèi	shēngguān	le
3SG.NOM	PAS	promote	PERF

He got promoted (at work).

2 a

Tāde	nǎichá	∅	hē	le
3SG.POSS	milk.tea	∅	drink	PERF
[	topic	]	[comment	]

My milk tea got drunk (by someone).

b

Tā	∅	shēngqiān	le
3SG.NOM	∅	promote	PERF
[topic]	[	comment	]

He got promoted (at work).

Interestingly, a new, if not all droll and quirky, *bèi* construction (3a-b: henceforth, B2) has emerged across China's social media, gaining instant momentum. It even topped the list of the Internet's most popular expressions in 2009 due to certain socio-political issues (Wang, 2009; Wang & Yang, 2011). We then found these B2 expressions to carry a "marked" feel of irony in large part because they violates the conventional rules for B0 (orthodoxy) and B1 (translationese) by licensing the patterning of [*bèi* + Verb$_{intrans}$], while both B0 and B1 would normally operate on the [*bèi* + V$_{trans}$] principle.

3 a

Tā	bèi	zìshā	le
3SG.NOM	PAS	suicide	PERF

*He got suicided.

b

Tā	bèi	shīzōng	le
3SG.NOM	PAS	disappear	PERF

*He got disappeared.

This study adopted a usage-based approach (Bybee, 1985, 2007, 2010; Bybee & Hopper, 2001; Traugott & Trousdale, 2013) to (a) investigate how Chinese *bèi* passive has transitioned from B0 to B3—specifically, how B2 has emerged as an ironic

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[3] See Zhang (2018a) for a discussion of NPC from the perspective of Construction Grammar (CxG).

construction, and (b) briefly address yet another variant of the *bèi* passive—a double-*bèi* construction (henceforth, B3; 4a-b)—that was derived entirely from irony-laced B2 expressions although B3 remains a new type of construction absent from any currently available Chinese corpora.

4 a	Tā		bèi	bèi	zìshā	le		b	Tā		bèi	bèi	shīzōng	le
	3SG.NOM		PAS	PAS	suicide	PERF			3SG.NOM		PAS	PAS	disappear	PERF
	*He got suicided.								*He got disappeared.					

2 Literature Review

An account of how earlier studies treat the *bèi* passive in terms of "translationese" is provided below as evidence to delineate its functional-constructional transition from translationese to emergent irony. It is important to note that such translationese does not refer to any mistranslation resulting from a translator's lack of inter-cultural, cross-linguistic or transdisciplinary proficiency.

2.1 Translationese[4]

Nida and Taber (1982) define, and advise against, translationese as "formal fidelity" due to its lack of naturalness because its source-language interference (e.g., calque) can be clearly felt (Newmark, 1988). Although translationese tends to be simpler, more standardized, and more explicit (Baker, 1993) in style, its *-ese* suffix may suggest "a pejorative ring" (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2002) or "disapproval of a muddled or stilted form of writing" such as *journalese* and *legalese* (Baker, 1992; p. 24). Some scholars (Riley et al., 2020) who work on neural machine translation (NMT) view translationese as a "multilingual model"—that is, both translationese and its "original" (i.e., naturally rendered) text can be treated as "separate target languages". In other words, translation as a decoding process is arguably concomitant with varying degrees of translationese that characterize the linguistic contrast between the source and target languages. Consequently, translationese as an unavoidable byproduct of translating (Mauranen, 1999, 2000; Toury, 1995) has become a more "neutralized" notion as long as the need for translation ensues. Note that by translationese we do not speak of "translational foreignization" (Venuti, 1995), whereby translationese is carefully stylized as an ethically serious translation strategy (Robinson, 2011).

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[4] See also "translation universals" (Bernardini & Zanettin, 2004; Chesterman, 2011; Nilsson, 2004; Puurtinen, 2003; to name a few).

2.2   The Emergence of B**èi** Passive (B1) as the Result of Translationese

Modern Chinese grammar (He, 2008; Wang, 1958/2004) has evolved through different changes and challenges ever since the May Fourth Movement[5] in 1919, which marked the watershed between Classical Chinese[6] (Ancient Chinese) and Vernacular Chinese[7] (Contemporary Chinese). This historic event is known to have substantially altered the Chinese grammatical landscape by promoting, later popularizing, the more colloquial (prose-like) form of the language, as opposed to its centuries-old literary (verse-like) tradition. During the first 20 years after the onset of the May Fourth Movement, B0—a low-productivity passive form carrying a negative semantic prosody[8]—started to undergo a functional-constructional restyling (Wang, 1958/2004).

An extended body of literature can be found on the *bèi* constructions (from B0 to B1) (Chen, 1997; Hung, 2011; Xiong & Wang, 2002; Ye, 2013; Yu, 2002; Zhang, 1993) in Chinese-English translation studies (Chan, 2004; Liu, 2004). In terms of the *bèi* passive, scholars generally agree that (a) that the B0 construction (default form) is restricted to scenarios where a grammatical subject (theme or patient) undergoes an undesirable event (Wang, 1958; Li & Thompson, 1976, 1981), and (b) that B0 (1a-b) has developed into B1 (2a-b) by taking in both adversative and non-adversative events due to translations (Guo, 2005; Kubler, 1985; Rao, 1990; Xie, 2001). The latter is believed to be the result of decades-long language contact between Chinese and English (He, 2008), which various corpus-based studies have noted from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives (Guo & Han, 2012; Hu & Ceng, 2010; Xiao et al., 2006; Yang & Cheng, 2016). A similar view is shared by Cao (2016), who views B1 as a "reverse or backward transfer"[9] from a person's second language (L2; English) to his/her first language (L1; Chinese) as a result of L2 acquisition. In short, the *bèi* passive typically subcategorizes negative lexical items in the B0 construction, though it later extends to accommodating positive and neutral constructions in B1. In other words, B0 carries a pronounced negative semantic prosody while B1 does not.

Another factor contributing to the popularization of B1 in modern Chinese may have also arisen from translation itself. Today's Mandarin speakers would intuitively associate the English passive voice with the *bèi* constructions in that the former is

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[5] That is, 五四運動 (wǔsì yùndòng) when Vernacular Chinese (simpler in style) started to gain popularity as a replacement for Classical Chinese (more rigid in style) due to the then-social movements demanding social/political/cultural change and modernization. The vernacular form was then considered a more straightforward way of voicing one's thought in pursuit of social change.

[6] That is, 文言文 (wényánwén). See Chan (2016) and Li (2016).

[7] That is, 白話文 (báihuàwén). See Chan (2016) and Feng (2016).

[8] See "semantic prosody" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Sinclair, 2003; Stubbs, 1995; Xiao & McEnery, 2006) or "local prosody" (Tribble, 2000).

[9] See also Abu-Rabia et al. (2013), Balcom (2003), Kecskes and Papp (2003), and Laufer (2003) for different levels of backward transfer.

conventionally translated into "*bèi-dòng-shì*"[10] (literally, passive mode), whose very first character (*bèi*) acts as a lexical cue for recalling and reinforcing the connection between the English passive and Chinese *bèi* passive.

2.3   The Bèi Construction as a Newfangled Expression (B2)

Ever since 2009 when B2 topped the list of the Internet's most popular expressions in China (Wang, 2009), Mandarin speakers of different age groups and professions have noticed, discussed, and widely adopted this emergent peculiar expression in the cyber world. Indeed, a most salient instance of B2 is found to be *bèizìshā* (literally, **to be suicided*) due to certain socio-political incidents that took place around 2008 in China (Wang & Yang, 2011). A typical such scenario is that someone (notably, an ordinary citizen) exposes the corruption (or scandal) of a government official (or a business tycoon) and the whistle-blower is later found dead leaving behind a "suicide note" (or not) before he or she could appear in court to testify against the perpetrator. This note often gives a guilty account of how the deceased has mistakenly accused the defendant of any wrongdoing, which eventually leads to the latter's *nolle prosequi*. Therefore, the deceased is said to **have been suicided*.

Some (Peng, 2011; Wang, 2009; Wang & Yang, 2011) have also noted that (a) linguistically, the B2 construction comes in three formulas—[*bèi* + V$_{intrans}$],[11] [*bèi* + N], and [*bèi* + ADJ], that (b) socioculturally, B2 reflects how ordinary people view certain social injustices as an objectionable experience, and that (c) volitionally, the construction's patient role is "forced" to perform against his or her own will (e.g., **to be suicided*). However, few previous studies[12] have focused on B2 expressions mostly because they are a rather new linguistic phenomenon in comparison to B0 and B1. In fact, no critical methodology has as yet been proposed for the B2 construction, much less a usage-based, cognitive-pragmatic account of its ironic dimensions—even less discussion of B3, its other variant.

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[10] That is, 被 (*bèi*) 動 (*dòng*) 式 (*shì*).

[11] That is, to passivize an intransitive verb, which gives rise to as unnatural a passive construction (e.g., **bèizìshā*) as **to be suicided* in English.

[12] Most currently available articles on B2 are not research-oriented and lack a decent methodology.

3 Methods

B2/B3 expressions are variant forms of the short *bèi* construction as opposed to its counterpart "long *bèi* construction" (Her, 2009; Liu, 2016). The latter (5b) requires an overt agent to appear after *bèi*, whereas the former (5a) does not.

5 a   Qìshuǐ   bèi   hē   le   b   Qìshuǐ   bèi   wǒ   gēgē   hē   le
       soda   PAS   drink PERF   soda   PAS   1st.GEN   older.brother drink   PERF
       The soda was drunk.   The soda was drunk by my older brother.

The present study is delimited to the short *bèi* construction, whereby B2/B3 expressions are only produced, although B0 and B1 feature prominently in both short and long *bèi* constructions. Moreover, it makes no attempt at resolving the long-standing debate over whether *bèi* should be treated as a preposition (Huang, 1982; Li & Thompson, 1981; McCawley, 1992; Tsao, 1996; Wang, 1970) or a verb (Bender, 2000; Chiu, 1993; Her, 1989; Hsueh, 1989). Rather, we view *bèi* as a passive lexical marker; as such, it is the usage-based pragmatics underpinning the B2/B3 constructions that we seek to address, not the syntactic categorization of *bèi*. For ease of reference, we treat the subject-place holder of all passive sentences as *nominative subject* rather than *topic*.

3.1 A Usage-Based Approach to Language

Linguistic communication is a usage-based phenomenon operating on two aphorisms (Tomasello, 2003, 2009): (a) meaning is use, and (b) structure emerges from use. Therefore, this study gives pride of place to the role of cognitive pragmatics in investigating how B2/B3 constructions have emerged out of a speaker's need to communicate an ironic thought. Usage, therefore, has a significant impact on linguistic structure (form) and function (meaning) (Bybee & Hopper, 2001; Kemmer & Barlow, 2000; Langacker, 1987, 1991). Specifically, "[1] usage patterns, [2] frequency of occurrence, [3] variation, and [4] change are all taken to provide direct evidence about [the] cognitive representation" (Bybee & Beckner, 2010, p. 827) of any B2/B3-induced irony. The present study, however, does not make use of any corpus methods (2.3 and 3.3).

3.2 Why is a Corpus Approach not Highly Considered for This Study?

The electronic corpora are a useful source for usage-based analysis (Biber, 2010; Gregory et al., 1999; Jurafsky et al., 2001). Based on the instances provided by Wang

and Yang (2011), we looked up type and token frequencies of the B2/B3 constructions in the Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU)[13] and the Center for Chinese Linguistics (CCL)[14] corpora. BLCU features over 15,000,000,000 characters (currently the largest and most comprehensive dataset of Mandarin Chinese) and CCL features 783,463,175 characters. Despite our searches, the results were far from satisfactory for two possible reasons: (a) B2 and B3 remain a relatively new construction in modern Mandarin and (b) such expressions are oftentimes politically sensitive[15] (see Wang, 2009; Wang & Yang, 2011). Therefore, B2/B3 expressions are barely preserved in any existing corpora. To redress this issue, the study then resorted to a different design (see below).

3.3 A Qualitative Survey

As an alternative, an online questionnaire survey was designed to develop an indepth understanding, and formulate our hypothesis, of the B2/B3 constructions—that is, both constructions have emerged from a speaker's need to communicate an ironic thought. Toward this aim, we tested and examined the survey results from a hearer's perspective, using Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) test and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) via IBM SPSS Statistics[16] and Xlstat[17] The survey was conducted on China's largest online survey platform—Wen Juan Xing (WJX[18]), whereby 94,290,000 users were reported to have collected 7,529,000,000 responses as of October 2020. WJX is extensively used in China for both qualitative and quantitative analyses and by various academic disciplines, including social research, education, and commercial polling.

3.3.1 Questionnaire Design

This study used a qualitative and semi-quantitative[19] questionnaire consisting of six sections (a total of 36 close-ended questions) that attempted to address the survey panelists' understanding of the meaning of the linguistic expressions they use (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Punch, 2014). Section I of the questionnaire collects personal information from the respondents, such as age, gender, native language, and degree of Internet dependence. Section II asks the survey panelists to choose

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[13] See http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn.

[14] See http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index.jsp.

[15] That is, Internet censorship. E.g., *Weibo* is sometimes known for blocking mentions of certain sensitive materials.

[16] For more information, please visit https://www.ibm.com/products/spss-statistics.

[17] For more information, please visit https://www.xlstat.com/en/.

[18] That is, 问卷星 (https://www.wjx.cn).

[19] MCA and the χ^2 test are both qualitative and semi-quantitative in terms of statistical computation.

the most "natural" *bèi* expression from the five options provided. Section III has the participants compare a pair of *bèi* expressions before settling on one that feels more "ironic" than the other. Section IV gives a brief contextual description to one question in a pair of questions (but not the other) to investigate how context may turn a non-ironic pattern (i.e., [*bèi* + V$_{trans}$]) into irony. Section V intends to test whether our panelists are aware of and/or able to comprehend the B3 construction. Lastly, Section VI serves as a dummy test to verify our claims for B2/B3, and will be incorporated into the discussion of section V. All the B2 expressions used in the questionnaire were BLCU-derived instances provided by Wang and Yang (2011) but were slightly modified to suit our design. The average completion time of this questionnaire is 7.58 min (455.03 s).

3.3.2 Sampling

Our sample was pre-recruited; all the participants (n = 100; male = 55; female = 45) were subjected to qualification screening. Specifically, all were college educated and able to access WJX through the Internet. The former ensures that the survey respondents have an adequate level of Chinese literacy, and the latter that they have the required technical capability to complete the online survey. The respondents were primarily in the 20–29 age bracket (91%) and constituted a large sample size (91%) of self-rated "heavy Internet users". People having received any linguistic training were excluded from participating in the online survey in prevention of any informed-preference bias.

4   Data Analysis and Discussion

An analysis and discussion of the survey results is presented below. All the six sections, except Section I, will be addressed in sequential order. For details of Section I, please see 3.3.1–3.3.2.

4.1   *Section II: The B1 Construction*

This section is composed of 8 sentences (6a-h), each given a set of 5 options for the respondents to choose from. The options are: (i) *bèi* must be omitted to ensure a natural reading; (ii) *bèi* is optional without causing any difference in meaning; (iii) *bèi* is optional, but it feels more natural with *bèi*; and (v) *bèi* must not be omitted so as to prevent semantic ambiguity. Of the 8 sentences, 6a and 6c are viewed as positive events because their grammatical subjects (*Xiǎolǐ* and *háizi*) are beneficiaries benefitting from the subsequent event VPs (*promote* and *care* for). 6b and 6g are considered neutral events because their subjects (*fruit* and *beef*) are indeed patients

undergoing some change of state (*eaten* and *stewed*) that leads to neither negative nor positive results in a neutralized context.

6 a Xiǎolǐ shànggèyuè (bèi) shēng wèi zhǔguǎn   positive (non-adversative)
    Xiǎolǐ last.month (PAS) promoted as supervisor
    Xiǎolǐ was promoted to supervisor.

b Shuǐguǒ (bèi) chī dé chàbùduō le, gāi qù mǎi xiē xīn de   neutral (non-adversative)
    fruit (PAS) eat COMP almost PERF should go buy some new NMZ
    We almost finished the fruit. Let's go buy some more.

c Háizi (bèi) zhàogù de wúwēibùzhì, wǒ zhēn gǎndòng   positive (non-adversative)
    child (PAS) care.for PART very.well 1SG.NOM really touched
    I am so touched that the child is so well cared for.

d Zìxíngchē (bèi) tōu le, wǒ xiànzài méifǎzi qù xuéxiào   negative (adversative)
    bike (PAS) steak PERF 1SG.NOM now no.way go.to school
    I can't go to school now because my bike is stolen.

e Xiǎolǐ (bèi) cítuì le, xiànzài yīliǎn chóukǔ.   negative (adversative)
    Xiǎolǐ (PAS) fire PERF now whole.face sad
    Xiǎolǐ got fired and is now very sad (about it).

f Hěnduō tóuzīrén (bèi) hūyou le, xiànzài yùkūwúlèi   negative (adversative)
    many investors (PAS) hoodwink PERF now complete.despair
    Many investors are in complete despair because they got so hoodwinked.

g Niúròu (bèi) lǔ hǎo le, gǎnkuài lái chī.   neutral (non-adversative)
    beef (PAS) stew complete PERF hurry come eat
    The beef is done (stewed). Just come eat it.

h Tí'àn (bèi) fǒujué hòu, Xiǎolǐ hěn nánguò.   negative (adversative)
    proposal (PAS) negate after Xiǎolǐ very sad
    Xiǎolǐ feels very sad because his proposal was negated.

Finally, 6d, 6e, 6f, and 6h are classed as negative events in that their subjects (*bike*, *Xiǎolǐ*, *investors*, *proposal*) are patients suffering from varying degrees of deprivation (*stolen*, *fired*, *hoodwinked*, *negated*).

We re-sorted the sentences into three groups: (i) positives (6a, 6c), (ii) neutrals (6b, 6g), and (iii) negatives (6d, 6e, 6f, 6h). We then performed the χ^2 test of independence ($\alpha = 0.05$) to compute the associative relationship (instead of correlation) between the members (categorical/nominal variables) in these groups (see below). The null hypothesis (H_0) stated that the two variables (e.g., A and B) within the same group were not related—$P(A|B) = P(A)$.[20] The positives ($p > .05$) failed to reject H_0 while the neutrals ($p < .05$) rejected H_0. However, given our four[21] negatives and the fact that the χ^2 test is dichotomous in nature, we treated the negatives as a permutation of a set of four distinct objects without repetition, paired them up, and obtained six combinatorial possibilities (i.e., $(n \bullet (n - 1))/2$) with χ^2 values all far less than 0.05. In other words, the B1 construction features a rather stable co-occurrence with neutrals (non-adversative) and, in particular, the negatives (adversative). The

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[20] That is, when 6a and 6c are independent of each other.

[21] We used more [*bèi* + negative] in the survey to test whether the construction is more "prototypical" of the *bèi* passive (i.e., B0).

relatively small χ^2 values of [*bèi* + negatives] could well reflect the fact that B1 is a translationese-based spinoff of B0. The results confirmed the conventional claim that [*bèi* + negatives] is a more prototypical patterning than [*bèi* + positives] and [*bèi* + neutrals].

The failure of [*bèi* + positives] to reject H_0 may have resulted from two factors: (1) the [*bèi* + positives] has yet to develop as an anchored component of B1, and (2) [*bèi* + positives] needs be treated as an independent category. The former suggests that [*bèi* + positives] is an "intermediate construction"[22] (Traugott & Trousdale, 2013) characterizing both contentual and procedural meanings on the cline of constructionalization and that there is an asymmetrical distribution among [*bèi* + positives], [*bèi* + neutrals], and [*bèi* + negatives]. The latter, however, may be related to constructional re-/sub-categorization of the VP because the respondents seemed only *partially* receptive to [*bèi* + positives] (6a = 39%[23]; 6c = 80%[24]) by reason of the VPs (*promote* and *care for*) that participate in the construction. Thus, lexical items may well serve to modulate a speaker's receptivity to and use of [*bèi* + positives], which begs further investigation.

4.2   Section III: B2 Irony (I)

This section consists of 10 questions, 7 of which (Table 1) feature a pair of B2 expressions. All 7 questions come with a contextual description which the survey respondents use to evaluate the irony of a B2 expression. The remaining 3 questions (7h-j) survey the respondents' attitude toward any B2 expressions shown to them. Similarly, we permuted the 7 questions and performed the χ^2 test of the 21 probability combinations $(7 \cdot (7 - 1))/2$. We then mapped them onto an MCA scatter plot to explore any of the possible correlations between the different variables. We treated each question (7a-g) as a variable and tagged all the B2 constructions—that is, [*bèi* + $V_{intrans}$], [*bèi* + N], and [*bèi* + ADJ]—with an asterisk (*).

For instance, the B2 constructs of 7d and 7g will appear as "Hr*" (hero[25]) and "Hn*" (harmony), respectively, to be distinguished from regular *bèi* expressions.[26] Moreover, the *neither-is-irony* category was labeled as "Nil" and the others were accordingly assigned a tag (Table 1). We then performed the χ^2 test ($\alpha = 0.05$) of the 21 combinations that all eventually registered a *p*-value far less than 0.05, except for one (i.e., 7d vs. 7g ; $p > .05$).

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[22] See Traugott and Trousdale (2013) for dimensions of construction (size, specificity, and concept).

[23] Those that insisted that *bèi* not be syntactically dropped.

[24] Those that insisted that *bèi* not be syntactically dropped.

[25] To eliminate confusion, we did not use "martyr" for this purpose or in free translation as the word can be used as a transitive verb in English. For instance, "*he was martyred*" is a grammatically well-formed sentence as opposed to "*he was heroed*".

[26] For instance, "he is praised" (7d) and "he is dissuaded" (7g).

Table 1 Questions 7a-g

Table 1: Questions 7a-g	Options				Frequency (%)
7 a [Context]: Someone served his time and just got released from the prison.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	shìfàng[V$_{trans}$] release	le PERF	a. He got released. (Rls): 23%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	zìyóu[N/ADJ] freedom	le PERF	b. He got freedomed.* (Fr*): 61%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 16%
b [Context]: Some people stood up against the corrupt property developers before they were later found dead for no good reason.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	zìshā[V$_{intrans}$] suicide	le PERF	a. He got suicided.* (Sc*): 73%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	móuhài[V$_{trans}$] murder	le PERF	b. He got murdered. (Mrd): 21%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 6%
c [Context]: A crucial eyewitness just disappeared and no one has since been able to find him in anyway.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	bǎngjià[V$_{trans}$] kidnap	le PERF	a. He got kidnapped. (Knp): 14%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	shīzōng disappear[V$_{intrans}$]	le PERF	b. He got disappeared.* (Dp*): 80%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 6%
d [Context]: Someone didn't participate in the rescue operation only to find himself glorified in the newspapers as a hero the next day.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	lièshì/yīngxióng[N] martyr/hero	le PERF	a. He got heroed.* (Hr*): 70%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	zànměi[V$_{trans}$] praise	le PERF	b. He got praised. (Prs): 23%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 7%
e [Context]: Someone got no part in the unethical project, but his boss wanted him to take full responsibility for it.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	xiànhài[V$_{trans}$] set.up	le PERF	a. He got framed. (Frm): 16%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	rènzuì[V$_{intrans}$] plead.guilty	le PERF	b. He got pleaded guilty.* (Gt*): 77%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 7%
f [Context]: All the grade students in a specific school were required to "volunteer" to donate 200 US dollars regardless of their family financial status.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	zìyuàn[V$_{intrans}$] volunteer	le PERF	a. He got volunteered.* (Vl*): 78%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	qiǎngpò[V$_{trans}$] force	le PERF	b. He got forced. (Frc): 19%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 3%
g [Context]: Someone had tried hard to fight graft and corruption until he suddenly decided to withdraw from it all.	a.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	héxié[N] harmony	le PERF	a. He got harmonied.* (Hn*): 78%
	b.	Tā 3SG.NOM	bèi PAS	quàntuì[V$_{trans}$] dissuade	le PERF	b. He got dissuaded. (Dsd): 11%
Which expression sounds more ironic?	c.	Neither is irony.				c. Neither is irony. (Nil): 11%

Approximately 95.24% of the results rejected H_0; thus, the 7 variables (7a-g) are highly associated with each other. That is, the asterisk-marked B2 expressions have behaved toward a similar distribution, given potential semantic variation between any two lexical items in the B2 construction. To further visualize how the variables are related, we plotted them on an MCA map.
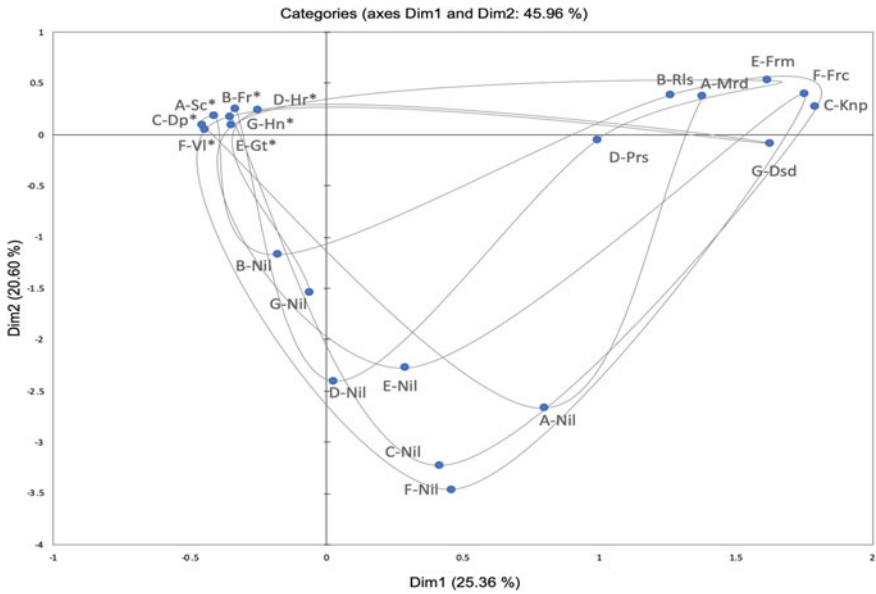
Fig. 1 MCA (Sactter chart)

As seen in Figure 1, the dataset is schematized in three major areas where B2 constructs ([$bèi$ + $V_{intrans}$/N/ADJ]) have more tightly clustered together near the upper left corner than their counterpart B1 constructs ([$bèi$ + V_{trans}]), which are clustered in the upper right corner. It is also readily understandable that the Nil-points have more extensively, albeit loosely, spread across the middle-to-lower area of the chart due to their low frequency counts. In this case of MCA, the tightly packed cluster of the B2 constructs indicates a stronger force attraction among its members than those of the B1 constructs and the Nil-points. While the χ^2 test confirms the associative (dependent) relationship among the 7 variables, the MCA further attests to the correlation between different clustered groups. This suggests with well-founded statical evidence that the B2 expressions are a saliently more preferable construction (73.81%) for communicating an ironic thought than B1 expressions (18.25%) or the Nil-group (7.94%). Questions 7 h-j further provide more insight into the speaker's intention (see Table 2).

While some of the responses are inconsistent, overall, the results have painted a rather consistent picture. That is, 80% of the respondents think that B2 expressions are ironic, 61% think that B2 expressions call attention to a specific event (Table 2), 91% think that B2 expressions tend to collocate with a negative context (Table 3), and 64% think that B2 expressions are more likely to occur in the news category of political corruption and scandals (Table 4).

Table 2 Question 7h

Table 2: Question 7h	Options		Frequency (%)
7 h [A multiple-*response* question] Why did you choose to use B2 (e.g., *to be disappeared) expressions over their B1 counterparts (e.g., to be kidnapped) for a given context?	a.	B2 sounds more *polite* (less direct).	7
	b.	B2 sounds more *ironic*.	**80**
	c.	B2 sound more *fun*.	18
	d.	B2 sounds more *formal*.	7
	e.	B2 *calls attention* to a specific event.	**61**
	f.	None of the above options.	2

Table 3 Question 7i

Table 3: Question 7i	Options		Frequency (%)
7 i [A multiple-choice question] Which context below do you think the B2 expressions tend to appear in?	a.	Positive context.	9
	b.	Negative context.	**91**
	c.	Neutral context.	0

Table 4 Question 7j

Table 4: Question 7j	Options		Frequency (%)
7 j [A multiple-response question] Which news category (news topic) do think B2 expressions are most likely to appear in?	a.	Celebrity and entertainment.	12
	b.	Political corruption and scandals.	**64**
	c.	Weather forecast.	1
	d.	Business (commercial)	6
	e.	Sports.	1
	f.	Education.	4
	g.	None of the above options.	12

4.3 Section IV: B2 Irony (II)

This section (Table 5, 8a-f) consists of 6 questions that are sorted into 3 pairs (8a/8b, 8c/8d, 8e/8f). A *bèi* sentence is found in one question of each pair of questions; it is accompanied by a contextual description (provided in brackets) based on which the sentence is evaluated for irony (8b, 8d, 8f). In contrast, no such description is provided the same sentence in the other question (8a, 8c, 8e). All 6 sentences come with transitive verbs as their predicates and are patterned on B1. That is, under normal circumstances, a native speaker is expected to derive only the literal, non-ironic reading of any of the sentences provided. Note that earlier studies have excluded transitive verbs from B2 expressions (2.3). Each question is given two answer options: (a) NO, this is not irony, and (b) YES, it carries a sense of irony. The former signifies a respondent's general ability to process the literal reading

Table 5 Questions 8a-f

Table 5: Questions 8a-f	Options	Frequency (%)		
8 a Wang bèi tóuzī le wǔbǎiwàn Wang PAS invest PERF five.million Five millions dollars was invested in Wang's business. ———	a. **NO, this is not irony.** b. **YES, it carries a sense of irony.**	NO	65	64.44% A-Nil
		YES	35	35.56% A-IR
b Wang bèi tóuzī le wǔbǎiwàn Wang PAS invest PERF five.million Five millions dollars was invested in Wang's business. [*Wang is forced to make an investment in someone's business.*]		NO	12	11.11% A-Nil
		YES	88	88.89% A-IR-*
c Zuótiān Lee bèi fǎngwèn le yesterday Lee PAS interview PERF Lee was interviewed yesterday. ———	a. **NO, this is not irony.** b. **YES, it carries a sense of irony.**	NO	87	87.78% B-Nil
		YES	13	12.22% B-IR
d Zuótiān Lee bèi fǎngwèn le yesterday Lee PAS interview PERF Lee was interviewed yesterday. [*Lee didn't attend the press conference but his name was found on the list of the interviewed.*]		NO	14	14.44% B-Nil
		YES	86	85.56% B-IR-*
e Lǎoyán bèi kuājiǎng le Lǎoyán PAS praise PERF Lǎoyán was praised. ———	a. **NO, this is not irony.** b. **YES, it carries a sense of irony.**	NO	90	90.00% C-Nil
		YES	10	10.00% C-IR
f Lǎoyán bèi kuājiǎng le Lǎoyán PAS praise PERF Lǎoyán was praised. [*Lee had never been praised by Lǎoyán, but claimed that Lǎoyán spoke highly of him.*]		NO	23	22.22% C-Nil
		YES	77	77.78% C-IR-*

(expected) while the latter his/her competence for deriving a context-induced ironic reading (unexpected) based on the same B1 expression.

To verify our claim that B2 may also subcategorize a transitive verb when licensed by context, we re-sorted this section into two groups (A: 8a/8c/8e; B: 8b/8d/8f) and re-labeled all the questions (Table 5). Similarly, we permuted members of the 2 groups for the χ^2 test and chalked up p-values demonstrably less than 0.05 (rejecting H_0) and performed an MCA to investigate the correlation between the two groups.

As seen in Figure 2, all the values marked with "-Nil" (without irony) have fallen on the lower side of the chart while those with "-IR" (with irony) are clustered on the upper end. As sentences 8b/8d/8f (IR) are given a context to prompt, and have indeed induced, an ironic reading, it can thus be concluded that the B2 construction can also subcategorize transitive verbs if and only if a proper context is provided to create a contrast between an expected literal reading (B1: construction-coerced) and an unexpected ironic reading (B1: context-induced). In other words, context may overshadow the constructional constraints that are known to feed into an individual's interpretation of an utterance. Note that sentences 8b/8d/8f all come with an ironic reading because their contextual descriptions have hinted at the agents' non-volitional acts of doing something, whether it be positive, negative or neutral.
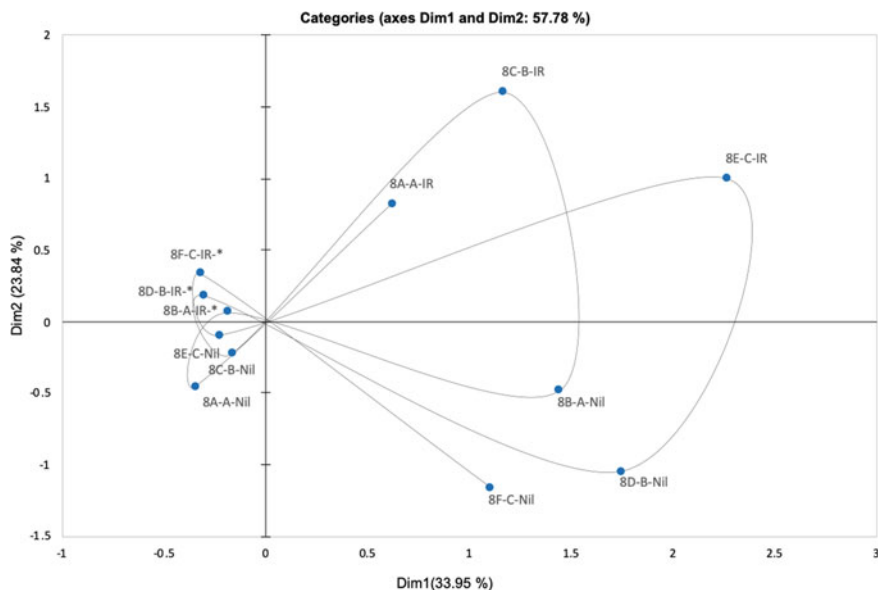
Fig. 2 MCA (Scatter chart)

4.4 Section V: B3 (Variant of B2)

If B2 could top the list of the Internet's most popular expressions in China, then B3 would definitely be viewed as the most bizarre one of all the passive constructions in modern Mandarin. The difference between B2 and B3 is that the former features a regular *bèi* passive patterning [*bèi* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N] while the latter features the following *bèi* patterning: [*bèi* + *bèi* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]. In fact, at least 45% of all the respondents[27] reported their full comprehension of the B3 passive patterning, although their receptivity to B3 requires further investigation. Some of the respondents (55%) considered B3 expressions to be more fun (and funnier) than B2 expressions; 52% thought that B3 expressions were more creative, and 47% thought they were more powerful. Although it was not possible to directly ask the respondents to determine the degree of passivity[28] of the B2/B3 expressions, their responses highlighted one important fact about language. That is, even if a trendy or "cool" expression (e.g., B2) has spread as fast as famous advertising slogans (e.g., *Just do it*, *Diamonds are forever*, etc.), the expression's effects could wear off over time, which gives rise to the emergence of replacement expression(s) like B3. But then, why the double-*bèi* construction?

By re-bracketing the B3 alignment from [*bèi* + *bèi* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N] to [*bèi* + [*bèi* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]], we argue that the extra *bèi* marker has

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[27] Note again that 91% of the respondents fall in the age bracket of 20–29.

[28] Our participants had not received any linguistic training prior to the survey.

emerged to re-foreground the passivity level of B2. This re-segmentation may sum up several facts about B2. First, the passive marker (*bèi*) and the passivized items (V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N) have lexicalized as one unit, despite its formal passivity, to represent a given idea (e.g., the socially-constructed notion of *bèizìshā*). Second, this lexicalized unit ([*bèi* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]) has lost some degree of affectivity or expressivity due to overuse of the construction, which gives rise to the emergence of an extra *bèi* to restore B2's passivity status—therefore, B3. The double-*bèi* strategy supports our earlier finding that modern *bèi* expressions (B1/B2/B3) nonetheless prefer adversative events. To conclude, the B3 passive is an idiosyncratic variant of B2 and they have both emerged out of a speaker's need to signal an ironic intention. More interestingly, B3 is the only passive construction in Mandarin Chinese that employs two passive markers (i.e., *bèi bèi*). It should be noted, however, that the two *bèi* markers must not be seen as one unit. In [*bèi* + *zìshā*], *bèi* is argued to passivize *zìshā* while in [*bèi* + [*bèi* + *zìshā*]], the first *bèi* functions to passivize [*bèi* + *zìshā*].

We indeed included Section VI in the questionnaire as a dummy test against B3 using an invented B4 construction—[*bei* + [*bei* + [*bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]]]. This dummy triple-*béi* patterning received an obvious rejection from our respondents. In fact, 59% reported their failure to understand the triple-*bèi* expressions, 18% complained about the peculiar redundancy of *bèi*, and 9% found them funny and interesting. Although 12% of the respondents confirmed their high receptivity to the invented construction, we do not regard their responses as valid evidence for accepting the [*bei* + [*bei* + [*bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]]] construction because it is a dummy model.

5   Conclusion

Adopting the usage-based approach to the Chinese *bèi* passive, the study conducted an online questionnaire survey to investigate how the *bèi* passive has evolved from the orthodox form (B0) and translationese (B1) forms to the emergent ironic constructions of B2 and B3 in modern Mandarin. Based on our qualitative research and statistical analysis using Pearson's chi-square test of independence and MCA, we found that the B2 construction accommodates intransitive verbs, adjectives, and nouns, as well as transitive verbs when used in a proper context. That is, although the interpretation of a *bèi* expression is often subjected to certain constructional constraints, context, if properly manipulated, may serve to unbind it, particularly in a case of irony. We have also argued for the re-segmentation of B2 from [*bei* + *bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N] to [*bei* + [*bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]] because the emergence of B3 must be promoted by a speaker's cognitive-pragmatic need for communicating an ironic thought. That is, the part of [*bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N] in the B3 construction ([*bei* + [*bei* + V_{trans}/$V_{intrans}$/ADJ/N]]) should be viewed as a complete unit reflecting some conventionalized and socially-constructed concept

(e.g., *bèizìshā*) rather than a regular instance[29] of B2. The B3 construction serves to maintain the passivity status that, to some extent, has been compromised or "bleached" (see Traugott & Trousdale, 2013) in its B2 counterpart.

In fact, with a proper context, B0 and B1 may also function as an ironic construction. More interestingly, we have also discovered that the other Chinese parts of speech (i.e., conjunctions, prepositions, interjections, etc.) may also take part in the B2/B3 constructions, although these cases are comparatively rare and fall outside the scope of the study. To expand this research, future studies may focus on, but not restricted to, the following questions. How will the ironic constructions (B2/B3) evolve over time toward lexicalization or grammaticalization? How have social-cultural factors fed into the grammatical constructionalization of the Chinese *bèi* passive? Why is the *béi* passive a good, if not perfect, construction for communicating an ironic thought?

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[29] A B2 expression is employed to index a socially construction notion but this same notion may not have been conventionalized.

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