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Contents

NATASHA STOJANOVSKA-ILIEVSKA[1]
Ss Cyril and Methodius University,
Skopje, North Macedonia
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1221-0999

Information packaging strategies serving the communicative needs of speakers

Abstract. This paper presents the findings of a study of diverse information packaging strategies employed by speakers of English to better serve their communicative needs in given contexts, based on examples from the British National Corpus (BNC). More precisely, the analysis centres around the information packaging possibilities offered by light verb constructions (LVCs) in comparison to their full verb counterparts. As is conventionally recognised in previous studies, LVCs formally stretch the predicate over a verbal and a nominal element (e.g. to order vs to give an order). It is precisely this fact that makes it possible for speakers to structure their utterances in various ways. Thus, either all participants are overtly realized in the sentence and the communicative focus could be placed on each one of them depending on the context, or some participants are reduced, which is the preferred strategy when their identity is implied, unfamiliar, irrelevant or would rather be concealed.

Keywords: information packaging, information structure, light verb constructions, full verbs, argument structure.

1. Introduction

This paper presents the findings of a study of diverse information packaging strategies employed by speakers of English to better serve their communicative needs in given contexts, based on examples from the British National Corpus (BNC). More precisely, the analysis centres around the information packaging possibilities offered by light verb constructions (LVCs) in comparison to their full verb (FV) counterparts. The study aims to identify the variations in information structuring across several subcategories of LVCs

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1 Address for correspondence: Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, bul.Goce Delcev 9a, Skopje 1000, North Macedonia. E-mail: n.stojanovska@flf.ukim.edu.mk

and to discuss the contextual and pragmatic reasons that could have potentially motivated the arrangement of sentence constituents in specific examples. The topic is important as the fairly fixed word order of English leaves little room for reordering of constituents, so addressing this issue in the context of LVCs alleviates this inflexibility to a certain degree. This paper differs from other studies in that it is entirely devoted to the exploration of information packaging possibilities vested specifically in the LVCs with give.

As is conventionally recognised in previous studies, LVCs formally stretch the predicate over a verbal and a nominal element (e.g. to order vs to give an order; to explain vs to give an explanation). The term reserved for the verbal component is a light verb (LV) (Jespersen 1942: 117; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 290), which is suggestive of the fact that these verbs are to some extent semantically bleached. Light verbs that commonly occur in LVCs are make, do, give, have, take, etc. This study investigates only the LVCs with give, as this verb enters a ditransitive sentence pattern and could potentially offer greater versatility in terms of sentence structure compared to the monotransitive light verbs. Some linguists restrict their definition of light verb constructions to include only those instances of LVCs where the nominal component is a product of verb to noun conversion (Jespersen 1942; Wierzbicka 1982; Dixon 2005). The interpretation adopted in this paper is broader and is in agreement with the views according to which the nominal component in LVCs is a deverbal noun, irrespective of whether it is a product of conversion or derivation (Quirk et al. 1985; Brugman 2001; Allerton 2002; Algeo 2006). Semantically, it denotes an action or a process, i.e. it is nomen actionis as suggested by Topolińska (1982: 39) and Allerton (2002:115), but it could also denote a completed act, in which case it corresponds to nomina acti (Topolińska 2003: 91) or it could even have an objectified interpretation. Oftentimes, LVCs can be paraphrased with the corresponding full verbs (e.g. to make a contribution vs. to contribute), even though these two structures are by no means absolutely synonymous. Some features of the English LVCs cannot always be adequately conveyed with the corresponding full verbs, such as the adjectival premodification of the noun within the LVCs, the aspectual meaning of LVCs when the deverbal noun is preceded by an indefinite article (Brinton 2011: 568), or the distinction between a single occurrence and multiple occurrences of the action denoted by the deverbal noun.

The specific bipartite structure of the LVCs makes it possible for speakers to structure their utterances in various ways, by focusing, reducing and arranging constituents in line with the demands of a particular situation. This is where the significance is information packaging is brought to the forefront. With LVCs speakers do not simply convey the propositional content of their utterances, but they employ versatile sentence patterns to formulate and frame their thoughts in a manner that is context-dependent. In addition, by adjusting the structure of their verbal messages to a specific context,

speakers demonstrate understanding of and sensitivity to the prior knowledge of the addressee and to what had previously been mentioned in the discourse.

2. Literature review

There is a plethora of different views among linguists regarding sentence information structure. Yet, on the whole, linguists are unanimous that, to a certain degree, the linear sequence of constituents is governed by what is known/unknown to the participants in a given context. These ideas were first presented by the Prague School in the 1920s, and their practical application has been the topic of much debate ever since (Erteschik-Shir 2007).

The distinctions between topic-comment, theme-rheme, given-new, (back)ground-focus play a pivotal role in sentence information structure (Vallduvi & Engdahl 1996; Erteschik-Shir 2007). Over time these have been used with slight variations among linguists, but essentially all these ideas can be condensed into two major models: (a) ones that divide the sentence into ground and focus, and (b) others that divide the sentence into topic and comment (Vallduvi & Engdahl 1996: 462). Different as they might seem, there is still a partial overlap between these binary concepts. This is why they could be regarded as complementing each other, rather than as being isolated sets of primitives.

The term information packaging was first introduced by Chafe in 1976 and was later used to refer to "a structuring of sentences by syntactic, prosodic, or morphological means that arises from the need to meet the communicative demands of a particular context or discourse" (Vallduvi & Engdahl 1996: 460) and "the way that utterances are formulated to fit into the communicative situation as a whole, including the speech participants, the extra-linguistic context and the linguistic co-text" (Grenoble 1998: 3-4). Smit (2010) considers information packaging to be one of the three subdomains of information structure, alongside referent management and cohesion management. In principle, information packaging deals with alternative sequencing of constituents in sentences, such that does not alter the propositional content of sentences. These differently-structured sentences are not interchangeable in just any context. As a matter of fact, it is the actual context that determines which alternative would be felicitous in a given situation and which one would be considered less acceptable or unacceptable.

Finally, to relate this discussion of information packaging to light verb constructions that will be used to illustrate this concept, according to Topolińska (1982: 36-37), LVCs offer the possibility for an alternative thematization of the two components, which is closely related to the altered communicative hierarchy of arguments. Sentences with FVs and LVCs may be informationally equivalent, but their structural difference has major significance for the participants in the speech act and for the discourse in general. All this becomes even more important having in mind the fact that English has a relatively fixed word order, governed by the syntactic functions of the sentence constituents. This is why the structural difference between LVCs and the corresponding

FVs should not be equalled to a mere variation in the ordering of constituents on a sentence level, but its importance should also be acknowledged on a broader discourse plane, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.

There have been several studies thus far that have sought to explore to a greater or lesser degree, information packaging in the context of English LVCs. Quirk et al. (1985), for example, analyse some types of LVCs from the viewpoint of communicative dynamism, while the study of composite predicates by Brinton (1996) builds on their observations. In her analysis of several different types of multi-word verbs, Claridge (2000) uses the term "syntactic spreading" to refer to the phenomenon of LVCs (or verbo-nominal combinations in her terminology) shifting "(parts of the) verbal predication to more prominent sentence positions" (Claridge 2000: 41-42). By providing inner passive fronting examples she illustrates the syntactic flexibility of LVCs. There was also a contrastive study by Dušková (2012) which compares English LVCs and their Czech translation equivalents with occasional references to the similarities and differences between them in terms of their information structure.

3. Research methodology

This study is based on the British National Corpus (BNC), which is a corpus of original English texts that contains around 100 million words and is restricted in time between 1980 and 1993. One reason for this choice is that LVCs are not encountered frequently in texts, which is especially true if we focus on LVCs with a specific verb. Also, as is widely known, LVCs are typical for the spoken language, but also for the academic and administrative style. Thus, another reason to opt for the BNC was the fact that it includes material from spoken language (transcribed for easier search) and texts from different functional styles. The content of this corpus is distributed among several categories: spoken language, fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic texts and more.

My research proceeded in several stages: selection of LVCs to be analysed, search for these LVCs in the corpus, and finally, qualitative data analysis. Each of these research phases will now be briefly addressed.

The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English, the Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English and LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations were all used in the process of selection of English LVCs with give. The motivation behind my decision to analyse information packaging strategies through the LVCs with give lies in the fact that give, as a ditransitive verb, opens up more possibilities in terms of rearrangement of constituents than monotransitive verbs. Only such LVCs were selected that included a deverbal noun within their structure, regardless of whether this noun was a product of conversion or derivation. Then the LVCs were searched in the BNC.

A total of seventy-eight different LVCs were searched in the BNC. By comparing LVCs registered in the BNC with the parallel constructions with the corresponding FVs,

various reasons for the existence of LVCs were investigated when there are near-synonymous FVs. In this sense, special attention was paid to the possibilities for different hierarchy of the arguments in the LVCs, which is closely related to the information structure of the sentence. Namely, the contextually familiar participants become thematized (usually in sentence initial position), and the new ones are placed towards the end of the sentence, where the information focus of the sentence is. At the same time, the possibility for reduction of the superficially present arguments in the LVCs was investigated, which often proved to be grammatically unacceptable in the constructions with FVs.

4. Results and discussion

This section presents the findings of a study carried out on samples of text from the British National Corpus. For ease of reference this section has been organized into three subheadings, each of which deals with a separate group of light verb constructions with give and the opportunities they offer for information packaging. These three groups of LVCs with give were formed based on the John Newman's (1996: 136-138, 171-176, 201-205) exploration of the different metaphorical extensions in which the prototypical give has evolved over time in cultures around the globe. In a nutshell, the metaphorical extensions of prototypical give that proved to be relevant for this study are as follows:

Group 1 – causative metaphorical extension (give a scream / sigh / yawn / shrug)
Group 2 – metaphorical extension of schematic interaction (give someone a push / wash / hug)
Group 3 – metaphorical extension for interpersonal communication (give someone permission / advice / approval)

Examples from Group 3 were the most prevalent in the BNC. There were more than twice as many instances of LVCs from Group 3 than from Group 1. Examples from Group 2 were considerably fewer compared to those of Group 1. Of all the examples with LVCs with give, for the purposes of this paper only such examples were chosen that could be used to illustrate my points with regard to information packaging. Each example from the BNC is followed by a three-letter text identifier code and a sentence number within brackets.

For each of these separate groups it will be demonstrated how LVCs enhance the expressive possibilities, particularly in terms of information packaging.

4.1 LVCs from Group 1 (**give a scream** / **sigh** / **shrug**)

The established order of the basic sentence constituents in English is SVO (subject – verb – object) and consequently, other language structures tend to somehow fit into this predominant model. This could be one of the possible motivations for the appearance of LVCs in which the nominal component is derived from an intransitive verb. Namely,

sentences in which an intransitive full verb is used are not completely consistent with the SVO model. Therefore, in such cases, the predication is stretched over two constituent parts: a verbal part represented by a LV and a nominal part in the position of a direct object, reserved for the nominalization derived from the intransitive verb. In this way, the requirements of the canonical word order in English are met, i.e. the sentence contains three basic elements in the SVO order. This is illustrated with examples (1a) and (1b), where example (1a) contains the intransitive FV sigh, while example (1b) contains the LVC give a sigh, which fits the SVO word order.

> 1a. Elizabeth sighed. (C98 1299)
> 1b. Elizabeth gave a sigh. (C98 952)

Brinton (1996: 196) claims that verbal elements in English are usually not focused, nor are they carriers of sentence stress. Sentence stress usually falls on the last basic structural element in the sentence, so a simple construction of the subject-predicate type (He walked) sounds incomplete. Similarly, the verb is not expected to be the carrier of the maximum communicative dynamism in the sentence, but to form a transition between the low level of communication dynamism of the theme and the high level of communication dynamism of the rheme (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401). Thus, by stretching the predicate in LVCs simple intransitive structures are avoided (Quirk et al. 1985: 751, 1401). LVCs also allow emphasis to be placed on primarily verbal content, which in LVCs is expressed through a deverbal noun in DO position.

From the aspect of the functional sentence perspective, a function of the indefinite article is to introduce the rheme into the sentence structure, so that in LVCs it signals the nucleus of the sentence, i.e. it allows the action (profiled in the deverbal noun) to be placed in the sentence rheme position, as in (1b).

4.2 LVCs from Group 2 (**give someone a push / wash / hug**)

LVCs with give from this group enable the conceptualization of an event (for which there are two participants in the full verb construction) as a transfer of energy from the first participant to the second participant. Thereby, a third participant is introduced in the LVC, and that is physical energy, as a created participant in the position of a DO. This becomes clear if we compare sentences (2a) and (2b), which can both be used to describe the same event of punching, the difference being that in (2a) the event is conceptualized with two participants - an agent and a patient, while in (2b) the event is conceptualized as a transfer of physical energy from an agent to a recipient, i.e. three participants are involved in it.

2a. A few years ago he punched me … (CDG 1381)

2b. He gave me a punch… (KD9 849)

2c. * He gave a punch to me.

As for the information structure, these LVCs allow us to place primarily verbal content in the focus, formally expressed through a deverbal noun in DO position, while the recipient in the position of IO, as a less important element, is usually coded with a pronoun, which is demonstrated in example (2b). An alternative with an analytical dative construction is not acceptable (2c), because in that case the focus would be on the second participant, and in English there is already a construction to focus on the second participant, and that is the construction with FV in example (2a).

Newman (1996: 206) considers that generally the use of the analytical dative construction suggests that the effect of the verb action on the recipient is weaker, compared to the situations where the recipient is stated immediately after the verb. In this sense, the very preference of the word order S-V-IO-DO in the LVCs from this group, indicates a certain degree of affectedness of the argument in IO position from the action denoted by the verb, although this argument is essentially conceived as a recipient of the physical energy.

In a similar vein, following the interpretation by Quirk et al. (1985: 1396), Brinton (1996: 197) maintains that in (3a) the focus would be on the activity, and in (3b) the focus would be on the argument in IO position. But because give a kiss, unlike the simple verb kiss, is a structure explicitly created to focus the action, (3c) is preferred to (3b) when the focus should be on the recipient. Brinton (1996: 197) adds that unlike (3b), (3d) focuses on Marie while emphasizing kissing, and that unlike (3a), (3e) focuses on the kissing while emphasizing Marie. The last two examples with a marked focus mainly serve to achieve contrast.

3a. He gave Mar*ie* a k*í*ss.

3b. ? He gave a kiss to Mar*íe*.

3c. He kissed Mar*íe*.

3d. He gave Mar*íe* a kiss (not Diane).

3e. He gave a k*í*ss to Mar*ie* (not a hug).

4.3 LVCs from Group 3 (give someone permission / advice)

LVCs from Group 3 are conceptualized as a transfer of a verbal message from an agent to a recipient. They can undergo passivization and actually appear in the passive voice quite commonly, which is not the case with LVCs from Groups 1 and 2. The very possibility for passivization indicates that the status of the nominalization in DO position in these LVCs is different compared to the LVCs from Groups 1 and 2. It seems that in LVCs

from Group 3 passivization is possible due to the fact that the semantics of the nominalization within the LVCs has diverged from the meaning of an ongoing process/activity to a certain extent, and has acquired a more resultative or even an objectified interpretation. In other words, sometimes nomina actionis semantically evolve in the direction of nomina acti (Topolińska 2003: 91).

In some cases, the nominalization in the LVCs of this group has become so objectified that it is perceived as a participant with a (concrete or abstract) referent in the world around us. In this sense, such LVCs resemble ditransitive constructions in which the accusative argument is an indefinite noun denoting a concrete material object, as in: She gave him a book / an apple / a CD. However, what separates LVCs from these ditransitive constructions is the possibility of a close paraphrase with the corresponding FV. For example, The policeman gave him an order to slow down has a close paraphrase in The policeman ordered him to slow down. So, the NP in DO position in the former sentence resembles an argument (the possibility for passivization confirms that), but it still has a notable predicative thread. Because of this, it seems acceptable to regard this NP as a quasi-argument (Vincze & Csirik 2010: 1111).

The analysis has shown that in these LVCs the dative argument can be advanced to the subject position, as in example (4), but also the accusative quasi-argument, as in examples (5a), (6a) and (7a).

4. Charlie couldn't remember when he had last been given an order, let alone obeyed one. (K8T 445)

With regard to the passivization by advancement of the accusative quasi-argument, we notice several different situations that are related to the number of superficially present arguments, all of which are presented in items A-C below.

A) *All three participants in the transfer are overtly realized*
In example (5a) the author opted for the LVC give permission in the passive voice for several reasons. In journalistic texts, it is of vital importance that the texts are informative, precise and concise. Knowing that topicalization is used as a means of introducing a familiar element into the discourse, from the topicalization of permission we understand that the permission refers to the aforementioned conversion of a music store into a betting shop and therefore there is no need to repeat that fact. The communicative focus is on the other two NPs (denoting the recipient and the agent), which is why they are presented as new elements in the discourse within the rheme.

5a. A former music and video shop in Alton High Street is to become a modern betting office. Permission was given to Coral Estates Ltd. by planners at East Hampshire District Council... (C88 154-155)

If the FV permit was used, whether in the active or the passive voice, in order for the sentence to be grammatically correct, an infinitival clausal complement should also be added, such that would specify what the permit is given for, as in examples (5b) and (5c) respectively.

5b. East Hampshire District Council permitted Coral Estates Ltd [to do something].
5c. Coral Estates Ltd was permitted [to do something] by planners at East Hampshire District Council.

However, that would disrupt the dense expression in the text. Firstly, the text would be laden with information that could easily be retrieved from the previous sentence. Secondly, this piece of information, although known, would be in a position typical for the rheme in a sentence, contrary to the rules for a neutral word order. Thirdly, again contrary to the rules for a neutral word order, the sentence would start with new, rather than given information. From this we can conclude that, in certain contexts, the principles of sentence information structure call for the use of LVCs.

B) *Two participants in the transfer are overtly realized and the agent is reduced*
As is common practice in passive constructions, the agent can either be reconstructed from the context, or it is implied or irrelevant.

6a. ... positive encouragement was given to artists 'working in new ways'. (A4A 153)

In contrast to this passivized LVC, in principle it is possible to express the same propositional content with the FV encourage in the passive voice, as in example (6b), as such a variant would also allow the reduction of the agent. However, since the communicative focus of the sentence is precisely the NP artists 'working in new ways', it seems that in this case it is more appropriate to position this NP towards the end of the sentence. This is in line with the principle of end-focus, according to which the constituent that is communicatively most important is placed in final position (Quirk et al. 1985: 1398). This NP can be the communicative focus of the sentence even in an active construction with the FV encourage, as in example (6c), but in this case the realization of the agent in subject position is mandatory.

6b. Artists 'working in new ways' were positively encouraged.

6c. [Someone] positively encouraged artists 'working in new ways'.

So, in this situation a LVC in passive voice is preferred because the LVC makes it possible to focus the recipient while reducing the agent. Also, stylistically, example (6a) is more acceptable than example (6b) in terms of the achievement of a structural balance in the sentence. Namely, in English there is a principle according to which the longer and structurally more complex constituent should be placed in final position (known as the end-weight principle), and this same constituent would be unusual in the position of a subject (Quirk et al. 1985: 1040, 1282, 1398).

C) *Only the quasi-argument in subject position is overtly realized and both the agent and the recipient are reduced*

In a news article on the aftermath of a bomb blast in the Londonderry area, it is not as relevant to name the giver and/or recipient of the warning, as it is to mention the issuing of the warning as a fact, as in example (7a), since the emphasis in the text is placed on the devastation left by the blast.

7a. At 10.30 last night a 300 lb van bomb wrecked the heart of the Co Londonderry. A ten minute warning was given. It was not until daylight broke that the scale of the devastation could be seen. Nearly 20 shops and offices in Broad Street, just off the Diamond, were wrecked. (HJ4 7457-7460)

There is no possibility to formulate a grammatically correct sentence with the FV warn, either in the passive or the active voice, without overtly expressing the recipient of the warning and/or the agent, as can be demonstrated from examples (7b) and (7c), respectively.

7b. [Someone] was warned ten minutes before the bomb wreck.

7c. [Someone] warned [someone else] ten minutes before the bomb wreck.

Therefore, it becomes clear that the use of LVCs is preferred when the agent and the recipient are unknown, when we do not want to reveal their identity, when they are irrelevant or implied from the previous context. Because of this, LVCs are very suitable for the institutionalized administrative style or the journalistic discourse.

Generally, the FV approve requires an object in DO position and a sentence without it would be considered ungrammatical, as is evident from example (8b). LVCs, on the other hand, allow us to reduce the argument in DO position from the construction with the FV, as in example (8a).

8a. The committee reports to the faculty board, and final approval is given by the General Board. (J2C 396)

8b. * ... and the General Board finally approves [something].

An argument originating from the DO position of the FV, evident from example (9b), will still appear on the surface of the text in the corresponding LVC through a PP dependent on the nominalization in the LVC, as in example (9a). Due to its length, the PP for *a series of seven experiments* undergoes extraposition, but still remains an integral (though discontinuous) member of the NP with the nominalization as its head.

9a. ... permission was given for a series of seven experiments... (B7J 1652)

9b. [Someone] permitted a series of seven experiments.

In this section it was demonstrated that LVCs generally offer speakers greater versatility when it comes to information packaging. However, even though with LVCs speakers have various optional frameworks in which they could formulate their ideas, they are still "constrained by a combination of the linguistic packaging conventions of the speech community put together with the need to communicate effectively in a given context" (Leafgren 2002: 76).

5. Conclusion

English LVCs offer diverse information packaging possibilities that speakers can exploit depending on their communicative needs in a particular situation. The first possibility is that all participants are overtly realized in the sentence and the communicative focus can be placed on either one of them depending on the context. Another possibility is that one or two sentence participants are reduced, which is the preferred strategy when the reduced participants are implied, unfamiliar, irrelevant or would rather be concealed. It is precisely because of these information packaging options presented by LVCs that they are sometimes preferred in discourse over their full verb counterparts, and occasionally their use is even required because in certain contexts when some of the participants are reduced, the use of the full verb would yield an ungrammatical sentence.

By providing speakers with the syntactic means to organize their ideas in different ways, light verb constructions also allow them to express their more subtle communicative needs with greater accuracy. As English belongs to the languages "with fewer salient packaging options" (Leafgren 2002: 1) compared to the languages with richer inflectional morphology and a more flexible word order, the contribution of LVCs to information packaging versatility should definitely be acknowledged.

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Natasha Stojanovska-Ilievska is an associate professor at Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, North Macedonia. She is currently teaching undergraduate courses in English Syntax and Academic Writing, as well as a graduate course in Contrastive Linguistic Studies. She has had 25 years of teaching experience and her research interests include syntax, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and contrastive analysis of structures in English and Macedonian.

TATIANA SZCZYGŁOWSKA[1]
University of Bielsko-Biala, Poland
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5051-4080

The lexico-phraseological profile of professional film reviews published by the British media: A corpus-linguistic study

Abstract: Using corpus linguistic techniques, this exploratory study is intended to provide a descriptive insight into frequent lexical bundles, keywords and key terms as well as selected lexical markers of style used in a corpus of professional film reviews. The research material includes 210 domain-specific texts from the years 2020-2021, extracted from the websites of six British newspapers, magazines and institutions offering guides for moviegoers. The results show that the analyzed reviews make frequent use of general cinematic terms and more specific lexis denoting the different types and (sub)genres of cinematic productions represented by the reviewed films. Other salient lexical features include a high concentration of referential but low concentration of stance bundles, though attitudinal items, particularly evaluation adjectives, significantly enrich the lexical inventory of the reviews. The presented data may have important pedagogic applications in the area of teaching authentic English to future film reviewers and film journalists.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, film reviews, keywords, key terms, lexical bundles.

1. Introduction

Film reviews can be defined as short texts which provide basic information about a film, while simultaneously assessing its various merits and weak points. Those written by professional reviewers seem to be particularly interesting to the public, as their authors are usually among the first to see new films. In the US, for instance, eight out of ten viewers declare they consult film reviews when making a film choice (Ford 2014). As Gemser et al. (2007: 44) claim, "film reviews can actively influence consumers in their

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1   Address for correspondence: Akademia Techniczno-Humanistyczna, Instytut Neofilologii, ul. Willowa 2, 43-309 Bielsko-Biała, Poland. Email: tszczyglowska@ath.bielsko.pl

selection process" but they also "forecast whether a movie will become a success or not". The impact of film reviews is thus twofold: they assess the value of a film for audiences, which influences their decision process, and pre-shape opinions about that film, which influences the film's box-office performance.

Topa-Bryniarska (2020: 237) claims that there has been relatively little research so far on the genre of film reviews, though as Bieler et al. (2007: 76) suggest, the genre "has become relatively popular in computational linguistics", which mostly aims to classify "an entire review as either positive or negative". Admittedly, reviews have been studied to establish that the critical ones affect late and cumulative box office receipts, but seem to have no effect on early box office receipts (Eliashberg & Shugan 1997). Reviews have also been reported to be different from pieces of film criticism (e.g. O'Regan & Walmsley-Evans 2015), to have become standardized and taxonomic to the detriment of their essayistic value (Grue 2006), to possess persuasive traits typical of advertising discourse (Topa-Bryniarska 2020) and to be composed of a fixed number of components (Bordwell 1989). It seems that less attention has been devoted to the lexical and phraseological aspects of reviews, though some passing remarks on the language and style of film reviews can be found in Clayton and Klevan (2011), who are critical of larding the texts with superlatives, hyperbole and well-worn adjectives; on multi-word verbs, in Zelenka (2017), who concludes that the written reviews make frequent use of prepositional verbs and the spoken ones rely mainly on phrasal verbs; and on premodification, in Paul (2019), who lists adjectival classifiers and descriptors as the most common types of premodification in film reviews. Added to that is Zheltukhina et al.'s (2020) study of the verbal specifics of American film reviews from the magazines *Esquire* and *GQ*.

This paper aims to identify and examine salient lexical and phraseological units in a specialized corpus of professional British film reviews, attempting to classify these units semantically and functionally as well as to analyze their naturally occurring patterns of use. The focus is on recurrent lexical bundles, keywords and key terms, and additionally, on the high frequency keyword *film* and three lexical markers of style (i.e. *but, why, don't*). It is hoped that the findings of this research will not only offer a better insight into the lexico-phraseological profile of professional film reviews published in the British media, but also provide authentic descriptive data in the area of domain-specific language and style, familiarity with which may be sought for by those studying to become film reviewers, critics or journalists.

2. The film review genre

The film review is a journalistic genre which provides a brief description of a film – usually a new one – and states the reviewer's opinion on it. It is thus subjective in its nature, as the author uses their own "knowledge, taste, artistic familiarity, intellectual level and sensitivity" not simply to evaluate the film, but rather to comment of the film's

merits and weaknesses (Jelonkiewicz 2010: 312, translation mine). Apart from its informative, analytical and evaluative value, the film review also serves as an effective tool of persuasion which can either attract or repel viewers from particular films. The latter is possibly the reason why film reviewers are sometimes considered "as adjuncts of the film marketing process" whose recommendations can contribute to the box office success of movies (McArthur 1985: 81). This seems to be particularly the case with professional reviews, which have been selected as the focus of this study and which are written by trained journalist or professional film critics, not by ordinary members of the audience.

Despite the common goal of providing an accurate summary of a film that helps to understand its meaning and technical virtuosity, according to many scholars, film reviewing should not be confused with film criticism (e.g. O'Regan & Walmsley-Evans 2015; Maras 2020). Generally, reviews are more informative in their nature, as well as more consumer-oriented and sensitive to the audiences' immediate tastes and preferences, whereas pieces of criticism are more elitist in their nature, also in terms of the films chosen for analysis, as well as more concerned with the aesthetic, cinematic and cultural criteria (Holbrook 1999: 148). The former, as forms of journalistic criticism, are usually shorter and reactive, as well as written with the use of more general vocabulary and printed in newspapers; the latter, as forms of scholarly criticism, are typically longer and reflective, as well as written with the use of academic lexis and printed in journals and magazines (see Brown 1978: 32 and Grue 2006: 44). Yet, as Bordwell emphasizes (1989: 21), it is has to be remembered that "film criticism was born from reviewing, and the earliest prototypes of the 'film critic' were journalists charged with discussing, on a daily or weekly basis, the current output of the film industry".

O'Regan and Walmsley-Evans (2015) attribute the rhetorical origin of film reviews to 19th century theatre criticism, which they explain by common circumstances of both art forms, such as "mass circulation daily and weekly publications, national circuits and defined seasons, and an interest in discussion of the object in advance of, and subsequent to, its performance/exhibition". The literature on the topic is less definite about the candidate for the first film review. Iampolski (1998: 58) writes about *New York Times*' "first article on a motion picture", which was the 1909 review of D. W. Griffith's film adaptation of Robert Browning's play *Pippa Passes*, but does not make it clear whether it was actually the first review ever. Roberts (2010: 20), writing about American cinema, points to the *New York Times* anonymous piece from 1896 reporting on the first public exhibition of a film at Koster and Bial's Music Hall in New York. In turn, O'Regan and Walmsley-Evans (2015) claim that in the context of Australian cinema, the very first film review was written even earlier – it reviewed a private screening of Edison Kinetoscope films and was published in 1894 in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. What, however, raises no doubt is that film reviews were first published in newspapers, which made them

function as "a type of journalism", with "a sort of news value" and publication regularity (Bordwell & Thompson 2011: 54-55).

Regarding the formal characteristics of the genre, Bieler et al. (2007: 75) argue that a typical review contains formal and functional elements. The former are characteristic for the genre and include a conventionalized constellation of linearly ordered details, such as the title, the name of the reviewer, list of cast and copyright notice. The latter are closely linked with the communicative goal of the writer whose intention is to present the contents of the film to the reader and offer a personal evaluation, both of which are provided in the main paragraphs of a review. Bordwell (1989: 38) summarizes the typical structure of a review in the following way: "Open with a summary judgment; synopsize the plot; then supply a string of condensed arguments about the acting, story logic, sets, spectacle, or other case-centered points; lace it all with background information; and cap the review by reiterating the judgment". He elaborates further on this issue, adding that the plot summary should highlight pivotal moments without revealing the ending; background information about the film should indicate its genre, source, director, stars and anecdotes about production or reception; whereas the advanced arguments should be concise and compelling, and followed by a clear recommendation.

Depending on the place of publication, film reviews may range in length and detail, as for instance, Bull (2010: 335-336) advises that a typical review should be around 500 word long, whereas Brown (1978: 34) reports that the majority of reviews are between 500 to 1000 words. The latter seems to be true for the reviews analyzed here, which are on average 731.53 word long, with the longest consisting of as many as 1374 words and the shortest, of only 281 words. Some additional details that can be discussed in a review include the cinema's resources (e.g. lightning or camera placement and movement) (McArthur 1985), photographs or trailers of the film (Gemser et al. 2007), or even "prematurely dismissed pictures or those that could not find immediate audiences" (Roberts 2010: 12). What helps the reviewer to cover all essential features of a film are its multiple viewings, accountability to the audience as well as familiarity with the art form reviewed and good writing ability[2].

For a review to be effective, it definitely takes the use of the right language and style. In their analysis of film reviews published in the Esquire and GQ, Zheltukhina et al. (2020: 13) conclude that reviewers rely heavily on nouns (46%) and adjectives (28%) as well as on "epithets, comparisons, metaphors, lexical repeats, homogeneous members of the sentence, various grammatical structures, and other expressive means". Corrigan (2015: 129-134) explains that successful writing about film is largely dependent on

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2   The hints on how to write a film review can be found on websites dedicated to this matter, specifically: How to Write Film Review (n.d.), 9 Tips for Writing a Film Review (2017) and 7 Tips for Writing a Film Review (Nichol 2007-2021).

concreteness, that is, on the accuracy with which a writer linguistically visualizes a film's scenes or sequences. He adds that other rhetorical tools include the skilful use of denotations and connotations, precision of meaning, avoidance of empty words like thing or aspect, employment of a moderate amount of professional terminology, adoption of a tone devoid of sarcasm, irony or blatant humour, finding a balance between a casual and formal voice, restraint in using clichés and repetitions other than those involving key words, reliance on varied vocabulary and sentence structures, remaining economical and focused on the main purpose of the review, which is to inform about and evaluate a film. Topa-Bryniarska (2020: 240-243) also emphasizes that film reviews constitute a form of mock dialogue between the writer and the reader and should, therefore, contain strong evaluative lexis, questions and direct reader appeals.

3. Material and methodology

The present study is part of an ongoing project aimed at disentangling the intricacies of recurrent lexis and phraseology in professional review texts that has so far investigated restaurant reviews published in British and American newspapers (Szczygłowska 2021). Capitalizing on the approach adopted in this earlier work, here the focus is on film reviews published by the British media. In addition to keywords, key terms, and lexical bundles, all of which have been analyzed in the previous work, in this study attention is also devoted to three lexical markers of style (i.e. *but, why, don't*) and the high frequency keyword *film*.

The research material encompasses a specialized corpus of 210 professional film reviews extracted from six British internet websites: the platform *BBC Culture* (BBC), the *British Film Institute website* (BFI), *The Spectator magazine* (TS), and three newspapers: *The Guardian* (TG), *The Telegraph* (TT) and *The Independent* (TI). These sources were selected to ensure that the reviews were authored by film critics and film journalists working as regular columnists, as confirmed by their online profiles, not by ordinary members of the audience. For this reason, however, multiple reviews by the same authors had to be included in the corpus, as the above mentioned media institutions employ a fixed number of professional reviewers. Each source contributed 35 reviews: 15 from the year 2020 and 20 from 2021. The movie genre factor was not considered, similarly as reviews devoted to several films simultaneously. Multiple reviews of the same film (i.e. two reviews – each culled from a different source) constituted only 10 per cent (21) of all the corpus texts, and the remaining 90 per cent (189) were devoted to different films. The corpus size is 153,622 word tokens (18,523 word types), which yields a standardized type/token ratio of 49.64, indicating a reasonably diverse vocabulary (Baker 2006: 52). The small size of the corpus may help to closely "reflect contextual features", thus giving "insights into patterns of language use in particular settings" (Koester 2010: 67). Additionally, the English web 2020 (enTenTen20), containing over 36 billion words crawled from the Internet, was used as a reference corpus.

The research methodology also involved the extraction of frequent lexical bundles (LBs) with the help of WordSmith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2012). The focus was on 4-word sequences[3] occurring at least 4 times in the research corpus. Following Hyland (2008: 8), bundles of this length are more common than 5-word items and represent clearer structures and functions than shorter strings. The initial list included 123 items and was filtered out to remove fragments of film titles (e.g. *A Call to Spy*) and bundles which did not reach the distribution threshold that was set at 4 texts. The remaining 75 bundles were classified into functional (sub)categories, some of which were taken from Biber et al. (2004), while others were created to reflect the specific functions performed by them in the analyzed texts.

Additionally, the analysis involved the extraction of keywords and key terms (i.e. multi-word expressions, typically noun phrases or nominalizations), that is, lexis occurring with unusual frequency in the target corpus, compared to the reference corpus. Such lexical items "provide information about the keyness or specificity of a given corpus in terms of what it is about" (Szudarski 2018: 25). They were identified using Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), with the minimum frequency set at 5, the focus value set at 0.00001 and the keyword attribute defined as word. Considering the relatively small size of the corpus, the criterion of range (i.e. frequency understood as the number of texts an item appears in) was not applied, mainly because some of the items occurred in only one or two corpus texts. This decision was motivated by the belief that if such low-range items were excluded from the analysis, some of the semantic categories to which they were assigned would be reduced to a minimum. This could make that certain interesting aspects of the analyzed reviews would be lost, such as references to film characters or details of the storyline, both of which tend to be unique, often typical of a single film. Yet, to signal that some of the discussed keywords and key terms may possibly be of idiosyncratic nature, those that occurred in only one review were italicized. Top frequency items (by keyness) were scanned to remove proper names, which are often incidental to the analyzed texts (Scott 2012), and compile two refined lists of the most common 100 keywords and key terms. These items were then classified into semantically and functionally related categories of words and terms, typical for the research corpus and its domain, that were developed intuitively after examining the relevant concordances. The discussion of keywords and key terms is supplemented by a closer scrutiny of the grammatical and collocational behaviour of the high frequency keyword *film* and three lexical markers of style: *but, why* and *don't*.

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3 Following the approach adopted by Kim (2013), the apostrophes used for contracted and possessive forms are treated as a separate unit, which means that sequences such as and *there's a* as well as *is the film's* are treated as 4-word bundles.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Lexical bundles

Drawing on the functional typology proposed by Biber et al. (2004), 75 target LBs, totalling 431 tokens, were assigned to three categories: referential, discoursal and expressing stance. These categories were further modified by incorporating more specific subcategories to closely reflect the specificity of the studied film reviews. The LBs were categorized based on their primary functions fulfilled in most of the contexts in which the they occurred.

Referential bundles constitute the largest category comprising 50 items (66.67%), totaling 290 tokens, which were used to convey content by referring to concepts, entities and ideas, as well as their attributes. Referential bundles served seven distinct functions shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Referential bundles in film reviews

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
Identification/focus	81	14	is one of the, one of the most, this is a film, and there's a, the film is a, one of the film, one of the great, is a film that, is the film's, it's one of, then there's the, there's also a, there is also a, 's adaptation of the
Attributes of the film	57	7	of the film's, written and directed by, of the film is, is written and directed, the film doesn't, a film that is, the film isn't
Specifying attributes	56	9	the rest of the, much of the film, a bit of a, in the form of, to the point of, as a kind of, in a state of, is a bit of, of the same name
Referring to the plot	43	9	at the centre of, the centre of the, the film begins with, the story of a, a film about the, at the heart of, film is set in, is based on the, the film is set
Temporal	25	6	at a time when, and a half hour, for the first time, over the course of, two and a half, in the middle of
Location	24	4	in the film's, in a film that, in one of the, into the middle of
Multifunctional	4	1	at the end of

Film reviews are dominated by identification/focus bundles, which help to point out important aspects on which the author wants to elaborate, such as specific film scenes (1) or people involved in filmmaking (2). Some bundles also direct readers' attention to key points, including the reviewed film itself (3), its characters (4) or their character traits (5).

(1) *In **one of the most** affecting scenes, Fern talks to a friend named Swankie, a woman in her seventies in failing health, […]* (BBC_15 Sept 2020)

(2) *But Bong has never made a straightforward film in his life – that's why he's **one of the great** masters of the cinematic game […]* (TI_6 Feb 2020)

(3) ***This is a film** of quiet, cumulative power, which has much to say about serial sexual predators in the Harvey Weinstein mould, […]* (TS_2 May 2020)

(4) ***Then there's the** Park family, settled in a quiet suburban home that's halfway between an art installation and a fortress.* (TI_6 Feb 2020)

(5) *But **there's also a** strange sense of empowerment in Claire's ability to un-write and then re-write her life at will, […]* (TG_12 Apr 2020)

Bundles referring to attributes of the film identify its main filmmakers (6), title (7) or such partly overlapping details as various qualities (8), characteristics (9) and aspects (10).

(6) *The film is **written and directed by** Chinonye Chukwu, a Nigerian-American and the first black woman to win the Grand Jury prize.* (TS_18 Jul 2020)

(7) *The same can be said **of the film's** title: while Fire Will Come suggests a prophecy or a threat, the Galician O que arde simply means "that which burns", […]* (BFI_20 Mar 2020)

(8) ***The film isn't** realistic in the sense that we can say any of it happened, yet it's otherwise intensely realistic.* (TS_27 Mar 2021)

(9) ***The film doesn't** reinvent the spy genre, but uses it effectively, creating suspense and near-misses whenever the Nazis approach.* (BBC_4 Nov 2020)

(10) *A highlight **of the film is** the meet-cute at a friend's wedding between her and Matt […]* (BFI_23 Nov 2021)

Bundles specifying attributes describe various characteristics of the entities mentioned in film reviews, including their type (11), part (12), quantity (13), condition (14), manifestation (15) or some other details (16). Attributive bundles are the most popular referential expressions in the corpus, both in terms of the number of distinct forms ($N = 16$) and their cumulative frequency of use (Freq = 113).

(11) *Waves rapidly descends into a repetitive cycle of black trauma, playing horror **as a kind of** cruel irony.* (TI_16 Jan 2020)

25

(12) *And will **the rest of the** community support her?* (TS_23 May 2020)

(13) ***Much of the film** is shot in natural light, with plenty of sensual close-ups of sweat and grime.* (BBC_2 Sept 2021)

(14) *In fact, no – it simply left us **in a state of** permanent suspense about his fate.* (TT_21 Sept 2021)

(15) *Meanwhile, reality intrudes **in the form of** a nationwide fuel shortage: […]* (TT_30 Dec 2021)

(16) *Alma, his father's housekeeper, even **to the point of** a drunken attempted rape.* (TS_18 Apr 2020)

Bundles referring to the plot indicate various details linked directly with the main events of a film, such as the specific time (17) and location (18) where the story happens or the film's main theme (19), opening scene (20) and background inspiration (21). Interestingly, the bundles at the centre of, the centre of the and at the heart of, which give the impression of referring to location, are also concerned with aspects of the plot, as illustrated by (22) and (23).

(17) ***The film is set** in 1870, as Kidd travels from town to town reading newspapers aloud to groups of people who drop coins in a bucket to hear him.* (BBC_11 Dec 2020)

(18) *The new Disney-Pixar **film is set in** and around an idealised Riviera village, a rustic paradise of trattorias, vineyards, and crumbling town squares with fountains in the middle.*
(BBC_16 Jun 2021)

(19) *Waves is **a film about the** rapid and shocking destruction of an upper-middle-class black family, written and directed by a white man.* (TI_16 Jan 2020)

(20) ***The film begins with** a voiceover from Murray over a black screen.* (BBC_25 Sept 2020)

(21) *Military Wives **is based on the** true story of an ensemble of servicemen's spouses who formed a choir and later enlisted the help of TV choirmaster Gareth Malone.* (TT_25 Feb 2020)

(22) *At **the centre of the** story is Selah's relationship with her young new protégée […]*
(BFI_1 Jun 2020)

(23) *But **at the heart of** the film is the developing relationship between Mahiro and the father she believes is her father but isn't, […]* (TS_4 Jul 2020)

Two less common subcategories of referential bundles include time/place reference. Those tied to the concept of time indicate the duration of a film (24) or refer to particular points in time mentioned in the review, as in (25). In turn, location bundles mark either particular places (26) or more abstract locations, such as the film itself (27), its scenes (28) or even script (29).

(24) *But **over the course of** two hours, the flaws are all too visible.* (BBC_26 Feb 2020)

(25) *It's possible that some more magnetic actors might have helped, but **for the first time,** Marvel's sharp eye for casting has gone awry.* (BBC_24 Oct 2021)

(26) *A lonely, spoilt girl is plonked **into the middle of** a decaying estate, left to explore its corridors and its secrets.* (TI_22 Oct 2020)

(27) *Steadman and Dave Johns are mostly wasted in **a film that**'s less a pleasant meander than a gruelling hike.* (TT_24 Sept 2020)

(28) *Their differences are stated out loud **in the film's** final scene, as they drink and clink glasses.* (BBC_6 Oct 2020)

(29) *The question of what initially compels Robert to consider firing into his own ranks by taking on the case as a class-action suit is never quite crystallised **in the film's script**, [...]* (BFI_26 Feb 2020)

The subcategory of multi-functional bundles comprises only one item, which either indicates location *(like Gatsby mesmerised by the light **at the end of** Daisy's dock)* or time *(film was shot around the city's San Fernando Valley suburbs **at the end of** last year).*

Discourse-organizing bundles include 15 items (20%), totaling 79 tokens, which served two main functions shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Discourse-organizing bundles in film reviews

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
Topic elaboration/ clarification	74	14	but it's a, turns out to be, as well as the, but it's also, out to be a, at the same time, it's just that, on the other hand, or to put it, put it another way, to do with the, to put it another, turned out to be, what to do with
Topic introduction	5	1	when it comes to

The majority of discourse organizers are concerned with topic clarification or elaboration. This may involve paraphrasing the author's opinion about a film (30), making it harsher (31), more argumentative (32) or more detailed (33). An interesting bundle is *at the same time*, which despite its direct reference to time, expands on a topic, as in (34).

(30) *[...] you'll have a fair idea of what to expect from Charlie Kaufman's I'm Thinking of Ending Things. **To put it another** way, you won't really know what to expect at all, because Kaufman's films are always weirder, gloomier, and more unsettling than you might assume, [...]* (BBC_1 Sept 2020)

(31) *This being a Kaufman film, though, nothing is as it should be. It's not that anyone behaves outrageously or threateningly. **It's just that** everything is... wrong.* (BBC_1 Sept 2020)

(32) *It's not as if you get to watch surreal, avant-garde rock operas very often.* **On the other hand,** *you might think that that's for the best.* (BBC_7 Jul 2021)

(33) *The murder scene itself is expectedly horrific,* **but it's also** *short.* (TI_28 Jul 2020)

(34) *It is a testament to Thomasin McKenzie's performance that she manages to maintain a lightness while* **at the same time** *suggesting a woman who could also be slipping into madness.* (BFI_31 Oct 2021)

The subcategory of topic introducing bundles comprises only one item, which serves as a signal implying that the author is about to undertake a new idea, as in (35).

(35) Whatever small contrivances or inconsistencies might dwell in this story of a husband's secrets [...], they melt away as soon as the camera cuts to the face of its star. **When it comes to** convincing an audience that the terror is real, a horror film can try all the tricks in the book [...] (TI_20 Aug 2021)

Stance bundles constitute the least numerous category, with 10 items (13.33%) shown in Table 3, totalling 62 tokens, that have been grouped into four subcategories. They all express attitudes and judgements towards the information presented in film reviews.

Table 3. Stance bundles in film reviews

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
Attitudinal/modality – evaluative	28	4	it's hard to, 't help but feel, it feels as if, it's as if
Epistemic	14	3	I don't know, I'm not sure, may or may not
Attitudinal/ modality – obligation/directive	13	2	don't have to, you don't have
Attitudinal/modality – Ability	7	1	can't help but

It is not surprising that evaluative bundles are the most popular in the research corpus, since one of the main aims of any review is to "evaluate the product" (Blank 2007: 8). Such bundles usually convey attitudes towards the film (36), its story (37) or actors (38).

(36) **It's hard to** *imagine a Terence Davies film that's not deeply personal in some way, [...]* (TT_15 Oct 2021)

(37) *Annette Bening and Bill Nighy star as a British couple whose 29-year marriage has run dry – yet* **it's hard to** *make ourselves care.* (TT_27 Aug 2020)

28

(38) *The actor's so present, so enthralling, that **it's as if** she's beckoned the audience to climb inside another self with her and have a look around.* (TI_1 Oct 2020)

In the subcategory of epistemic stance bundles, two items are personal and serve to express the author's uncertainty regarding some aspects of the film under review, as illustrated by example (39). There is also one bundle that is concerned with possibility (40).

(39) ***I don't know** why Stanfield wasn't nominated for his role.* (TS_13 Mar 2021)

(40) *As for Enrico, he **may or may not** understand the truth about his wife – but we, the audience, understand the terrible irony.* (TG_23 Jul 2020)

Bundles expressing obligation convey the lack of necessity on the part of viewers to do something to gain a specific impression about a film (41), which is also the case with the bundle expressing ability (42).

(41) ***You don't have** to analyse the camera angles or edits to feel that immediacy […]* (BBC_6 Oct 2020)

(42) *[…], this is set in a rural, remote part of the country amid a farming community who are just about getting by but do wear great knitwear, you **can't help but** notice.* (TS_23 May 2020)

4.2. Keywords

Top 100 keywords (in order of keyness), totalling 1978 tokens, were assigned to nine semantic-functional categories shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Semantic-functional categories of keywords in film reviews

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
general cinematic keywords	972	8	screenplay, off-screen, film, voiceover, filmmaking, rereleased, camerawork, big-screen
film (sub)genres	220	7	biopic, thriller, melodrama, dramas[4], psychodrama, romcom, drama

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4 The list was not lemmatized, following Baker's (2004: 355) claim that "a lemma-based analysis may not always be a useful strategy as particular word forms can contain specific collocations or senses that would be lost when combining word forms together."

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
evaluation keywords	215	31	watchable, fascinatingly, enjoyably, dreamlike, disturbingly, undemonstrative, weirdly, hallucinatory, creepy, gripping, queasy, eerily, nightmarish, wistful, likeable, eerie, empathetic, outlandish, blandly, crass,
descriptors	144	18	claustrophobic, cinematic, curdled, traumatised, climactic, slow-burning, sombre, wide-eyed, heavy-handed, well--intentioned, sinewy, glib, self-conscious, real-life, doomed, black-and-white, middle-aged, ripped-from-the-headlines
people in film industry	105	9	writer-director, cinematographer, non--actor, screenwriter, film-maker, co--writer, mime, non-professional
film types	93	6	satire, blockbuster, fairytale, remake, *must-watch,* arthouse
film elements	92	9	lashback, set-piece, monologue, trope, close-up, shoot-out, meet-cute, shtick, backstory
references to a film character	79	4	heroine, protagonist, matriarch, *merpeople*
other	58	8	conceit, *grout,* knitwear, fictionalised, *contrivance,* charisma, clichés, blah-de-blah

The analysis revealed that film reviews are marked by the frequent mention of general cinematic terms, that have been developed for professional and disciplinary needs. The category comprises eight words, including the most frequent content word in the corpus: *film* (905 occurrences in 199 texts). Its direct left-hand modifiers, identified by analyzing the concordances of the noun, serve to evaluate the film (e.g. best, little), refer to its version (e.g. new, latest, previous, first, second), type (e.g. feature, original, debut) or (sub)genre (e.g. horror, political, action, war) as well as to denote its country of origin (e.g. French) or the location of the festival where it premiered (e.g. London, Sundance, Cannes, Venice). In the latter case, the keyword film is actually part of the name of a film festival, as illustrated by example (43).

(43) *Now the film of the play – directed by Regina King (…) – has premiered at the **Venice** Film Festival.* (BBC_8 Sept 2020)

Additional information about the discussed keyword can be obtained by exploring other typical lexico-grammatical patterns in which it is used that are presented in Figure 1. The visualization has been generated using the Word Sketch function of Sketch Engine that summarizes the grammatical and collocational behavior of the selected word. As can be seen in Figure 1, the noun film typically takes be, do, have and begin as its predicates as well as often serves as the object of the verbs make, be, set and shoot. It also commonly functions as the head of such prepositional phrases as of film, in film, film of and film about, takes his and her as its pronominal possessors, and modifies the nouns: version, land and review.
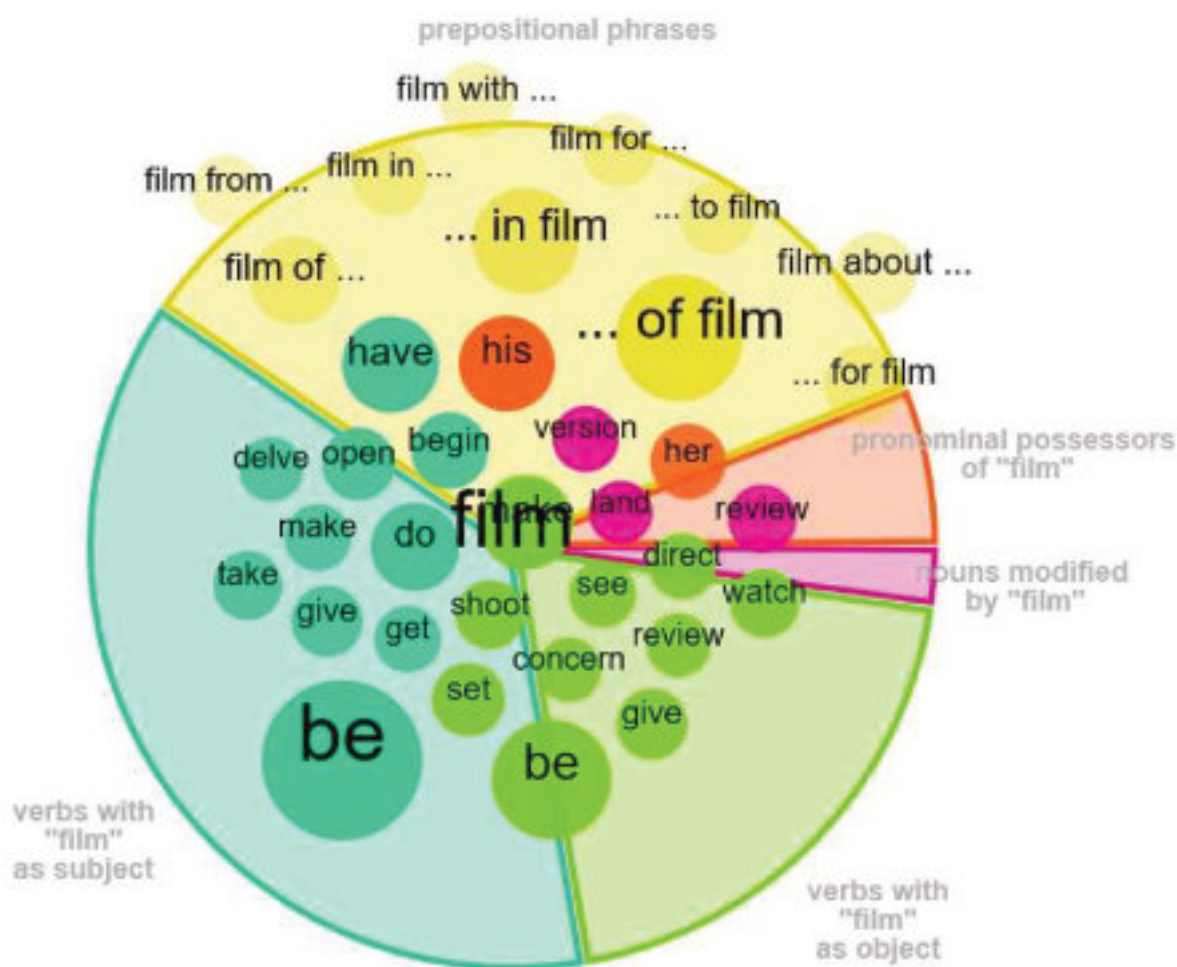
Figure 1. Common lexico-grammatical patterns of the keyword *film* in film reviews

Other clearly domain-specific categories of keywords include film type and (sub) genre that determine the class of cinematic productions to which a given film belongs. What the words denoting film (sub)genres have in common is their close link with the "conventions, iconography, settings, narratives, characters and actors" as well as aesthetic approach, main theme or even the film's audience and emotional response to it (Grant 2007: 2). Two probably less familiar words in this category are biopic and

romcom, where the former is a clipping for a biographical film (44), whereas the latter is a blend for a romantic comedy (45). By comparison, the words classified as film type involve a more general reference, which may be related to the film's artistic form (e.g. satire, fairytale), version (e.g. remake) or merit (e.g. blockbuster, must-watch).

(44) *The Geiger counter is ticking moderately for this forthright **biopic** of Marie Curie, born Maria Skłodowska: [...]* (TG_15 Jun 2020)

(45) *This thin **romcom** rejects meaningful speeches in favour of throwaway comments, but fails to compensate for its lack of profundity with laughter or charm.* (BFI_21 Feb 2020)

Keywords labelled as film element, people in film industry and reference to a film character are also markedly domain-specific. Terms such as cinematographer, film-maker or set-piece, which is a part of a film designed to have an imposing effect, raise no doubts as to their connection with cinematography. In the case of some of the other words this link becomes clear upon a close examination of their context and co-text, as illustrated by the examples below.

(46) *The sensibility of this piece, though, comes more from **co-writer**/director Will Sharpe, a Bafta-winning actor [...]* (TT_30 Dec 2021)

(47) *The film is written and directed by Chinonye Chukwu, [...]. It opens with our **protagonist**, Bernadine (Woodard), preparing for an execution.* (TS_17 July 2020)

(48) *When the other band members accuse him of pandering to the white owner of the studio, he launches into the film's central **monologue**.* (BBC_20 Nov 2020)

Evaluation keywords and descriptors, mainly adjectives, constitute two most diverse, but also relatively frequent categories which comprise terms that despite being universal, give an excellent idea of the lexical variety of the analyzed film reviews. Both sets of keywords refer either to a given film (49), or to its different aspects (50), yet the former convey opinion that is usually positive (51) and only sometimes negative (52), while the latter simply denote some attribute.

(49) *Oscar-winning Chloé Zhao directs the latest Marvel superhero movie, which is **watchable** but ultimately unmemorable.* (BBC_24 Oct 2021)

(50) *Sangok is a **middle-aged**, smartly dressed sometime actress.* (BFI_4 Aug 2021)

(51) *As Otis, Peters is his usual **gripping** presence on screen.* (BBC_10 Jun 2020)

(52) *Indeed, what separates this film from its predecessor is exactly what you'd expect of Hollywood – it's more sensational and, in parts, more emotionally **crass**.* (TI_1 Oct 2021)

The least frequent is the category comprising other keywords, the contextual use of which was too general to assign them to one of the more specific categories. This is best illustrated by example (53), where blah-de-blah is used to mean 'and so on, and so forth', implying simultaneously that those additional details are only chatter rather than something of substance.

(53) *It's now up to Raya to find the last surviving dragon, Sisu (Awkwafina), and heal all divisions and **blah-de-blah** you know the rest.* (TS_6 Mar 2021)

4.3. Key terms

Top 100 key terms (in order of keyness), totalling 447 tokens, were assigned to ten semantic-functional categories shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Semantic-functional categories of key terms in film reviews

Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
film types	113	19	new film, feature debut, debut feature, origin story, live-action remake, directing debut, first film, character study, father-daughter story, first feature, chamber piece, British film, third feature, new adaptation, film of the year, movie in the series, story of a woman, kind of film, directorial debut
film elements	70	16	set piece, opening scene, final act, action scene, third act, action sequence, musical sequence, single scene, opening moments, sex scene, opening shot, plot twist, final scene, plot strands, rest of the film, part of the film
general cinematic key terms	53	11	running time, production design, streaming platform, film review, cinematic universe, awards buzz, visual style, other films, film version, small screen, course of the film
film (sub)genres	49	12	period drama, superhero movie, rock opera, political thriller, war movie, crime thriller, family drama, indie dramas, action movie, political film, horror movie, action film

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Subcategory	Freq	No	Bundle
details of the storyline	50	12	price of milk, inner life, righteous fury, moral panic, second world, black trauma, lakeside retreat, suburban home, police brutality, nuclear holocaust, age gap, holiday park
references to a film character	37	10	male colleague, Russian assassin, young heroine, blackjack player, historical figure, iconic character, leading man, middle-aged woman, young daughter, fashion designer
people in film industry	31	8	director working, exhilarating director, mime artist, production designer, black woman, exhilarating director working today, director working today, first black woman
other	26	8	period detail, grout drama, great knitwear, resonance today, talking heads, working today, skin colour, sort of way
types of acting role	9	2	central performance, lead performance
places related to filmmaking	9	2	recording studio, other studio

Seven of the above categories coincide with those distinguished for keywords, hence the key terms included in these sets mostly record more subtle aspects of the cinematic world. This is particularly noticeable in the category of film (sub)genre, where semantic distinctions are made between different types of drama (e.g. period, family, indie), thriller (e.g. political, crime) or movie (e.g. superhero, war, action). A similar tendency is observed in some other of the shared categories. For instance, regarding film type, details are added to the nouns film (e.g. new, British, of the year), feature (e.g. first, third) or story (e.g. origin, father-daughter, of a woman); regarding film element, mention is made of different kinds of film scenes (e.g. opening, sex, final), sequences (e.g. action, musical) or fragments (rest of the, part of the); regarding reference to a film character, such general words as heroine, figure or character become more specific, owing to their frequent modifiers which are, respectively, young, historical and iconic. The latter mechanism is also visible in the category of people in film industry, where the word director is supplemented with such fine-grained details as working (today) and exhilarating. Other interesting cinematic details can be found in the category of general cinematic key terms, with items referring to the film's duration (e.g. running time,

course of the film), overall look (e.g. production design) or medium through which it is made available (e.g. small screen, streaming platform).

Regarding the three categories of key terms that do not overlap with those applied to keywords, it becomes clear that the cinematic universe depicted in the film reviews under scrutiny would not be made complete without awards buzz for the central or lead performance of actors starring in the directorial or feature debuts filmed in a recording or some other studio. In other words, film reviewing is not simply limited to specifying the film's type or (sub)genre, just as it does not end with devoting some attention to various technical aspects of a film or people responsible for its production. In a captivating film review, the reviewer "reveals the stars, the director, the sets, and the plotline, in addition to his or her own overall assessment of the film—details that can bring viewers to the theaters or cause them to stay away" (Boatwright et al. 2007: 402). Obviously details of the storyline may sometimes involve police brutality, nuclear holocaust or black trauma, but at other times they may be more concerned with something more mundane like the price of milk or a holiday park. In any case, however, film reviewing "should provide some useful entrée into the experience and textual meaning of a movie" (Hodsdon 2001: 145).

4.4. Lexical markers of style in film reviews

Since both keywords and key terms are prominent in the research corpus in relation to a general language corpus (i.e. enTenTen20), they reveal not only what the authors of the analyzed film reviews actually focus on, but also how they formulate their ideas. According to Della Giusta et al. (2021: 77), these items can be thus "considered useful indicators of topics and style". Yet, as Charteris-Black (2012: 154) argues, what actually provides true insight into rhetorical style are those words that relate to "the purpose of explaining and arguing", such as but, why or don't. They were not identified as keywords by Sketch Engine but can be found on the wordlist generated by WordSmith, where but was ranked as high as 15th (1991 tokens), why – 163rd (92 tokens) and don't – 181st (82 tokens).

But is a coordinating conjunction that combines two contrasting ideas and most often appears in the corpus in the pattern but it's/it is (61 tokens). Its role is to build an argument by highlighting the unexpectedness of what is introduced after but in view of what precedes it, as in (54); by softening one, often critical, comment with another, as in (55); or by combining positive and negative comments in one sentence, as in (56).

(54) *Settlers isn't perfect: some of the storytelling beats aren't hit as clearly as they could have been.* **But it's** *a quietly impressive piece of work.* (TG_28 Jul 2021)

(55) *The film feels like a circuitous, effortful mess,* **but it's** *usually deliberate.* (TT_30 Jan 2020)

(56) *This death-row film is certainly a tough watch* **but it is** *also a masterwork.* (TS 18 Jul 2020)

Why helps to create a dialogic style that enables the authorial voice to engage with the readers but also compels authors to respond to their own comments, owing to which they can introduce their own explanations and arguments in support of the expressed opinions (Charteris-Black 2012: 157-160). In more than one third of its occurrences (35 tokens), *why* is used to ask a rhetorical question through which the author tries to persuade some viewpoint while simultaneously attracting the readers' attention by making them think about how they would answer the question. This can be seen in example (57), where the author expresses a critical opinion about the dubbing in a film rather than expects any answer. A more explicit way of promoting the reviewer's own views is illustrated in example (58), where the author rhetorically poses a question to simply answer it in a sentence that follows.

(57) ***Why*** *are the actors so overdubbed?* (TS 25 May 2020)

(58) *You may have noticed that the phrase "the film we need right now" is being thrown around by critics these days on a near-weekly basis.* ***Why?*** *Well, for one thing, we currently need a lot more films than usual: [...]* (TT 20 Oct 2020)

Don't is a contraction of do and not which obviously accompanies many different words in the research corpus, but it is frequently found in the clusters you don't (14 tokens) and I don't (11 tokens). The former phrase is concerned with addressing the readers – often to suggest that the viewer will easily form the same opinion as the reviewer, as in (59). The latter phrase, in turn, "conveys conviction and represents the firm stance of the speaker", which makes it persuasive (Patrick and Hagtvedt 2012: 393). In the corpus, it most often appears in the sequence I don't know, whose role is to declare insufficient knowledge on the part of its user. I don't know is often pragmatically motivated by "a concern to save the face of self and other" that is achieved by averting potential contradictions from addressees (Tsui 1991: 607). The authors of reviews use it to admit their lack of knowledge of some specified matter and simultaneously make a conjecture about it, as in (60), which is achieved owing to the use of but in the same sentence. The sentence seems to convey the reviewer's reluctance to make a definite statement that could easily be put into question by the reader, thus they use I don't know as a kind of hedging device that is meant to soften their opinion so as to avoid potential criticism.

(59) ***You don't*** *have to analyse the camera angles or edits to feel that immediacy.* (BBC 6 Oct 2020)

(60) ***I don't know*** *what the best lyric is but 'Harry, my ginger-haired son, you'll always be second to none' has to be up there.* (TS 9 Oct 2021)

5. Conclusion

This exploratory study employed corpus linguistic techniques to examine the lexico-phraseological profile of professional British film reviews. The results revealed a marked presence of lexis representing general cinematic terms, which is a very frequent category of keywords and key terms, though not particularly diverse. The importance of domain-specific vocabulary for the analyzed text variety is enhanced by the recurrent reference to a number of aspects which make up the cinematic universe, particularly film types and (sub)genres as well as people and locations involved in film production, but also characters, scenes, roles and details of the storyline. This densely woven web of movie vocabulary is linked together by discourse-organizing bundles that facilitate the logical development of argumentation. Film reviewers establish a discursive dialogue with the readers, as part of which they promote their own comments – positive and negative – often indirectly through *whys* and *I don't knows*. It seems that by asking questions which the readers may answer themselves and by admitting gaps in knowledge which potentially may be filled in by the readers, film reviewers attempt to show they are not forcing their own opinions through. Yet, this apparent objectivization of the cinematic experience is implicitly counteracted by a wide lexical range of assessments and evaluations, mostly in the form of adjectives and surprisingly infrequently in the form of longer sequences like stance bundles. It generally seems that reviewers try to embrace the totality of the reviewed films, aiming to help diverse viewers decide whether to see the movie or not, even if they may be inclined to honour "the known proclivities of their audience by anticipating what its members would like and making recommendations accordingly" (Holbrook 1999: 148).

Inevitably, the present study has its limitations. First, somewhat different results might have been obtained with a different reference corpus and sample of film reviews. Second, the semantic-functional categories applied to the analyzed lexis were developed intuitively and thus in a somewhat subjective manner, based on a careful reading of context and co-text, rather than by adopting any potentially existing taxonomies. Third, due to the limited scope of this study, only three lexical markers of style were examined more closely. Despite these shortcomings, the reported findings may have pedagogical implications. They can inform the design of authentic teaching materials for film reviewers, critics and journalists who try to gain expertise in domain-specific vocabulary, phraseologies and persuasion patterns. The investigated lexical means can constitute the focal vocabulary of various activities intended to develop the lexico-phraseological inventory needed to present the nuances of the cinematic arts. Teachers can also instruct novice review writers to analyze texts similar to the ones explored here in order to identify four-word lexical bundles and the discourse functions performed by them. After familiarizing themselves with these salient lexical items, students can then be instructed to write their own reviews and reflect on their own texts to gain a deeper

understanding of the practice of film reviewing. Future research can extend the present study by exploring the co-text of selected lexical items with respect to preferred co-oc-currences and grammatical structures. It could be also worth examining whether the lexico-phraseological profile of film reviews is dependent on the (sub)genre of the reviewed films.

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Tatiana Szczygłowska works at the Institute of Neophilology, University of Bielsko-Biala, Poland, where she lectures on translation theory and text analysis to students of English philology. Her main research and teaching interests lie in linguistics and translation with a special focus on academic discourse and corpus linguistics. She has also conducted studies in the area of students' attitudes to target language culture and pronunciation.

ELINA PALIICHUK[1]
Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan University, Ukraine
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0626-6841

Cognitive "warning signs"in human trafficking media texts

Abstract. This paper focuses on image schema manifestations in media texts on human trafficking, which may perform the role of "warning" signals in anti-trafficking media campaigns. For this, a conceptual analysis was done to establish profiled image schemas, and a survey was conducted to measure the reader's response to two types of texts on human trafficking (HT), different in genre and schemata organisation. The texts were selected as experimental material representing typical human trafficking media discourse. The participants were divided into control (G1) and experimental (G2) groups according to the type of text they were exposed to. G1 read an expository text (T1) and G2 read a media narrative (T2). The respondents of G2 showed a significant tendency for a higher degree of involvement in the problem of human trafficking when reading T2 as contrasted to the responses of G1 to T1. G2 identified their reaction as a feeling being in danger. Looking back to T2, it was clear that respondents reacted to verbal manifestations of prevailing CONTAINMENT and SCALE/ PROCESS/UP schemata clusters. G1 gave the weaker emotional response to T1 with verbal manifestations of UP, BLOCKAGE, and COUNTERFORCE schemata. It can be assumed that CONTAINMENT is the image schema organising spatial representation of human trafficking from the victim's perspective, conveying the feeling of *being contained, being in a difficult situation, being in an enclosed space,* supported with other schemata manifestations through the lens of the concept of *bigness, large scale, growing process,* etc. The results may be used in anti-trafficking content as a new methodology for raising awareness in a target audience vulnerable to HT.

Keywords: human trafficking, image-schemas, conceptual analysis, empirical study, warning signs, media texts.

1. Introduction

People in society today are living in a world that is more unpredictable, hostile, and volatile than ever before. Fueled by social disturbances, human trafficking has become

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1 Address for correspondence: Department of Linguistics and Translation, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan University, 18/2 Bulvarno-Kudriavska Str, Kyiv, Ukraine, 04053. E-mail: e.paliichuk@kubg.edu.ua

a pervasive problem across the globe, being both a latent and highly aggressive phenomenon. The latest social upheavals and crises such as wars, illegal migration surges, cross-border incursions, pandemics, and political shifts are aggravating the feeling of uncertainty and have been paving the way for the intensification of crime ring activities.

In this turbulent world, human trafficking (hereinafter – HT) is a constant, affecting "5.4 victims for every 1,000 people in the world" (*The Scale of Human Trafficking* n.d.). According to the latest statistics, 35 million people are becoming victims of sex trafficking daily. Estimates show that, internationally, only about 0.04% of the survivors of trafficking cases are identified, while the majority of cases go undetected (Bedbible.com 2022). Anyone ending up in an HT situation has a clear and identifiable vulnerability that a trafficker preyed upon (ibid). For instance, many people have been "unable to build resilience to the economic effects" (*Trafficking in Persons Report* 2021: 6), provoked by COVID-19.

In the broader sense, the social context of the problem is predetermined by criminal activities taking place in source, transit and destination countries and includes illegal migration, selling human beings for the purposes of prostitution, bonded labour or involuntary servitude, trafficking in human organs, illegal inter-country adoption of children, recruitment of illegal soldiers, coercion into illegal activities, etc.

As a response to the challenges existing in Eastern Europe, this paper deals with HT as a research case study. The embedded patterns of soviet-like thinking in terms of job opportunities and overall life satisfaction still linger in Ukrainian society and predetermine family education stereotypes. One of the consequences of such attitudes to the future is a common "better life abroad" myth, supported by framed media messages as well as tales of employment prospects circulating among members of local communities. Much has changed since Ukraine gained its independence, however, there is a false belief of working abroad as panacea for all woes.

The foregoing situation requires that awareness be raised at various social levels, with much attention given at the pre-employment stage, which can be achieved in an academic setting. The objective of this study is to verify the potential of a cognitive theory for the prospective development of linguistic strategies to reduce HT-related risks among the youth and prevent their victimisation. As educators, we are able to increase awareness among the youth through critical reading sessions and post-reading discussions. A conducive academic environment enables us to incorporate social topics in regular reading courses of non-fiction literature in order to change the pattern of collective thinking due to innovative approaches and, thus, instill a sense of self-worth in the minds of future generations by helping them believe they are able to manage their lives and promote social change. Classroom activities can encourage students to think positively about their prospective careers and develop an active prosocial position.

The recent developments on HT (Gulati 2010; McIntyre 2018; Gonzalez-Pons 2021) have advanced towards responding to HT through the lens of media narratives and

myths, anti-trafficking language in welfare services (de Shalit et al. 2014; Nichols et al. 2018) and the maintenance of a social balance to avoid polarity thinking or condemnation of victims, aid and support for the vulnerable groups in society.

However, the problem is more complex and multilayered: any person coming from any walk of life may fall victim to this illegal activity. The observations based on the literature study highlight that the situation has changed in recent decades: "the treatment of trafficking has focused exclusively on prostitution, migration, and organized crime. Only recently has this focus shifted slightly toward a more comprehensive approach, centered on the protection of victims" (Rodríguez-López 2018: 61).

Ukraine has been a source country of a productive workforce from which waves of labour migrants flow in search of a better life for their families. The situation is grave in view of instability in border areas and temporarily occupied territories[2]. Unemployment is another pressing problem, as many citizens have lost a stable income because of COVID-19 restrictive measures, and are in search of better economic opportunities.

Notwithstanding success stories regarding education and subsequent career prospects obtained by a great number of Ukrainian students abroad, it is, nevertheless, anticipated that the risk of getting involved in an HT scheme is increased among young people graduating from academic institutions. Lacking life experience, they constitute a vulnerable category of citizen who may fall victims to these illegal practices.

Theoretically, as a point of departure to develop the counteraction against myths about employment abroad, a media-linguistic approach has been adopted in the sense that realities mediated through pre-constructed messages (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Iyengar 2018) have an impact on people's lives through framing technologies. This is so because, there is a need to change the attitudes towards employment prospects

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2   The study was conducted in November 2021 and presented at TALC 4 in December, when Ukraine was under the conditions of the threat of the Russian military aggression. By the time the paper is submitted, the Russian Federation has attacked Ukraine and unleashed a full-scaled war against Ukrainian people. Under these conditions, the situation of HT in Ukraine has become even more vicious: minors are being forced to fight on the side of the enemy, women and children are being illegally displaced under the pretense of evacuation or are being taken hostage, the number of migrants and refugees is increasing, etc. The number of the refugees ranges from within 6.8-12 million people (Zandt 2022; BBC News 2022). These are women and underaged children, who find themselves in the unknown circumstances with minimum sustenance. As far as men are not allowed to cross the border according to the war-time law, women go abroad without husbands. They are unprotected, vulnerable, scared, and susceptible to falling in a HT situation. These circumstances multiply the risks of sexual exploitation of women and children and forced labour. The periodical by Donna M. Hughes describes the traffickers as predators who are "awaiting the arrival of Ukrainian women refugees. The sex buyers, pimps, and sex work advocacy groups are eager to prey on them" (Hughes 2022).

within the country and develop both strong occupational competences and soft skills, required for successful competition in the national labour market.

Mindsets can be changed in the course of systemic and consistent exposure of students to the HT-related language material. The cognitive processing of such content would result in young people reshaping their worldviews due to critical and analytical thinking practices.

The awareness of HT should refer both to volitional and subconscious domains of mental processes during conceptualisation of the information about HT. In this regard, the phrase "warning signs" used in the title of this paper conveys the idea that the specific pre-conceptual entities (image-schemas) directing information processing in a specific way may work as deterrents (analogous to safety road signs) against potentially risky actions made by potential victims.

Within linguistics, the aim is to verify whether there is a dependency to specific image schemas (hereinafter – IS) and readers' responses. One should strive to identify IS which contribute to a subtle rendering of a warning effect through media. According to M. Johnson's definition, an image schema is an abstract representation of "a recurring dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience" (Johnson 2013).

The most discussed schemata are *Containment, Path, Source-Path-Goal, Blockage, Center-Periphery, Cycle, Cyclic Climax, Compulsion, Counterforce, Diversion, Removal of Restraint, Enablement, Attraction, Link, Scale, Axis Balance, Point Balance, Twin-Pan Balance, Equilibrium*. These schemata are categorized in terms of three groups: spatial motion group, force group, and balance group. Other schemata also embrace such abstractions as *Contact, Surface, Full-Empty, Merging, Matching, Near-Far, Mass-Count, Iteration, Object Splitting, Part-Whole, Superimposition, Process, Collection* (Johnson 2013).

Image schemas are "directly meaningful", they are "experienced" and "embodied", "highly schematic gestalts", they are "continuous" and exist "beneath conscious awareness" (Hampe 2008: 1). "Brain areas formerly thought to be purely sensorimotoric are turning out to have important roles in the so-called 'higher' cognitive processes, e.g., language … language makes much more use of the brain's processes of spatial, visual and mental imagery than previously thought" (Rohrer 2005: 165). In this regard, language preserves the traces of IS, which may not only reveal an author's way of reasoning, but also can be used deliberately as elements to be subconsciously recognised by the audience and thus evoke the readers sensorimotoric sensations in response to the content they are exposed to. Hypothetically, the readers may experience higher involvement in the problems raised in an HT-related media text as a response to the underlying verbal representation of HT in IS.

Therefore, the IS exist not as separate pre-conceptual entities functioning as a sort of filter in the process of perception and structuring of information. Instead, their

numerous combinations may provide specific reading experiences in line with certain lines of thoughts and thus stimulate a particular emotional response.

In the framework of this study, the research tasks were: 1) to identify prevailing IS in two contrasting (expository vs narrative) texts and explain their verbal manifestations; 2) to establish to which of the two texts (T1 or T2) the participants show higher emotional response; 3) to analyse the participants' perceptions with reference to the prevailing IS; 4) to find out which IS can be potentially used as preventive language tools in anti-trafficking media content.

2. Materials and methods

This study explores the cognitive pre-requisites of warning vulnerable audiences about HT. The conceptual perspective of the study is highlighted through the lens of Image-Schema Theory (Cienki 1997; Lakoff & Johnson 2003; Johnson 2005, 2013; Rohrer 2005; Hampe 2008; Hedblom 2020) for identifying image-schemas (IS) based on the conceptual analysis and corpus analysis of a language dataset collected from the media on HT. Actuation of IS in conceptualisation of HT during the reading process may be impactful in terms of shaping attitudes towards HT.

In practical terms, the tradition of empirical studies maintained by a specific group of contemporary linguists is followed (Paliichuk 2011; Chesnokova 2016; Kuijpers & Hakemulder 2017; Miall 2018; Peer & Chesnokova 2019) with a focus on the investigation of the reader's response. In particular, the focus was on verifying a hypothetical dependency of the reader's impression on the use of IS-charged language units and on establishing effective IS in terms of the pragmatic value of the texts.

The methodological strategy includes two lines of research: conceptual analysis of media language material and empirical methods for verifying the dependency between media language actuating IS and post-reading impressions. The procedure for the study embraces the conceptual analysis of the language material based on the verbal content of two texts selected for the experiment, two surveys and a presentation of statistical results based on the unified empirical datasets from two surveys.

The design of the research involved the following aspects ensuring the validity of the obtained data and conclusions:

A) Texts:

The case study material includes 2 authentic[3] English language media texts taken from British (Gentleman 2020), labeled as T1, and Canadian (Ricci 2019), labeled as T2, media.

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3   The curriculum at the Institute of Philology of BGKU is focused on the literature and media of the countries which language is being studied.

The features of both texts imply that: 1) the texts represent typical HT media discourse[4]; 2) two media genres (news article and a media narrative) are tested; 3) T1 is used as an expository text containing factual information, mainly used for content-learning and general awareness of HT; T2 is used as a media narrative, containing analytical coverage of HT from a victim's perspective, with elements of a narrative, including direct speech.

For the purposes of the study, the selected texts must meet the following criteria:

• The texts must be about HT, but from different perspectives;
• The texts must be the "news article vs analytical article" opposition, i.e. the more objective coverage is contrasted to the more subjective coverage; therefore, a news article, reporting facts and measures taken to tackle the problem, was used as an expository text for content-learning information, i.e. general awareness of HT based on a particular case study, and a media narrative was used as the content highlighting additional aspects of HT from the point of view of a victim;
• The texts must be of similar size; therefore, the T1 is 717 words and T2 – 789;
• The texts should be readable in one sitting (estimated reading time for T1 is 3 minutes, 34 seconds, and T2 – 3 minutes, 52 seconds);
• The texts must be typical for HT discourse and represent a homogeneous information flow on HT;
• The texts should enable the testing of the hypothesis that a media narrative[5] induces readers to feel *being inside HT situation,* as well as encourage a higher level of empathy and emotional response, and should allow for the *feeling of being in danger* after reading the text;
• The texts must have varying sets of profiled schemata.

B) Hypotheses:

H0: the schemata-charged verbal units have no potential for evoking a greater emotional response in the reader when exposed to HT-related media content nor should it stimulate readers to experience the feeling of being in danger, the *feeling of being sad, angry, disappointed,* or the *feeling of fear;* H1: the schemata-charged verbal units have the

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4   The two different texts were selected as typical media discourse fragments on HT. This decision was made based on the previous thorough investigations and observations. For instance, the corpus of 600 English language media texts from 2000-2011 was analysed in the framework of PhD thesis (Paliichuk 2011). That study showed the prevalence of news articles, reporting facts and statistics, and media narratives, highlighting events from a particular point of view, where the subjective tone is achieved through direct speech elements representing the experience of a particular participant or a witness.

5   We also believe that a media narrative has potential for a transportation effect (which is another study being carried out in this regard (Paliichuk 2022), which helps readers experience co-presence in the situation described or identify themselves with a victim.

potential to evoke a greater emotional response in the reader when exposed to HT-related media content and stimulate the reader to experience the feeling *of being in danger,* the *feeling of being sad, angry, disappointed,* or the *feeling of fear.*

If the alternative hypothesis is proven, the results will be meaningful for raising awareness of HT risks and designing guidelines on the deliberate use of IS-charged language units in anti-trafficking campaigns.

C) Annotation strategy:

Firstly, interim linguistic observations were made, followed by preliminary manual[6] identification of IS based on the semantic criterion, i.e. on the meanings derived from the texts. However, this interim result may seem biased. To avoid this, a software tool to check all possible relevant occurrences of IS in the texts was applied.

Secondly, to reduce the level of subjective interpretation of the meanings derived from the texts, the corpora of the two texts were pre-processed separately with the use of Sketch Engine Software (`https://ske.li/text_1_ws`; `https://ske.li/text_2_ws`). For this, hypothetical key notional and functional words actuating established IS were identified and the texts were verified for their occurrences and concordances to trace how such language elements shape meanings in the microcontexts.

Thirdly, semantically relevant examples were selected and the micro-contexts were marked in italics (Corpora 1 and 2 below), as well as the verbal manifestations of IS labelled with square brackets and with a number in brackets assigned to a particular IS, e.g. *[into] (5) slavery conditions,* where [into] is a marked a verbal manifestation of CONTAINMENT IS, labelled with (5), and *slavery conditions* is also marked with italics to show the micro-context actuating the concept of *being in/into the HT situation.*

Then all possible sentences or parts of sentences were collected and assembled as two unified corpora for either text, featuring all the verbal occurrences of IS. After this, the number of manifestations of each IS based on the quantity of numeric labels was calculated and the prevailing IS in either text were thus identified. The prevailing IS are considered significant, because they predetermine the concepts to which the participants have stronger responses as contrasted to other less obviously manifesting IS. Such an approach enabled the provision of a more accurate account of the media corpus tested.

Participants: The survey was conducted in two phases. The first survey was undertaken in April 2020. The participants were 76 respondents, who were the students from Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University and the cadets from the Military Institute of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, Ukraine (Paliichuk 2021). The second phase was

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6   We admit that there might be a tolerated error in exact number of IS identified because of the manual approach used in the linguistic analysis at the preliminary stage, which was then modified and specified based on the results of the corpus analysis.

conducted in November 2021: 42 students from Borys Grinchenko University were engaged. In total, 118 undergraduates took part in the experiment. All of the participants were divided into control (G1) and experimental (G2) groups according to the type of the text they were exposed to: G1 read T1 and G2 read T2.

Other conditions. The questionnaire contained the items on personal and general information, for instance initial awareness of HT, reading media in English, the overall period of learning English; pre-reading and post-reading questions, and an open-answer section. The study is gender-sensitive, with 80 female humanities students and 38 male respondents, all of them aged 20-23; very often they may be thinking of careers abroad or continuing their education, and thus they represent a vulnerable social category. The survey was conducted during regular practical sessions in the framework of an academic "Analytical Reading" course, which is a part of the "Stylistics of Texts" course. The respondents were asked whether they imagined themselves being in the same situation, whether they felt sympathy with the trafficked girls, and whether they were affected by HT before and after reading the media texts; the data were processed with the use of SPSS 26 for Windows (Descriptive Statistics, Frequencies, Independent Samples T-test). The open answers are taken as qualitative data for the interpretation of the results.

3. Results

The designed strategy of the study was based on the principle of being conceptual and empirical to meet the objective set out above. Therefore, the first line of the research focused on the conceptual analysis made on the premises of Image-Schema Theory, whereas the second line involved the procedures of empirical study.

The case study for the conceptual analysis includes the fragments of two quality papers taken from the Canadian and British media. The participants were divided into two groups respectively. The general characteristics are given in Table 1, where T1 and T2 stand for Text 1 and Text 2, G1 and G2 – group 1 and group 2, describing the main idea and number of verbal manifestations of IS.

Table 1. General characteristics of case study texts

Type	T1	T2
Group	G1	G2
Title and origin	*Number of slavery victims in London up tenfold in five years,* The Guardian	*Luring of girls into sex trade reaching 'epidemic' level, police say,* CBC News
Genre	Expository text: informative, news	Media narrative text: editorial, analytical

Content message	reports HT across GB and in London, states the facts about growth in numbers of HT cases, the measures to be taken.	intermingled with narrative elements, provides some personalised accounts of HT cases.
Manifestations of IS	UP/SCALE =21; COUNTERFORCE=15; BLOCKAGE=10; CONTAINMENT =11; DOWN=6; LINK=4; ENABLEMENT=2; CENTER-PERIPHERY=1; Total=71	SCALE and PROCESS/UP=22; CONTAINMENT=13; LINK=9; ATTRACTION=5; ENABLEMENT=4; PATH=3; BLOCKAGE=1; COUNTERFORCE=1. Total 58

The qualitative conceptual analysis of T1 and T2 shows the dominance of UP/SCALE, BLOCKAGE and COUNTERFORCE in T1 and SCALE, PROCESS/UP and CONTAINMENT in T2. The concepts of "upness", "manyness", "increasing", dominating in both texts, stress the rising scale of HT, and are actuated through UP, SCALE, PROCESS; however, they are supported with varying other schemata, affecting the totality of meanings rendered. The aim was to discover which of the two texts evoked a stronger response and which of the IS identified predetermine a significant impact on the readers. Before processing the empirical data, the corpus of relevant sentences from both texts were extracted, bearing the markers of the verbal manifestation of IS, to analyse the conceptual and semantic features of the texts (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Verbal traces of IS in T1 corpus

1   *[Number] of slavery victims* (1) in London *[up]tenfold in five years* (1) …. Committee demands overhaul of how police and mayor's office *[handle]* (3) *[problem]* (2).

2   *There has been a [more than]* (1) *tenfold [increase]* (1) *in the [number] of people identified as victims of [modern slavery]* (5) *and human trafficking* (1) in London, and *[more than]* (1) *30% of all cases* (1) nationally are discovered…

3   *Of the 5,143 people* (1) … after being identified as victims of slavery in 2017, about *1,500 were in London* (1) - *almost three times the [number] in any other region or country in the UK* (1).

4   In October, the Local Government Association reported an *80% [rise] in the [number] of child victims of [modern slavery]* (5) *and human trafficking.*

5   *The [number] of referrals* (1) *has [risen] year on year* (1), as has the *[number] of pending cases* (2) and the *[proportion]* (9) *of cases* where an individual is formally recognised as a victim of trafficking and is given housing and support *[has been declining]* (4).

6   "In 2013, *47.8% of referrals* (1) received *a conclusive [decision]* (3), in 2018 this *[figure]* (1) *[fell]* (4) to *16.45%* (4)".

7   "The *[challenge]* (2) London *[faces with]* (2) *[modern slavery]* (5) and human trafficking is unique, and *considerably [greater than] in any other region of the UK* (1).

8   *The [rise] of [modern slavery] cases* (5) in London *over the last five years* shows that *[action] is needed now* (3).

9   *Awareness of the issue of human trafficking [has risen]* following the deaths of *39 Vietnamese people found in the back of a refrigerated lorry* (1) in Essex last October.

10   The assembly's police and crime committee are calling for an overhaul of the way the police and the mayor's office *[handle]* (3) the *[problem]* (2), and it has written to Sadiq Khan recommending that *more detectives should be assigned* (3) to the Met's specialist crimes and vulnerabilities unit.

11 It is also proposing that the London *[modern slavery]* (5) *[partnership]* board (7) … *should develop a London-[specific]* (6) *[modern slavery]* (5) *[strategy]* (3) *to improve the capital's [response]* (3) *to the [problem]* (2).

12 Southwark officials point out *it has become [difficult]* (2) to carry out regular raids *after a period of heavy local authority cuts* (2).

13 There has been *disappointment about a lack of funding* (2) for implementing the legislation.

14 Theresa May introduced legislation to *[combat]* (3) *[modern slavery]* (5) in 2015 and described it as one of the *"great human rights issues of our time"* (2).

15 "Local councils have been *forced to make some tough [decisions]* …" (3) following a *50% cut* (4) in their government funding over the last decade.

16 It's clear that *London needs to have a more [coherent]* (7) *[strategy]* (3) to *[tackle]* *[modern slavery]* (5) *and human trafficking* (3).

17 "That's why we're calling on the mayor to *urgently task* (3) the London [modern slavery] (5) Partnership Board with developing a *[coherent]* (7) *[strategy]* (3) *for [modern slavery] (5)* in the capital."

18 *[Figures]* (1) released in December indicated that the government was failing in its attempts to [tackle] (3) *[modern slavery]* (5), with only *42 [convictions]* on slavery and human trafficking in 2018, down from *59* (1) in 2017 and *69* (1) in 2016.

19 We see the safety of the people … to be *a top priority* (3).

20 … *[some]* (9) *migrants' rights organisations* have questioned whether this focus on human trafficking was simply a softer side to the *government's preoccupation with [cutting]* (4) *net migration numbers* (1) and creating a hostile environment

21 *[Some]* (9) *London councils*, such as Southwark, *have been working [with]* (7) the Met's specialist crime unit. The committee has also called on the Home Office to change the national referral *[mechanism]* (8), which is *the gateway to getting support* (8).

Figure 1 shows 21 relevant sentences from T1. The occurrences of IS are labelled as follows: UP (1), BLOCKAGE (2), COUNTERFORCE (3), DOWN (4), CONTAINMENT (5), CENTER-PERIPHERY (6), LINK (7), ENABLEMENT (8), SCALE (9). The order of IS is irrelevant, the numbers are assigned conventionally, as they appear in the text. The given combinations of IS can be presumed to govern the perceptions of HT in terms of its scale, challenges and tasks, and counter measures.

According to the number of the verbal manifestations (Table 1 above), the dominant IS are UP/SCALE, BLOCKAGE, and COUNTERFORCE. There are explicit and implicit manifestations of IS, i.e. both signified directly in the texts and derived from the micro-contexts or actualised as word combinations. The semantic approach was used for the interpretation of the qualitative data. Each IS is manifested in a range of concepts, as well as in a set of key words and functional parts of speech.

Thus, the verbal markers of UP are lexical units such as *number, increase, rise, figure;* comparative forms *more than, greater than;* the adjective *tenfold;* references to statistics in numbers and percentages; and adverbs *three times, considerably.* Predominantly, UP represents the rising nature of HT. Close to UP in its semantic nature is SCALE, which represents the concept of *measurement* of HT and actuates through the lexical unit *proportion,* and determiner *some* pointing to a certain number of organisations counteracting HT.

BLOCKAGE represents the concepts of *difficulty* and *barriers* in combatting HT. Its explicit manifestation is traced in lexical units such as *problem, difficult, challenge,* and

the phrasal verb *face with,* though its implicit manifestations are derived semantically from microcontexts in concordances, for instance: *lack of funding, disappointment, pending cases,* referring to HT as an unresolved problem.

Another prominent IS manifesting in the text is COUNTERFORCE. Its explicit manifestation finds its particularisation in the lexical units (verbs and nouns) related to the concept of counteracting, e.g.: *handle, tackle, response, combat, action, decision, strategy, priority.* Its implicit manifestations are expressed through word combinations denoting the importance of counterforce to HT, e.g. *top priority, tough decisions,* and also formally, through modal verbs *should assign, should develop, needs to have a strategy,* and adverbs such as *urgently task.*

The IS discussed above are the most salient in the corpus of T1, however, less frequent manifestation of other IS can be seen to support the inference one could make after reading T1.

As compared to contextual manifestations of UP referring to the figures demonstrating the scale of the problem, the contextual manifestations of DOWN mostly refer to the inefficiency of the measures taken and difficulty in overcoming HT cases. The relevant context refers to cuts in funding and a decrease in the number of cases where a person is identified as a victim of HT. The manifestation of DOWN conveys the idea that governmental offices fail to counteract HT effectively. Verbally, it actuates through the words bearing the meaning of *falling,* such as *declining, failing, cutting,* and statistics expressed with figures and percentages, as well as formal markers such as prepositions *down from,* and continuous forms of the verbs, as in *has been declining.*

CONTAINMENT is manifested in the verbal units with implicit meanings of *lacking freedom, being inside the HT situation.* The most typical manifestation is the *[modern slavery]* (5) cliché, which may be interpreted as *a closed entity which victims get into,* but on the other hand, it may also point to "taking victims into care", as in *placing them in safe conditions,* however in all cases the victims are represented as passive participants or objects.

CENTER-PERIPHERY actualises the idea that measures are concentrated in one city only, but not across the country as a whole, e.g. *London-specific,* and have a peripheral or sporadic character. The counter-actions are also ineffective and the rate of efficient actions declines.

LINK represents the semantics of *cooperation* and *coordinated activity* against HT. It actuates through lexical units with the meaning of *connectedness* and *interaction,* such as *coherent, partnership,* and formally through preposition *with* in semantically relevant occasions. The occasional manifestation of ENABLEMENT actuates the meaning of *official possibilities,* which are rather *weak,* through language units with the meaning of *creating opportunity for victims to get support.*

Having due regard to identification of IS in T1, we can conclude here that the bundle of IS in question highlights the concept of *disproportion* between the nature of HT and the *ways of combatting* the problem. The interpretative approach to annotating the corpus of T1 allowed for the revelation of the semantic features of T1, while registering the basic concepts and dominant IS subject to verification with empirical methods.

Figure 2. Verbal traces of IS in T2 corpus

1 "To me that was a point when I realized, 'I have to get [out] of here (5) because *my life is [in danger]* (5).'

2 But she was *[in a vulnerable position]* (5) -- and that's when she was *[approached]* by a woman who said she could find her work, and help her save for a condo (7).

3 "So, when the topic came up of working *[in the sex industry]* (5)– *dancing, working in strip clubs . . . .*

4 *[Luring]* of girls (10) *[into]* sex trade (5) reaching *['epidemic']* level (9), police say Social Sharing In 5 years, police have seen *[1,100 cases]* (9), *[assisted]* (8) nearly 300 victims (9) in Toronto

5 Since the team was formed, police say they have investigated *more than 1,100 [cases]* (9), (11) and *[assisted]* (8) close to 300 (9), (11) *victims.*

6 Rhonelle Bruder *[ran] away from home* (12) as a teenager after enduring years of bullying. She was quickly *[lured]* (10) *[into]* work (5) by human traffickers.

7 Sgt. Nunzio Tramontozzi says the 'grooming process' of *[luring] young women* (10) *[into] the sex trade* (5) can happen in as little as 48 hours.

8 "We have victims as young as 12 years old being *forced [into]* the sex trade (5) ... even with the *[number]* of investigators I have right now, we're not keeping up (9)."

9 Last year, the team investigated *280 [cases]* (9), (11) and arrested around 55 people (9), (11) for trafficking women and girls *[into] the sex trade* (5).

10 She says ... she experienced a lot of bullying, which *put her [in] a dark place* (5).

11 Tramontozzi has seen *[cases]* (9), (11) where traffickers *[lure] girls* (10) *[through] social media apps like SnapChat and Instagram* (7), but also *[in person]* (7) at places like malls, group homes and even Canada's Wonderland.

12 "The one thing they do have in common is they are *master manipulators* (10)," he said.

13 "The now 36-year-old says she realized almost immediately she didn't want to be *[in]volved* (5) in that work but *felt [trapped]* (5), was *[in]debted* (5) to the woman who *[recruited]* (7) her.

14 After witnessing the assault at the party, she *[contacted] people she'd met before she was trafficked* (7) and planned her *[escape]* (12)

15 Police say they're still seeing a trend toward *females doing the [recruiting]* (7), as in Bruder's case, "*especially in middle schools and high schools.*" (7).

16 But for police and activists *at the forefront of the [fight] against human trafficking* (3), it's a *[problem]* (2) that *[continues to grow]* (9), (11).

17 Sgt. Nunzio Tramontozzi says *the [number] of offences and occurrences* (9), (11) since the team's *launch has [increased]* (11) *dramatically* (9).

18 "*It's really at an [epidemic]* (9) *[proportion]* (9) now in Toronto, and really throughout the GTA and across Canada," Tramontozzi said.

19 At a point where she felt like she couldn't take it anymore, she *[ran] away* (12).

20 "I thought that I could kind of *[run] away from my problems* (12), start fresh somewhere new.

21 That woman eventually *[led] Bruder to* (12) the man who would be her trafficker

22 "Victims *[come] from all walks of life* (12) — they do *[come] from marginalized communities* (12), but also *from families that have influence in the community* (12)."

23 … Bruder, who now heads a program that *[assists]* (8) vulnerable youth.

24 Bruder calls herself lucky for having the *[support] (8) she did.*

25 I *[ended up]* (12) in downtown Toronto."

Figure 2 shows 25 relevant sentences from T2. The occurrences of IS are labelled as follows: CONTAINMENT (5), ATTRACTION (10), LINK (7), SCALE (9), PROCESS+UP (11), BLOCKAGE (2), COUNTERFORCE (3), PATH (12), and ENABLEMENT (8). The numbers assigned to IS in T1 are preserved for respective occurrences in T2, and the occurrences of new IS in T2 are labelled with further numbering. The IS are analysed in the order they appear in the text.

Alongside representation of the scale of HT through the lens of the victims' stories, the main message, nevertheless, is transmitted through CONTAINMENT. Based on the analysis of lexical and grammatical language units, the prevailing meanings were established, and respective IS were identified. Lexical means predetermine the conceptualisation of HT as in *an enclosed space, circle or container from where there is no way out,* and through the lexical units *being involved in, indebted or feeling trapped.* From the grammatical point of view, we observe the usage of verbs in the passive voice forms having the prefix *in-,* supported with the prepositions *in, into, out,* actuating respective IS and representing the passive condition of the victims. Yet, it should be verified whether such meanings stimulate the transmission of the feeling of *danger* to the readers of media articles.

These meanings are supported with the actuation of ATTRACTION and LINK, which represent the semantics of *engagement of potential victims,* e.g.: *lure, recruit, contact, approach.* On the one hand, the meaning of *luring* is quite recurrent in the text, on the other hand, the conceptualisation of the *link between participants of organised HT crime* is directly or implicitly incorporated in the context of HT coverage. For instance, the phrase *"master manipulators"* implies how traffickers operate to make victims accept their offer and make them dependent on their traffickers. Verbally, this cluster of IS is manifested in lexical units, e.g.: *lure* for *attraction,* and *approach, contacted* – for *link;* and in grammatical units with prepositions (*into, in, with*) or the passive voice forms of verbs.

SCALE and PROCESS/UP represent the scope and size of HT, as in T1. Their manifestation is predetermined by CONTAINMENT-related environment, i.e. by the lexical units with the meanings of *level, reach process, increased, close to, number, cases,* metaphorical expressions *epidemic level, epidemic proportion,* denoting the degree of HT and the process of growing, and adverbs. e.g.: *dramatically.*

Another IS highlighting the nature of HT is PATH. These are verbal utterances, e.g.: *run away, lead to, end up,* conveying the idea of the previous life of victims and consequences of their being entrapped. This time-and-space parameter is actuated through lexical means standing for the concept of *journey/path* and denoting *motion* as well as grammatical units, predominantly, the prepositions *at, from, to, etc.* This IS in combination with less discussed IS (contact) conveys the overall meaning of *wandering of a victim throughout many places across the world and being exposed to many hardships.* The verbal means of expression bear figurative meanings and actuate conceptual metaphors of *journey,* for instance, in the representation of the initial background of victims. Most often, the way victims come through is represented as actuation of such IS as *path to endpoint (endpoint focus),* and through the prepositions *from/to/away* to signify starting point, transit places, and destination point.

In terms of BLOCKAGE, HT manifests only once in T2, e.g. *problem.* There are also occasional manifestations of such IS as COUNTERFORCE, e.g.: *fight,* and ENABLEMENT through the verbal means of expression denoting the *struggle against* or *resistance HT,* e.g.: *assist.*

Thus, in the corpus of T2, the dominance of such IS as SCALE and PROCESS/UP were to be enhanced by CONTAINMENT. This configuration of IS contributes to conceptualisation of HT as *a dead-end, a situation which victims are lured into.* This can also be interpreted as a "blind street" metaphor which serves as a cognitive "warning sign" for potential victims. The degree of the victims' engagement in HT is represented by the verbal means of expression actuating CONTAINMENT IS standing for *a closed entity* or *a container* in the meaning of *the situation a victim gets in* or *into.* Moreover, these meanings are supported with the actuation of ATTRACTION and LINK.

T2 lacks description of a specific measure taken to stop HT, or, rather, a latent reaction towards HT prevention. Again, we can observe the imbalance in the representation of HT, with the prevalence of description of the danger of getting into HT rather than how to escape the situation. Hypothetically, it can be anticipated that the combination of the dominant IS revealed as a result of the analysis of the corpus of T2 predetermines the perception of HT as a dangerous situation, which should be verified empirically.

The second line of the research is an empirical study for measuring the degree of the reader's response to T1 and T2. To this end, a survey was conducted according to the procedure described in the methodology section. The preparatory stage included the development of the questionnaires for two groups of respondents. They were identical apart from the text included thereinto depending on the group. The sections were developed as follows: personal information obtained based mainly on nominal and interval scale questions; the pre-reading stage, which included the interval scale questions; and the post-reading stage, which included the interval scale and open-answer questions.

The general information was processed with the help of Descriptive Statistics. The mean value for the respondents' age is 20.5. The respondents have been studying English for more than 11 years on average. 80.5% of the respondents are aware of HT. 84.6% of the respondents read media in English, *daily* (33%) and *once a week* (33.9%), against *once a month* (8.9%) and *very rarely* (24.1%). Frequency table 2 shows the distribution of the topics the respondents are mostly interested in, where among 117 valid answers, the respondents' preferences are given to culture (20.5%), society (32.5%), and other topics (16.2%). Politics (11.1%) and economy (11.1), crime (6.0%), and sport (2.6%) are less preferred topics in reading media.

Table 2. *Topics respondents are interested* in variable

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Politics**	13	10.7	11.1	11.1
	Culture	24	19.8	20.5	31.6
	Society	38	31.4	32.5	64.1
	Crime	7	5.8	6.0	70.1
	Economy	13	10.7	11.1	81.2
	Sport	3	2.5	2.6	83.8
	Other	19	15.7	16.2	100.0
	Total	117	96.7	100	
Missing	**System**	4	3.3		
Total		121	100.0		

Figure 3 illustrates the dominance of *society* and *culture* among the respondents' reading preferences. It can be predicted that the respondents are more susceptible to perceive the socially-relevant content rather than other topics. The respondents show less interest in *politics* and *economy, crime* and *sport,* which may partially affect the respondents' perceptions of HT.

Figure 3. *Topics respondents are interested in* variable
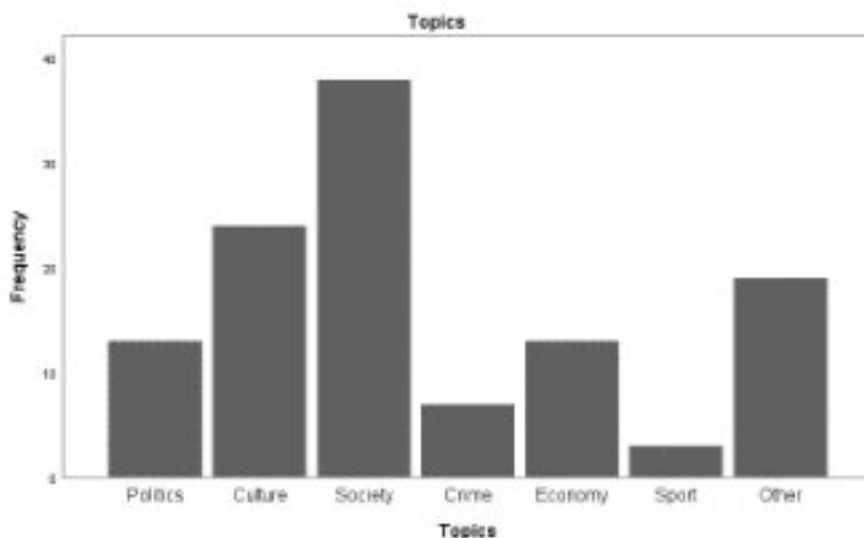
Before analysing the responses to T1 and T2 separately, the data were collected on the preliminary degree of the readers' involvement in HT in terms of their sympathy with victims, imagining being in the same situation, and emotional response (Tables 3-5 and Figures 4-5) before they read T1 or T2, depending on the group, according to the interval scale, where 1 and 2 are low indicators (*absolutely not* and *probably not*), and 3 and 4 are high indicators (*probably yes* and *totally yes*). At the pre-reading stage, the respondents were not affected by the experimental media content and showed a unified response.

Table 3 and figure 4 illustrate that 115 valid answers highlight that the respondents are not prone to feeling *sympathy toward a victim of HT before reading* the text (28.0% – *absolutely not* and 37.7% – *probably not*) and some *feel a certain degree* (16.1%) and *a lot of sympathy* (18.6%).

Table 3. Frequency table: the *sympathy before* variable

		Frequency	**Percent**	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
Valid	**1.00**	33	27.3	28.0	28.0
	2.00	44	36.4	37.3	65.3
	3.00	19	15.7	16.1	81.4
	4.00	22	18.2	18.6	100.0
	Total	118	97.5	100.0	
Missing	**System**	3	2.5		
Total		121	100.0		

Figure 4. *Sympathy before* variable
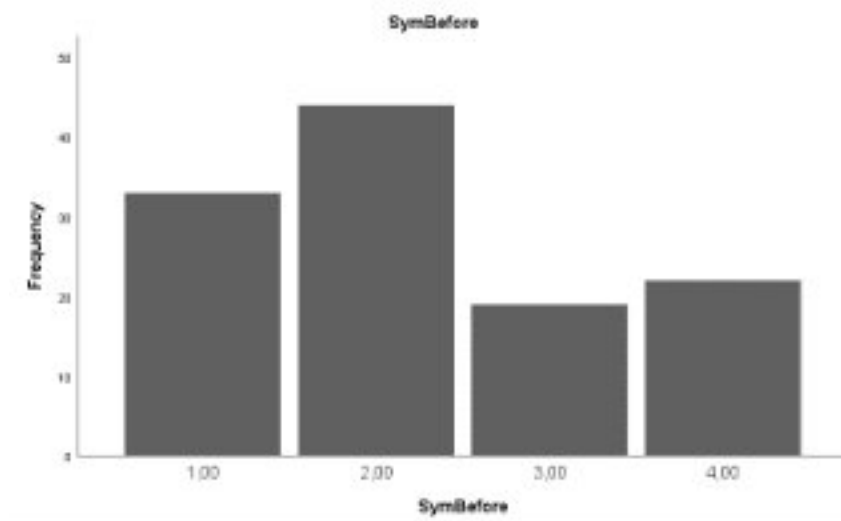
The degree of *imagining themselves being in the same situation* is rather low. We can see from table 4 and the bar chart in figure 5 that the respondents do not imagine themselves being in the same situation as the victims of HT either, with 57.6% – *absolutely not* and 33.9% – *probably not,* and 16.1% and 18.6% – *probably yes* and *totally yes,* respectively.

Table 4. Frequency table: the *imagining in HT situation before* variable

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1.00**	68	56.2	57.6	57.6
	2.00	40	33.1	33.9	91.5
	3.00	8	6.6	6.8	98.3
	4.00	2	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	118	97.5	100.0	
Missing	**System**	3	2.5		
Total		121	100.0		

Figure 5. *Imagining in situation of HT before* variable
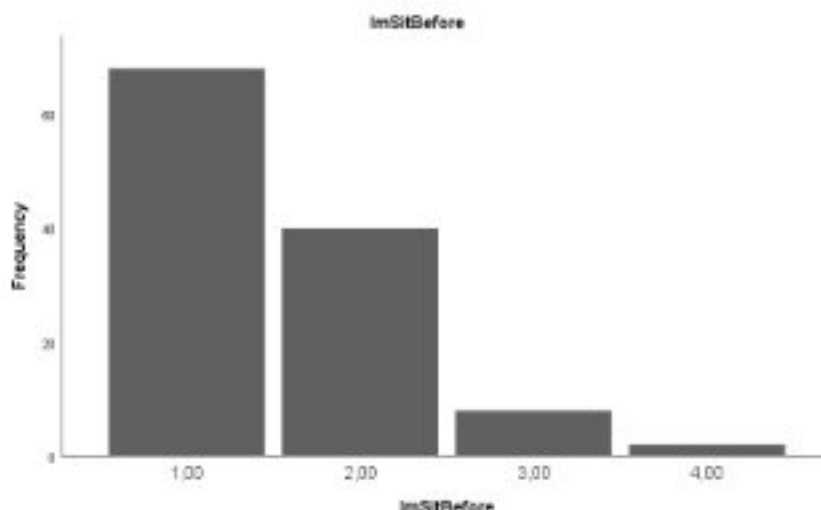
The degree of being emotionally affected by the topic of the article is rather low. Table 5 and the bar chart in figure 6 both show that the respondents are not emotionally involved in the topic of HT either, with 14.4% – *absolutely not* and 44.9% – *probably not,* whereas 27.1% of the respondents answered with *probably yes* and 13.6% – *totally yes.*

Table 5. Frequency table: *being emotionally affected with HT before*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1.00**	17	14.0	14.4	14.4
	2.00	53	43.8	44.9	59.3
	3.00	32	26.4	27.1	86.4
	4.00	16	13.2	13.6	100.0
	Total	118	97.5	100.0	
Missing	**System**	3	2.5		
Total		121	100.0		

Figure 6. *Being emotionally affected with HT before* variable
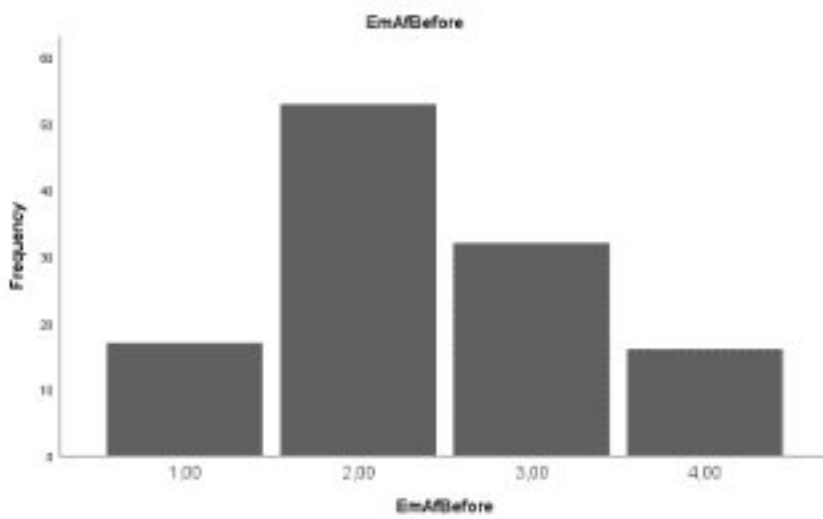
Both groups show low involvement in HT-related issues. However, the focus of the research was which group (G1 or G2) had a stronger response to the assigned text. These pre-reading attitudinal parameters were compared with equivalent post-reading answers. Then a more effective IS was established in terms of prosocial reactions based on the text to which the respondents had a stronger response. The next stage was to measure the differences in the respondents' perceptions of T1 and T2 between G1 and G2.

The respondents evaluated the language of the texts as not difficult (84.7% cumulatively) and the message as clear (60.7% cumulatively). Apart from the general tendency to attitudinal and general emotional changes after the respondents read the assigned text, the focus turned to particular emotions such as *the feeling of anger, being disappointed with the message of the text, being sad, feeling fear,* and the *feeling of being in danger.*

To this end, an Independent Sample T-test was conducted to measure the perceptions of T1 and T2 by respective groups of respondents. Tables 6-7 show the group statistics and independent sample test significance results.

According to the mean values and dependencies on reading T1 by G1 who read T2, the degree of *sympathy towards victims* is higher in G2, *imagining being in the same situation* is almost the same; the respondents of G2 state a higher emotional response to T2; also, G2 shows a greater level of *anger,* and *danger,* and there is almost no difference as to being *sad* or *feeling fear,* whereas the level of *disappointment* decreased.

Table 6. Group Statistics

	Text	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SymAfter	**T1**	59	2.8305	1.13187	0.14736
	T2	59	3.2712	0.84752	0.11034

ImSitAfter	**T1**	59	1.9322	0.90714	0.11810
	T2	59	2.1017	0.92279	0.12014
EmAfAfter	**T1**	59	2.6780	1.00757	0.13117
	T2	59	3.3729	0.78561	0.10228
FAnger	**T1**	57	2.3509	0.99087	0.13124
	T2	59	2.6271	1.06509	0.13866
FDissapointed	**T1**	58	2.7931	0.89362	0.11734
	T2	59	2.6441	0.97843	0.12738
FSad	**T1**	58	3.0862	0.97844	0.12848
	T2	59	3.0678	0.96248	0.12530
FFear	**T1**	58	2.5517	0.97643	0.12821
	T2	59	2.7288	0.92532	0.12047
FDanger	**T1**	58	2.3966	0.97224	0.12766
	T2	59	3.1356	0.68122	0.08869

Following on from Table 7, the results are significant only for dependent variables *feeling sympathy towards victim of HT* (mean value for T1 – 2.8305 and for T2 – 3.2712, p=0.009), *being emotionally affected* (mean value for T1 – 2.6780 and for T2 – 3.3729, p=0.000), and the *feeling being in danger,* with the mean values of the reader's response being higher to T2 (mean value for T1 – 2.3966 and for T2 – 3.1356, p=0.000) (Figure 7).
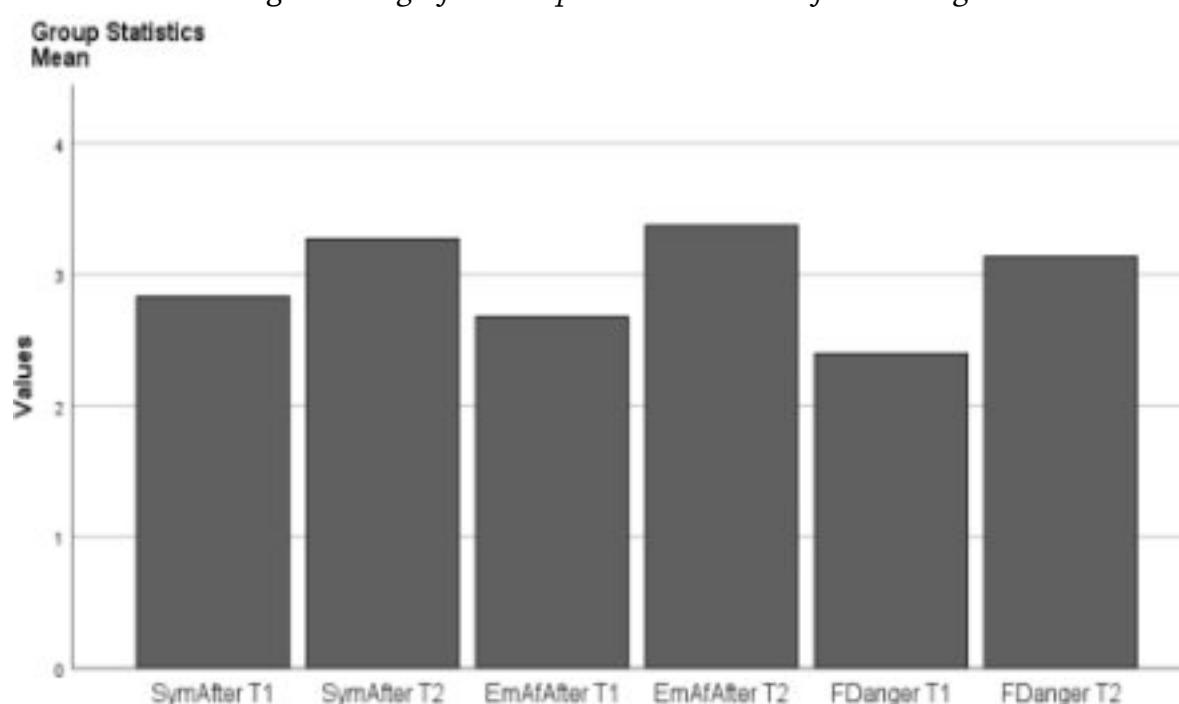
Figure 7. *Significant dependent variables after reading*

Table 7. Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				Std. Error Difference	99% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference		Lower	Upper
SymAfter	Equal variances assumed	9.806	.002	-2.394	116	.018	-.44068	.18409	-.80529	-.07607
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.394	107.483	.018	-.44068	.18409	-.80559	-.07576
ImStAfter	Equal variances assumed	.449	.504	-1.006	116	.316	-.16949	.16847	-.50316	.16418
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.006	115.966	.316	-.16949	.16847	-.50316	.16418
EmAfAfter	Equal variances assumed	3.654	.058	-4.178	116	.000	-.69492	.16634	-1.02436	-.36547
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.178	109.491	.000	-.69492	.16634	-1.02457	-.36526
FAnger	Equal variances assumed	.363	.548	-1.445	114	.151	-.27624	.19117	-.65494	.10246
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.447	113.841	.151	-.27624	.19093	-.65447	.10199
FDisappointed	Equal variances assumed	.653	.421	.860	115	.392	.14904	.17332	-.19428	.49236
	Equal variances not assumed			.861	114.386	.391	.14904	.17319	-.19404	.49211
FSad	Equal variances assumed	.349	.556	.103	115	.918	.01841	.17944	-.35702	.37384
	Equal variances not assumed			.103	114.870	.918	.01841	.17946	-.35708	.37390
FFear	Equal variances assumed	.553	.459	-1.007	115	.316	-.17709	.17585	-.52541	.17123
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.007	114.424	.316	-.17709	.17593	-.52559	.17141
FDanger	Equal variances assumed	14.217	.000	-4.768	115	.000	-.73904	.15499	-1.04604	-.43204
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.754	101.956	.000	-.73904	.15544	-1.04757	-.43072

The extended commenting in the open question section post reading T2 was analysed. The majority of the answers are centered around *sadness, fear, sympathy with the trafficked girl* and, occasionally, *condemnation.* The main evaluative response given by G1 refers to the problem of HT in general, whereas the respondents of G2 show more concern about how they feel after reading the text. Table 8 illustrates the summary of key words and concepts observed in typical, but statistically non-significant, answers, when the respondents are asked to comment on the content of the text they have read. The repeated concepts are given in bold.

Table 8. Open-question section reports

G1-T1	G2-T2
*upset, pity, **sadness**, inconvenience*	*even **sadder**, I **feel sorry** for the girl, **sympathy** for the girl*
***disappointed** of this and I feel some fear, insecure*	*disappointment, sadness, shock, **hopelessness** and partially anger*
*My feelings are **mixed** due to such a terrible situation*	*We have to keep off the **danger's** way, horrible and terrifying,*
*I hate and **disrespect** people who can spread this idea*	*condemnation: it's a victim's fault*
*compassion, disgust, affliction, confusion, rejection, **anger** over impunity*	*I feel **embarrassed** because I thought human trafficking was long gone*
***unpleasant**, but we need to pronounce it*	***afraid**, concerned about acquaintances, **disillusioned***

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4. Discussion

On the basis of the obtained results, it can be inferred that there is a dependency between the type of predominant IS actuated in a media text and the perception of media content in terms of shifts in the attitudes, emotional state, and experience of particular feelings. The Independent Sample Test showed that the degree of feeling sympathy towards a victim of HT rose after reading T2, which was assigned to G2. A similar tendency can be seen with regard to being emotionally affected by HT, so the emotional response of the respondents of G2 was higher.

One of the important findings of the statistical analysis is that the respondents of G2 report a higher degree of the *feeling of being in danger.* This may be explained by the fact that the quantitatively dominating SCALE/UP/PROCESS in both texts is enhanced with the manifestation of CONTAINMENT in T2, thus governing the perceptions of HT as a *closed entity:* a *situation from which it is impossible to get out.*

However, the study has two major limitations. Firstly, although media texts typical of HT discourse were chosen, it remains questionable whether the reactions would be statistically significant and stable, if other news articles and media narratives of the same thematic organisation and from the same perspective are taken into account. Secondly, different sets of IS are profiled in two different texts, which predetermines the transmission of different perspectives of HT. This requires further deep examination as to whether it is possible to trace the differences in perception of the texts of the same content, but different sets of IS.

The prospect for further study includes a series of surveys where the respondents would be exposed to several HT texts during a certain period of time, which will ensure a more convincing approach to HT prevention. Also, printed versus video reports on HT may also be checked for the efficiency of preventive content used with the focus on prevailing IS.

5. Conclusions

It can be ascertained that there is a dependency between the type of IS manifesting in media texts and the message perceived by the audience. This has been proved with the statistically significant results of the Independent Sample test. Firstly, the reader was found to have a higher level of response to T2 based on the data obtained from G2. Secondly, in terms of spatial thinking, the IS actuating the meaning of *being physically contained in HT* bears more potential for encouraging certain emotions in the audience. Such IS have proved to be the combinations of SCALE, UP/PROCESS in both texts and CONTAINMENT in T2, promoting the conceptualisation of HT as a large-scale problem particularised as a *closed entity which a potential victim gets into.* Thirdly, these IS may serve as "warning signs" of danger to be reported to vulnerable citizens. The findings

can develop an innovative approach to designing a victim-oriented linguistic toolkit aimed at actuating specific IS in the minds of the target audience.

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Elina Paliichuk holds a PhD in Linguistics and works as an Assistant Professor, a Lecturer of Stylistics at the Department of Linguistics and Translation of Borys Grinchenko Kyiv Metropolitan University, Ukraine. Her area of academic activity embraces a series of studies on human trafficking in media, including a thesis on frame modelling and research in the framework of WHTV (warn human trafficking victim) initiative, with a particular focus on metaphor, transportation effect and narrative analysis, storytelling techniques, and image schemas, revealed in discourses and tested by empirical methods. Another activity concerns the translation of legal texts and translation studies, in particular, in the role of an Associate Translation Fellow at EU-funded Project "Association4U" (2017-2019) aimed at support of the harmonisation of the Ukrainian legislation with the standards of EU legal documents.

TAOFEEK O. DALAMU[1]
Anchor University, Lagos, Nigeria
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5494-4854

KE YANG
Nanjing Xiaozhuang University, Nanjing, China PR
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7357-2454

Advertising linguistic framework: An instrument for teaching grammar in EFL university classrooms

Abstract. This study explored the employment of advertising texts as tools for teaching grammar to foreign learners of English, as their constituent organisation is assumed to enhance the understanding of some grammatical details. Ten advertisements of beverages, banks, telecommunications, condiments, cream, and soap served as the research material. After the application of the grammar of interaction to the communicative components, the tables and graphs functioned to calibrate the grammatical mnemonics and semantic resources of the clauses. This study analysed the use of orthographic clauses, *Six Countries, Six Voices,* and *One Song;* alphanumeric clauses, *Dial *966*911# to stop debit transactions on your account;* and compounding, *DataPlus, Smartphone* as qualities of advertising. One also observed novel constructions such as *EazyBanking* and *Souper;* acronyms, as in *UBA United Bank for Africa;* and hash-tag as in *#EachForEqual,* as well as the deployment of interspersed and splintered grammatical entities such as *Starting from 17:59, Olympic Gold Medalist, Cheers to those who came before us* and *Pledge to drink right.* The authors suggest that applications of the textual devices characteristic of advertising in the university classroom might encourage learners to practise the grammar of English.

Keywords: advertising, grammar, interaction, mood, teaching.

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1 Corresponding author: Department of English and Literary Studies, Anchor University, Ayobo, Lagos, Nigeria. Email: tdalamu@aul.edu.ng

1. Introduction

The goal of advertising is a factor that shapes communication between advertisers and their audience. Domains of advertising such as politics, entertainment, films, cosmetics, and fast moving consumer goods impel publicists to construct frameworks that have the prowess to motivate the target audience to consumption. Different modes operate in this pleading inventiveness. In respect to that, the discourse of advertising plays significant roles in the business of persuasion. One might also note that language is a key element of advertising, assisting in unravelling the information of the entire framework. Language, in this quest, pinpoints sentential constructions in different facets of simple and complex forms.

When one mentions the concepts of discourse and sentence, it also becomes significant to also refer to grammar. This is because in discourse and sentence styles, the matter of grammar is sacrosanct. Perhaps one might say that grammar is the axiomatic principle entwined around discourse and sentence (Williams 2005). It appears unarguable that without grammar there will be no discourse, even of images (Kress & van Leeuwen 2021). In a simple term, grammar represents the heartbeat of discourse (Haussamen 2000).

As a golden rule, the persistent manner in which advertisers frame grammar to sensitise the target audience stimulates the consideration of advertising as a viable tool of acquiring English grammatical details. Advertising is a channel of conveying messages to viewers in the atmosphere of pleasantness. Such an objective tends to influence advertising specialists to source for communicative materials that can, in no time, inspire the audience to buy the advertised products. Manufacturers, having considered advertising as an apparatus of economic growth, bloom advertisements (henceforth: ads) everywhere to dominate human affairs. In that spirit, grammar functions as an instrument of creativity, sometimes also engaging advertisers in serious intellectual exercises. These instances rest on the competition in the market and the intention of conviction. For the sole aim of consumer satisfaction, the employment of specific grammatical constructions creates a positive relationship between the product and the consumer.

This study defines grammar as the collection of language mechanisms which elucidates the structures of the sentence (Sledd 1996; Fromkin et al. 2003). In other words, grammar depicts all elements of the sentence, observed through some guiding principles. Consequently, the fundamental grammatical rules assist interactants to generate adequately-appropriate meaning potential from interactions. That standpoint motivates Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 10) to consider grammar as a:

> System, enabling us to show grammar as a meaning-working resource and to describe the grammatical categories by reference to what they mean. This perspective is essential if the analysis of grammar is to be an insightful mode of entry to the study of discourse.

Meaning-making is germane in employing grammatical elements. One might argue that meaning-making compels the featuring of text in advertising. Following Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) account, the taxonomical appreciation of grammatical devices could only be a discernment in evaluating the discourse of an event, if such classification disseminates meaning as its end product. In that regard, ads in their variegated propagations are embodiments of texts with grammatical features. As these devices are used specifically for persuasion, one is convinced that the constituents will be distinctive. It is in this sense that this study has considered the elements of the grammar of advertising as worthwhile instruments of teaching in university classrooms.

The scale of teaching English at universities is phenomenal (Rodríguez & Larrea-Espinar 2019). This is owing to the hegemony of English and the inevitable-cum-leading roles that the language plays across the global world in telecommunications, sports, aviation, film, science and technology, and world organisations. There are no doubts that perspectives of teaching English are enormous (Fry et al. 2009; Moreno Rubio 2009; Ko et al. 2014). Thus, among other studies, Bušljeta (2013) and Silva (2017) discuss audio-visual-cum-auditory materials and oral influences in phrases; while Martínez and De Zarobe (2017), and Liendo and Massi (2017) explore the metacognitive reading strategy and a didactic academic literacy, genre and competence models for EFL candidates. As George and Salgado-Robles (2018) and Kapranov (2018) consider teachers' beliefs and attitudes, and students' awareness of grammatical forms; so also Liddicoat (2019) and Alcaraz-Mármol (2019) examine intercultural appreciation and oral skill linguistic meditation as good teaching strategies. The proposals of Aliasin and Abbasi (2020) and Cancino (2020) focus on metacognitive emotional intelligence as well as language eliciting as modalities of enhancing EFL learners' participation.

The present study contributes to the existing research by identifying the utilisation of grammatical structures in advertising texts. This investigation thus pinpoints the random selection of English grammatical components communicated to make up persuasive clauses. The authors have employed Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) account of grammar of interaction to elucidate the linguistic structures. The theoretical modelling has assisted in indicating and describing the configured fragmented and full-fledged clauses used in advertising. Such behaviour, in the researchers' point of view, might support students in learning the nitty-gritty of English grammar.

2. Literature review

2.1. Utility of grammar

English has become a global communication device, so the understanding and analysis of English grammar are of the utmost importance. The interpretation of its inherent systematicity, in Klein's (1986) and Schulze's (1998) opinion, is what is known as the

grammar of English. For the fact that grammar is a system of wording of language, and there are many languages of diverse systems in the world, one must expect numerous perspectives on the concept of grammar. For a reason of subjectivity, Greenbaum (1996: 25) argues that the perspective of a theorist determines a definition of grammar, as a theory explains the elements of a language. Moreover, Hartwell (1985) and Simpson Weiner (1992) describe grammar as the formal structures of a language, a linguistic facility, and a subject studied in schools.

As Huddleston (1995) explains, grammar is a notion of representing the form, content and meaning of clauses, extending grammar as a channel to understand subfields of sentences. According to Celce-Murcia and Larson-Freeman (1999), grammar is an apparatus that accounts for structural constituents of a language in a contextual situation. Quirk et al. (2004) locate grammar in the domain of the classroom subject exploring speakers' meaning potential. Greenbaum and Nelson (2002) earlier limit grammar to penetrating rules guiding the formation and organisation of sentences. Significantly, Kolln et al.'s (2015) theorisation of grammar bears some burden of grammatical description as being a cognitive system of rules, formal descriptive rules and linguistic device with social implications. Figure 1 illustrates the nature of the linguistic entity called grammar.
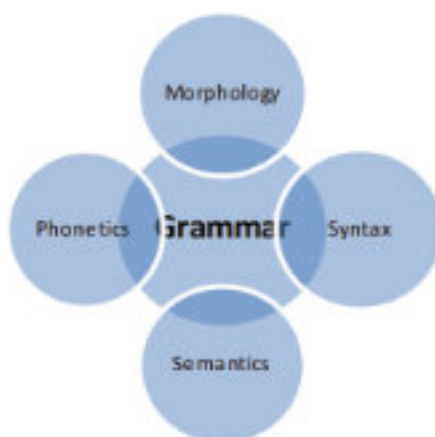
Figure 1. English language communicative framework

Figure 1 positions grammar at the centre of the linguistic framework. By implication, grammar dictates the operational space of other levels of linguistic applications. In other words, other linguistic concepts tap resourceful currency from grammar in order to exist in their various descriptions. One might recapitulate that grammar can be understood as:

- an arm of linguistics, indicating a system of wordings (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014);
- an element of operational analysis, containing functional elements, with meaning potential (Thompson 2014);
- indicating the style of writing, entwined in cohesion in order to demonstrate aesthetics (Carter & Nash 2013);

- revealing regional dialects and varieties of English as well as deviant interferences (Yule 2020);
- showing user's breadth of knowledge in terms of the mechanics application and formality observations (Crystal 2003).

The important functions that grammar performs in communicative exercises inform theorisations of its contents (Mulroy 2003). One might consider the notions and theories of grammar using the following labels: (i) Traditional grammar; (ii) Structural grammar; (iii) Tagnemic grammar, Transformational grammar and Functional grammar. To the best of the authors' knowledge, traditional grammar and structural grammar are notions; whereas Transformational, Tagnemic, Functional grammars accommodate theoretical facilities. As this study adopts a functional perspective, it is useful to enumerate the following functional theories: Generative Functionalism (Prince 1991), Dik's Functional Grammar (Dik 1997), and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla 2002). Other kinds are Systemic Functional Grammar (Butler 2003; Fawcett 2000), West Coast Functionalism (Givon 2001), and Cognitive Grammar (Fawcett 1980; Langacker 1987). Because the domain of interest of the authors is an aspect of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), known as the grammar of interactions, it is described in more detail in section 2.2.

As the advertising case is, creativity has become an inevitable norm, as a mechanism of persuading the target audience to consumption. Such a motive, in Leech's (1966) and Gieszinger's (2001) view, influences advertising practitioners to deploy an advertising style of discourse as direct and indirect constructs. The pungent nature of persuasive clauses informs the deletion of linguistic elements in advertising frameworks, as observable in the findings of Myers (1994) and Dalamu (2018b). In spite of the ellipsis in advertising styles, most of the clauses and sentential systems are in the form of imperative terms, as a channel of commanding viewers to patronise goods and services (Brierley 2002), leaving consumers seemingly without any alternative option.

According to Vestergaard and Schroder (1985), the structure of advertising usually gives preference to nominal groups. That indicates that some verbal elements and groups are uncommon in advertising communications. Dalamu (2018a) considers the prevalence of nominal structures, unavoidable in advertising domains. The findings of Geis (1982) and Cook (2001) notably revolve around the y-adjectives (such as *dreamy, gravy, creamy, meaty, and buttery*) and splintered constituents (such as *secret weapon, your deal facewash, and everywhere you go*). Research has also pinpointed further that publicists employ creative forms, compounds, alphanumeric codes, and disjunctive substances to convince receivers to consumption of advertised products (Dalamu 2018c, 2021, 2022; Dalamu & Ogunlusi 2020; Hermerén 1999; Ogilvy 2013).

Significantly, putting the highlighted characteristics of advertising together, among other features, under some course units in the undergraduate and postgraduate classrooms could assist foreign learners of English to have the knowledge of advertising discourse. The advertising professionals' manipulation of grammatical components of English will expose foreign learners to the detailed constituents of English.

As this study focuses on the grammatical nature of advertising communications, the authors have employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative insights to explicate the meaning potential and its implications in the EFL classrooms, explicable with the following questions.

- What kinds of grammatical expressions are obtainable in the ads to fascinate readers to consumption?
- Are there implications of advertising grammatical interactions for EFL candidates?
- What is the nature of grammatical mnemonics that the publicists employ to persuade readers?
- How have the advertisers utilised semantic resources to generate meaning potential in the ads?

2.2. Theoretical framework

There are three distinctions encircling Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), expressed as Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational Metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). By implication, Textual Metafunction transposed as Theme/Rheme, represents the grammar of organising texts (Bloor & Bloor 2013), while Ideational Metafunction, transposed as Transitivity, depicts the grammar of content meaning of interaction (Eggins 2004; Martin & Rose 2013). Interpersonal Metafunction is the grammar of interaction, as the terminology expresses a sort of exchange operational between one speaker or the other (Ravelli 2000; Thompson 2014). The present investigation considers the grammar of interaction as appropriate because of its capacity to explain the individual grammatical component of the clause in clear terms.

That being said, one might state that the grammar of interaction manifests meaning potential of the clause in three approaches: (i) MOOD – a combination of Subject and Finite; (ii) mood – grammatical structure; and (iii) semantic resources' system. Mood of the clause, as Bloor and Bloor (2013) exemplify, is an embodiment of Subject and Finite, leaving Predicator, Complement, and Adjunct at the sphere of Residue. In Thompson's (2014) sense, the combination of Mood and Residue generates a mnemonic result of SFPCA within the systemic semiotic slots. The grammatical structure, following Butler's (1985) and Fontaine's (2013) realisations, reveals the clause of English in the form of declarative, imperative, interrogative, and modulated interrogative. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) deduce that speaker's grammatical structures explicitly crystalise four pieces of meaning potential parameters. As a result, semantic resources locate

giving goods-&-services (offer), giving information (statement), demanding goods-&-services (command), and demanding information (question) in the speaker's communicative constructs. In retrospect, offer and command are ancillary communicative panaceas; whereas statement and question are constitutive communicative facilities (Thompson 2014).

3. Methodology

3.1. Measurement and research design

The images of the analysed ads were collected in Lagos Metropolis, where advertisers place their communications in sensitive domains; the other sites of ads' collections are *The Punch Newspaper* and the Internet. The analysts employed a stratified sampling procedure as a reliable method, adoptable to select suitable ads for analysis (cf. Keyton 2006). The stratified sampling method is a good option because the design allows the authors to quickly make meaningful decisions on the available advertising communications. Besides, the stratified sampling reduces expenses as well as augmenting the accuracy and speed of the investigation (cf. Patton 2015). As this method permitted the authors, using the concepts of Population, Sample, Strata and Subject, to choose a relatively small number of ads from a large group, the researchers divided the total of 30 ads into 10 sub-groups. In respect to that, a *Samsung* camera *WB50F®* and *hp 2000®* laptop were the electronic tools involved in the process. The authors employed the camera to capture some advertising frameworks in the streets and *The Punch Newspaper,* and used the laptop to download the ads from the Internet. The ads were subsequently adjusted into the required shapes and sizes via the *Microsoft Picture Manager®,* before being transferred into appropriate places in the paper.

3.2. Procedure

Before the final selection of 10 ads as the subject of analysis from the total of 30 ads, the researchers considered the textual organisations, clause patterns, and semantic implications as factors for the 10 choice ads. The 10 ads serve as a mini-corpus for analysis. As shown in Figure 2, the grammar of interaction (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) assisted in processing the advertising textual configurations. Tables 2 and 3, and Figures 3 and 4 display the outcomes of the systemic analysis, as drawn from Maxwell (2013), and Riffo et al. (2019). Therefore, the theoretical application, shown in Figure 2, and the quantitative expressions, demonstrated in Figures 3 and 4, have facilitated the discussion. The analysis further indicates the group structures in term of mnemonics of: P = Predicator; C = Complement; A = Adjunct; F = Finite; Conj. = Conjunction; and S = Subject. These are elements of *Below the Clause* – groups (Thompson 2014).

3.3. Data presentation

Table 1 displays the textual devices of the 10 ads. The grammatical frameworks are in clauses, as deployed in each ad – either as full clauses, fragmented components, or splintered structures.

Table 1. Textual devices in the 10 ads

Ad	Product	Textual Devices
1a	NESCAFÉ	Six countries.
1b		Six voices.
1c		One song.
1d		Start strong
1e		Finish strong
1f		Its all starts with a NESCAFÉ
2a	Zenith Bank	Keep your Account SAFE with *966# EazyBanking
2b		Dial *966*911# to stop debit transactions on your account
2c		if your card is lost or account details compromised
2d		More details
3a	Airtel	DataPlus
3b		airtel THE SMARTPHONE NETWORK
3c		*154*2#
4a	UBA	UBA United Bank for Africa
4b		Today, we celebrate you for all you do everyday
4c		Happy Father's Day
5a	Guinness	BIG STOUT FOR N100
5b		STARTING FROM 17:59
5c		Offer valid for 2 hours on Friday, Aug. 3, 2018 at selected bars.
5d		Terms & conditions apply.
5e		Happy International Beer Day
5f		DRINK RESPONSIBLY
6	Maggi	You're a Souper Woman
7a	NIVEA	NEW NIVEA CARE 100% NOURISHMENT 0% GREASINESS
7b		Tessa Virtue Canadian Ice Dancer Olympic Gold Medalist
8a	Royco	She adds great taste to all she does
8b		HAPPY INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
8c		#EachForEqual
9a	Asepso	Let your skin tell a fresh story with asepso antebacterial soap
9b		Cleanliness for healthy skin
10a	Guinness	CHEERS to those who CAME BEFORE US
10b		PLEDGE TO DRINK RIGHT Right Age Right Right Way
10c		MUST BE 18 YEARS OR OLDER
10d		ENJOY GUINNESS RESPONSIBLY
10e		GUINNESS MADE OF MORE

The analysis of the textual elements is presented in Figure 2.

3.4. Data analysis

Figure 2 summarises the analysis of the grammatical structures of the 10 ads. This is where the study has shown the group elements that make up the clauses of the advertising linguistic frameworks. The mnemonics, as illustrated earlier, follow after SFL's insight of groups' identification – below the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Thompson 2014).

1a

Six countries
C

1b

Six voices
C

1c

One song
C

1d

Start	strong
P	C

1e

Finish	strong
P	C

1f

It all	starts		with a NESCAFÉ
S	F: Present	P: Start	A

2a

Keep	your account	SAFE	with *966# EazyBanking
	C		
P			A

2b

Dial	*966*911#	to stop debit transactions	on your account
P	C	A	A

2c

if	your card	is	lost	or	details	compromised
A	S	F	P	Conj	S	P

2d

More details
C

3a

DataPlus
C

3b

airtel	THE SMARTPHONE NETWORK
S	C

3c

*154*2#
C

4a

UBA	United Bank	for Africa
S	C	A

4b

Today	we	celebrate		you	for all you do everyday
A	S	F: Present	P: celebrate	C	A

4c

Happy Father's Day
Minor Clause

5a

BIG STOUT	FOR N100
C	A

5b

STARTING	FROM 17:59
P	A

5c

Offer	valid	for 2 hrs	on Friday Aug 3 2018	at selected bars
S	C	A	A	A

5d

Terms & Conditions	apply	
S	F: Present	P: apply

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5e	Happy International Beer Day	5f	DRINK	RESPONSIBLY
	Minor Clause		P	A

6	You	're	a Souper Woman
	S	F	C

7a	NEW NIVEA CARE	100% NOURISHMENT	0% GREASINESS
	S	C	C

7b	Tessa Virtue	Canadian Ice Dancer	Olympic Gold Medalist
	S	C	C

8a	She	adds		great taste	to all she does
	S	F: Present	P: add	C	A

8b	HAPPY INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY	8c	#EachForEqual
	Minor Clause		C

9a	Let your skin	tell	a fresh story	with Asepso antibacterial soap
	S	P	C	A

9b	Cleanliness	for healthy skin
	C	A

10a	CHEERS	to those who CAME BEFORE US
	P	A

10b	PLEDGE TO DRINK RIGHT	Right Age	Right Amount	Right Way
	S	C	C	C

10c	MUST	BE	18 YEARS OR OLDER
	F	P	C

10d	ENJOY	GUINNESS	RESPONSIBLY	10e	GUINNESS	MADE	OF MORE
	P	C	A		S	P	A

Figure 2. Analysis of the grammatical structures of the 10 ads

This study further translates the analysis in Figure 2 into Tables 2 and 3, and Figures 3 and 5, pinpointing the outcomes of the grammar of interaction, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) have espoused.

4. Results
This segment responds to the RQs 1-4 in terms of grammatical expressions, implications to EFL classrooms, nature of grammatical mnemonics, and their semantic resources.

4.1. Obtainable grammatical expressions

This study reveals a mixture of full clauses (*It all starts with NESCAFE*) and punctuated clauses *NIVEA CARE 100% NOURISHMENT*) (AD1 & AD7) in the analysed ads. There are unchecked capitalisations of words such as *NESCAFE; BIG STOUT FOR N100;* and *HAPPY INTERNA-TIONAL WOMEN'S DAY* (AD1, AD5 & AD8). One also observes orthographic clauses as in *Six Countries* (AD1), small capitalisation of lexemes as in *One Song* (AD 1), and the application of an unnecessary-ungrammatical determiner as in *with a NESCAFE* (AD1).

The right to freedom of expressions (poetic licence) *Keep your Account SAFE with *966#,* business compounding words, *EazyBanking, DataPlus* (AD3 & AD4), and wilful replacement of letters in the form of novel constructions such as *Eazy* instead of *Easy* and *Souper Woman* instead of *Super Woman* (AD2 & AD6) are obvious.

As the publicist eliminates Subject and Finite from the clause, *airtel THE SMARTPHONE NETWORK* (AD 3), there are interspersed structures, *BIG STOUT FOR N100 STARTING FROM 17:59* (AD 5), application of symbols, *Terms & Conditions* (AD5), and removal of logical conjunctive devices, *TESSA VIRTUE CANADIAN ICE DANCER OLYMPIC GOLD MEDALIST* (AD7).

AD4 and AD5 employ Minor Clauses as in *HAPPY Father's Day* and *Happy International Beer Day*. Other communicative constructs are: abbreviation of structures, *You're a Souper Woman;* employment of the hash tag, *#EachForAll;* demonstration of a suggestive imperative clause with a subject, *Let your skin tell a fresh story* (AD9); and punctuation of a predicate from a command structure, *CHEERS to those who CAME BEFORE US* (AD10).

4.2. Implications of grammatical interactions

Advertising reveals to EFL students the characteristics of the clause system of English, such as the imperative (*Dial *966*911to stop debit transaction*), declarative (*She adds great taste to all she does*), disjunctive declarative (*Must be 18 years or older*), interrogative, and que-declarative. These clauses are not always linear from left to right; some are splintered and interspersed. There is creativity with linguistic elements as in *154*2#,* appearing as a tree in AD2 as well as learning modalities of clause economy, using one or two words to convey appropriate meaning.

Further implications are observable in the boldness of lexemic typology/graphology in fonts to indicate emphasis – *SAFE, Father's Day,* and *Souper Woman;* knowledge of SFL model of realising Finite and Predicator from a single process e.g. *celebrate* in AD 4; and conversion of time into a particular year, *17:59* to *1759*.

Significantly, EFL candidates will be introduced to neologisms – *Asepso, Royco, airtel,* and *Maggi,* and personification of an inanimate entity, e.g. *Let your skin tell a fresh story.*

4.3. Interpersonal mnemonics of SFPCA

Table 2 and Figure 3 illustrate the interpersonal mnemonics regarding the constituents of the textual devices of the 10 ads.

Table 2. Interpersonal mnemonics of the 10 ads

Clause	Interpersonal Mnemonics					Minor Clause
	Mood		Residue			
	S	F	P	C	A	
1a	0	0	0	1	0	0
1b	0	0	0	1	0	0
1c	0	0	0	1	0	0
1d	0	0	1	1	0	0
1e	0	0	1	1	0	0
1f	1	1	1	0	1	0
2a	0	0	1	1	1	0
2b	0	0	1	0	2	0
2c	2	1	2	0	1	0
2d	0	0	0	1	0	0
3a	0	0	0	1	0	0
3b	1	0	0	1	0	0
3c	0	0	0	1	0	0
4a	1	0	0	1	1	0
4b	1	1	1	1	2	0
4c	0	0	0	0	0	1
5a	0	0	0	1	1	0
5b	0	0	1	0	1	0
5c	1	0	0	1	3	0
5d	1	1	1	0	0	0
5e	0	0	0	0	0	1
5f	0	0	1	0	1	0
6	1	1	0	1	0	0
7a	1	0	0	2	0	0
7b	1	0	0	2	0	0
8a	1	1	1	1	1	0
8b	0	0	0	0	0	1
8c	0	0	0	1	0	0
9a	1	0	1	1	1	0
9b	0	0	0	1	1	0
10a	0	0	1	0	1	0
10b	0	0	0	3	0	0
10c	0	1	1	1	0	0
10d	0	0	1	1	1	0
10e	1	0	1	0	1	0
Total	14	7	15	28	20	3

The analysis further interprets Table 2 as Figure 3, below, being the graphical representation of the computed constituents of the interpersonal mnemonics in the ads.

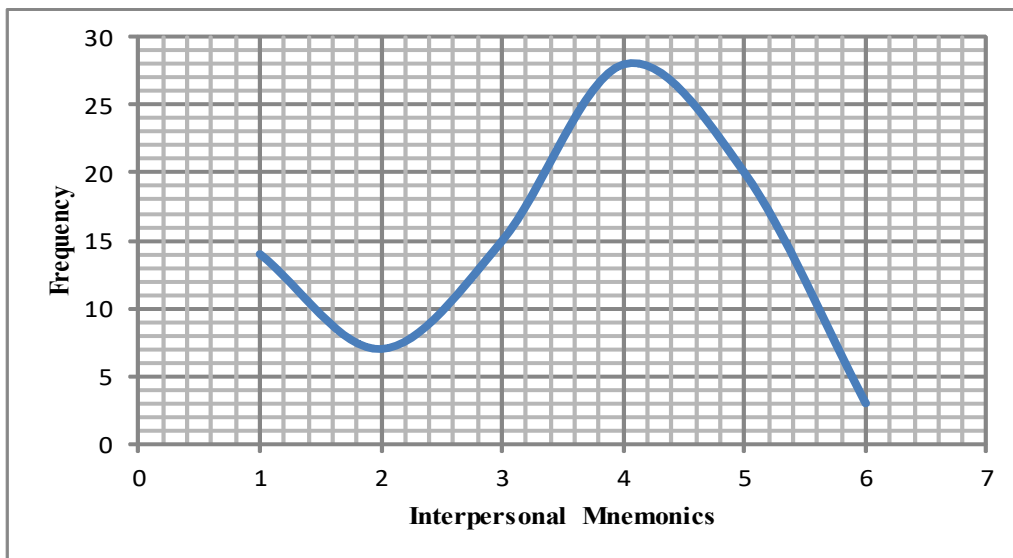| Interpersonal Mnemonics	S	F	P	C	A	Minor Clause
Frequency	14	7	15	28	20	3

Figure 3. Graphical representation of the interpersonal mnemonics of the 10 ads

Apart from the appearance of the minor clause, Figure 3 demonstrates five elements of the interpersonal mnemonics in the form of SFPCA. Complement tends to record the highest point of 28, as seconded by Adjunct of 20 points. Predicator and Subject score 15 points and 14 points respectively. Nevertheless, Finite and Minor Clause are the least, representing seven and three points apart. Obviously, the communicative strengths of the 10 ads rest on Complement-cum-Adjunct and Predicator-cum-Finite. By implication, the issue of grammatical timing is not a concern of the publicists unlike a focus on concrete nominal entities. One might quickly remark that communicators deliberately deploy tangible and palpable grammatical facilities in terms of place, person, thing, and abstract elements to fast-track consumption.

4.4. Semantic resources of offer, statement, command and question
Table 3 and Figure 4 illustrate the semantic resources of the 10 ads, as analysed earlier in Figure 2.

Table 3. Calibration of the semantic structures of the 10 ads

Clause	Grammatical Structure				
	Offer	Statement	Command	Question	Minor Clause
1a	0	1	0	0	0
1b	0	1	0	0	0
1c	0	1	0	0	0
1d	0	0	1	0	0
1e	0	0	1	0	0
1f	0	1	0	0	0
2a	0	0	1	0	0
2b	0	0	1	0	0
2c	0	1	0	0	0
2d	0	1	0	0	0
3a	0	1	0	0	0
3b	0	1	0	0	0
3c	0	1	0	0	0
4a	0	1	0	0	0
4b	0	1	0	0	0
4c	0	0	0	0	1
5a	0	1	0	0	0
5b	0	1	0	0	0
5c	0	1	0	0	0
5d	0	1	0	0	0
5e	0	0	0	0	1
5f	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	1	0	0	0
7a	0	1	0	0	0
7b	0	1	0	0	0
8a	0	1	0	0	0
8b	0	0	0	0	1
8c	0	1	0	0	0
9a	0	0	1	0	0
9b	0	1	0	0	0
10a	0	1	0	0	0
10b	0	1	0	0	0
10c	0	0	1	0	0
10d	0	1	0	0	0
10e	0	1	0	0	0
Total	0	25	7	0	3

As shown above, Table 3 calibrates the semantic resources of the grammar of interaction, regarding the 10 ads. However, the researchers projected Figure 4, being the graphical elucidation of the 10 ads' meaning potential.

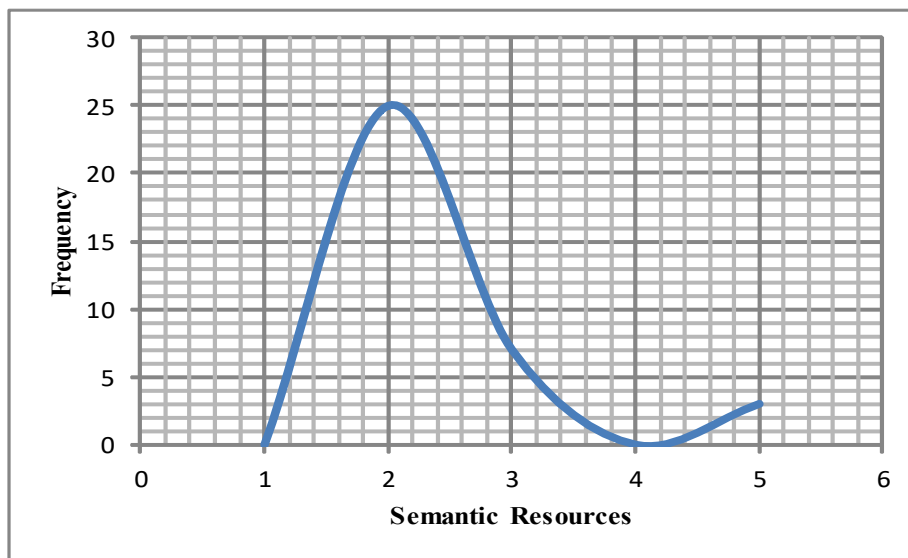| Grammatical Structure	Offer	Statement	Command	Question	Minor Clause
Frequency	0	25	7	0	3

Figure 4. Graphical representation of the semantic resources of the 10 ads

The semantic resources of the grammatical structures of the ads, drawing from Bloor and Bloor (2013), consist of four items: Offer, Statement, Command and Question. Minor Clause becomes imperative because the terminology operates in its own set class. Figure 4 shows that Statement, being declarative, and Command, being imperative, occur 25 times and seven times in the computation. Thus Offer, being a modulated interrogative, and Question, being interrogative, are collapsed subjects in the grammatical structures of the ads. The Minor Clause appears as an object of felicitations. Therefore, the communicators motivate readers with declarative clauses, some of them punctuated, and imperative clauses, making statements and commands, in order to sensitise the target audience to purchase goods and services.

The application of the grammar of interaction explicates the configuration of the elements of the sentences in terms of lexemic operations in the ads; and the semantic resources of the sentences. The implication is that the illumination of these linguistic elements could assist the L2, in the university classroom, to quickly understand the organisation and the mode of connections, as functional in advertising frameworks.

Figure 3 and Figure 4 list the parts of speech in terms of their grammatical components that are operational in the analysed ads. Familiarising both undergraduate and post-graduate EFL students with the frequencies of the word classes and their phrases in the ads may also be helpful as it draws their attention to the most common structures used in advertising. Moreover, students should easily grasp the most frequent clause structures, which will help to enhance their knowledge of the grammar of English.

5. Discussion

The study of the English language in the university domains seems to embrace the grammar of English, as discussed earlier, as being its core value. This is owing to the fact that grammar immensely assists in the knowledge of the numerous aspects of the language. It is not out of course to exclaim that the understanding of grammar is crucial to the understanding of the major segments of the English studies, at least to a large extent. In that regard, the analysts have pursued the understanding of this unit from the discursive point of the structural details and the meaningful resources associated with the texts. The matter of creative relationships, as to how such universe generates meaning from each communication, plays an indispensable role in deducing meaning from the plate. However, the investigation relies heavily on Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), Thompson (2014), Kress (2010), and Kress and van Leeuwen (2021) as the channels of propagating meaning from the frameworks.
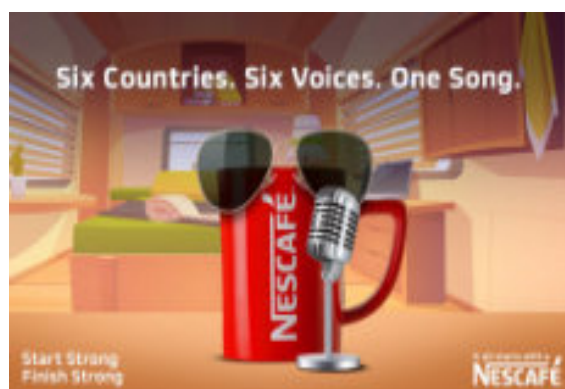
AD 1

There are six clauses in the *Nescafé®* ad. Ad 1a, 1b and 1c are punctuated statements, whereas 1d and 1e are full-fledged declarative clauses. *Six Countries. Six Voices.* and *One Song.* are chopped up linguistic constituents each ending with a full stop. This behaviour of grammatical mechanism positions the structures as being orthographic (Cook 2001). As shown in Figure 2, the constituent *Six Countries* is Complement as well as *Six Voices* and *One Song*. The Complements tend to be the remainders of the fragments of the clauses. However, *Start Strong; Finish Strong* and *It all starts with a Nescafé* are full clauses in the category of two imperatives and one declarative structure. *Start Strong* and *Finish Strong* have their constituents as Predicator and Complement respectively. The declarative clause, *It all start with a Nescafe*, has Subject (*It all*), Finite (Present), Predicator (*start*) and Adjunct (*with a NESCAFE*).

Though the fragmentation found in clauses 1a, 1b and 1c is a usual trait of advertising, one might comment that *a Nescafé* is seemingly a deviant construct because the publicist classifies *Nescafé* as a count nominal item. AD 1 employs musicians to promote the consumption of *Nescafé* in Africa. This is a probable reason for describing the promotion

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as involving *Six Countries* of Africa and *Six Voices* of musicians. The deployment of *One Song* appears to imply that the *Song* is about *Nescafé* and its consumption.

Three modes of a speaker, a pair of glasses, and a giant cup of *Nescafé* support the message. The speaker and a pair of glasses connote an instrument and an appearance of a musician. The enormous cup of *Nescafé* is at the centre of the other modes in order to demonstrate the main focus of the ad, making all the other elements of the framework to play supportive roles for the *Nescafé* consumption (Kress 2010). The ideas of *Start Strong* and *Finish Strong* reveal a kind of strength that *Nescafé* gives its consumers from morning till night. That might influence the ad's conclusion thus: *It all starts with a NESCAFÉ*. The counsel here is that individuals who require some strengths to properly function, must commence the activities of the day drinking a cup of *Nescafé*.

AD 2

AD 2 contains four clauses. Two of them are imperative, commanding readers on a financial security concern. The remaining two clauses are declarative, in which the last clause is fragmented. *Keep your account safe with *966# EazyBanking* has its grammatical mnemonic as being PCA. Thus, *Keep…safe* is the Predicator, *your account* is the Complement, and **966# EazyBanking* is the Adjunct. As the message sensitises the target audience to protect their accounts at *Zenith Bank®*, observations pinpoint four significant distinctions in the grammar. First, the advertiser distributes the Predicator, *Keep…safe*, across the clause. Second, there is an input of **966#* numerical code in the clause. Third, *eazy* is a deviant construct, replacing the usual lexeme, *easy*. Four, *eazy-Banking* is a compounding construction – a combination of *eazy + Banking* (Booij 2007; Denham & Lobeck 2013), which are separate entities in grammar. In a simple term,

966#, assists in the security of the customer's account. This operation relies on the customer, projecting the exercise as being a user friendly task.

2b, *Dial *966*911# to stop debit transactions on your account*, contains Predicator (*Dial*), Complement (**966*911#*), Adjunct (*to stop debit transactions*), and Adjunct (*on your account*). The command is a directive, instructing readers on the procedure of preventing fraudsters from tampering with the customers' accounts. 2a introduces **966#* as the authentic code of Zenith to prevent interference; **966*911#* in 2b elaborates the modality of such an achievement. Clauses 2a and 2b mix numerical codes with wordings to influence readers. The researchers might label these kinds of grammatical etiquettes as being alphanumerical clauses in spite of separate recurrence of numerical codes and words in the constructs.

The structural inclinations of the adverbial clause of condition, *If your card is lost or details compromised*, are Adjunct (*If*), Subject (*your card*), Finite (*is*), Predicator (*lost*), Conjunction (*or*), Subject (*details*), and Predicator (*compromised*). The situation created further informs recipients about the importance of the code, **966#*, being the core of AD 2. Consequently, the publicist culminates the message with *More details*. This is a Complement, informing viewers that there are other pieces of information, regarding **966#* that are not available in the ad. Those people, interested in using **966#* for securing their accounts at *Zenith Bank*, should seek sufficient information, perhaps, from the bank's online activities. The modes of a young lady and a handset are probable indicators of **966#* applications.

AD 3

The *Airtel®* ad displays three disjunctive clauses. These are: *DataPlus*, as 3a, *airtel the smartphone*, as in 3b, and **154*2#* as in 3c. As the texts appear, the researchers might classify their grammatical constituents as being Complements all through. It is only 3a

that employs *Airtel* as the Subject. *DataPlus* represents a compounding word from Data and Plus (Zapata Becerra 2000). Drawing from Thompson's (2014) insight, one might suggest the complete clause as *[Airtel provides] DataPlus [to subscribers]*. The advertising stylist has removed the Subject, Finite, and Adjunct from the construction, expecting readers to supply the missing communicative facilities. Pushing *DataPlus* to readers is a way of briefing the audience that *Airtel* is presently giving subscribers excess *Data* to communicate with family and friends.

Airtel the smartphone network reveals the Subject (*Airtel*) and *the smartphone network* (Complement) as the communicative constituents. Nevertheless, the full clause could be *Airtel [has] the smartphone network*. The Finite, *has*, has no place in the text; perhaps the ad does not need the Finite to convince readers, compared to a need for nominal elements. *The smartphone network* is seemingly a slogan to *Airtel* in this regard. Salient in the dotted text is another compound word, *smartphone* (Sugioka 2011), created from two independent words: *smart* and *phone*.

*154*2# can be classified as a splintered communicative device. This is owing to the fact that some linguistic elements are already lost in the structure. By employing malleability, one could mention that *[Dial] *154*2# [to enjoy DataPlus]* is the entire clause in the advertiser's perspective. The matter of economy-cum-memorability (Leech 1966) might have informed the application of disjunctions in the framework. In all, 3a, 3b, and 3c are declarative clauses, making some statements to persuade subscribers to purchase a sizable number of recharge cards for their smartphones.

The image of a lady holding a tree-like object, with seven branches, is the obvious mode of the ad. The lady raises the branches up, illustrating a branch for each code of **154*2#*. As the code, being the password, is an open channel to enjoy *DataPlus*, the root where the branches emanate could be *Airtel*. The seven branches of completeness are the network devices that promote **154*2#*. The boldness of **154*2#* signifies the code as the area of concentration of AD3.

AD4

There are three clauses in the *UBA®* ad. Figure 2 analyses 4a, *UBA United Bank for Africa* and 4b, *Today, we celebrate you for all you do every day* as declarative clauses. The grammatical mnemonics of 4a are Subject, Complement and Adjunct; whereas 4b has Adjunct, Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct as its constituents. There is no Finite in 4a in spite of its statement's characteristics. As a result, one might advocate *UBA [is] United Bank for Africa* as the intended clause. The littered nature of the text positions *United Bank for Africa* as the full meaning of the acronym, *UBA*. So, *UBA* = Subject, *United Bank* = Complement and *for Africa* = Adjunct with the omission of the Finite, is, in the configured contextual fragmentation.

The statement in 4b utilises the complete grammatical cues of the English systemic analysis in the form of SFPCA. However, the structural prompts are *Today* = Adjunct, *we* = Subject, *celebrate* = F/P, *you* = Complement, and *for all you do every day* = Adjunct. Besides the recurrence of Adjuncts two times at the beginning and end of the clause, the study explores *celebrate* as a systemic device of Finite and Predicator (Bloor & Bloor 2013). Finite/Predicator distributions for *celebrate* represents one of the peculiarities enshrined in Halliday's (1995) SFL. By *celebrate*, the advertising professional refers to a solemnity of rites, accompanied with joy and respect in a certain situation. AD 4 points to such a sacrament in order to join the league of men in the world, and particularly Nigerians, to perform the yearly ceremony labelled as the *Father's Day*.

The communication framework explicates the festivity with the minor clause, *Happy Father's Day*. Historical reports, including Simpson and Roud (2000), indicate that the *Father's Day* is a global phenomenon. The Catholic enthusiasts commenced the celebration in Europe in the Middle Ages in consonance with the instruction that God gave the patriarchal Abraham that all nations shall be blessed through your seed (Heesterman et al. 1992; Roud 2006). However, the Gregorian Calendar elaborates that there is no fixed day for the celebration of fathers. The recognition of fathers is on a Sunday of a stipulated month as a country desires such as in March, May, June and July (Ferguson 2007). UBA propagated this ad on June 16th, 2019. The images of the father and daughter, exchanging pleasantries are modes reflecting paternal ideology (Van de Vliet 2017; Pinho & Gaunt 2020). The *daughter*, as AD 4 manifests, kisses the fore-head of the father, and in return, the father bursts into laughter.

AD 5

Six clauses elicit the messages of AD 5. First, there are two interspersed structures, that is, *Big stout for N100, Starting from 17:59,* as in 5a and 5b. The structure of 5a relies on Complement (*Big stout*) and Adjunct (*for N100*); whereas 5b has Predicator (*Starting*) and Adjunct (*from 17:59*). The disjunctive grammatical values can be considered as being declarative because the elements of full textual facilities could be *Big stout [is sold] for N100 and [the sales is] starting from 17:59*. In that sense, the communicators have espoused Finite and Predicator, and Subject, Finite from the two natural declarative statements.

The ad illumines two specific concerns of the purchasing price of the *Big stout* as well as the commencing time, *17:59*, of its obtainment. In addition, 5c, *Offer valid for 2 hrs on Friday Aug 3 2018 at selected bars*, is another disrupted clause. Keen observations show that the Finite, *is*, is not part of the clause. That is the motive for Figure 2 to indicate SCAAA as the constituent aide-mémoire of the clause. The whole clause ought to be: *Offer [is] valid for 2 hrs on Friday Aug 3 2018 at selected bars*. In conjunction with specified goals stated earlier, the duration of purchasing the product, the exact date and the locations are significant in this text. Perhaps these desires influence the elliptical structure in 5c.

Second, *Terms & Conditions apply*, as in 5d, contains Subject (*Terms & Conditions*), Finite (*present*), and Predicator (*apply*), as the grammatical hints of the declarative clause. This implies that there are other justifications that qualify consumers to enjoy the promotion. Third, AD 5 felicitates with *Guinness* consumers in the day of celebrating the consumption of beer. That encourages the set structure, *Happy International Beer Day*. Fourth, as the special day is trans-national, the *Guinness* publicist culminates the message with *Drink responsibly*. The imperative clause is a means of calming the temper and drinking enthusiasms of consumers. It appears that the advertiser understands the behaviour that some consumers might demonstrate that day. The command, *Drink*

responsibly, cautions consumers to drink without any guilt, as individuals are accountable for any negative influences of alcohol in their senses. The *Guinness* foam, splashing above the glass, is the major mode of AD 5. The foaming attitude alerts readers to consumption.

AD 6

You're a Souper Woman, besides the logo of *Maggi®,* is the only clause in AD 6. The grammatical nod operates in the form of Subject (*You*), Finite (*'re*), and Complement (*a Souper Woman*). Grammarians welcome the abbreviation of the copula are to 're even in formal settings. Nonetheless, the lexeme, *Souper,* is striking because the feature is deviant in grammatical considerations. Two words are contentious in the linguistic pattern. These are *soup* and *Souper*. The *soup* implies a dish, made up of a combination of water and other liquids, mixed up with ingredients such as vegetable, fish and meat. The *Maggi* cube, in the approach of the advertiser, is an axiomatic item, stimulating edibility and pleasantness in other ingredients. *Maggi* stands as a craving material in the soup augmenting deliciousness.

The notion of *Souper* refers to a wonderful entity, exemplifying awesome qualities. In corollary, the advertiser creates a personal communicative terminology, *Souper,* from *soup* and *super* to entice readers. The formation procedure replaces *su-* in *super* with *sou-* in *soup* in order to generate Souper. This process is a sort of blending despite that the initial "morpheme" of the word is substituted for the initial "morpheme" of another word (Haspelmath 2002). As a result, one might conclude that *Souper* is a qualifier for a woman, who uses *Maggi* in her cooking applications, making the cook an extremely excellent individual. The salutation of a mode (a man standing replicating a military gesture) testifies to the cook's exceptional quality, which *Maggi* enhances. The woman and dishes in AD 6 are also significant. As the woman is happily looking at viewers, the foods are on the table waiting for human consumption. One might suggest that it is

the preparation of the foods on the table that inspires the man to appreciate the woman in a military posture. The man's heartily gratitude could connote the metaphor (and the proverb) that "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach".

AD 7

AD 7 exhibits two disintegrated clauses of *New Nivea 100% nourishment 0% greasiness* and *Tessa Virtue Canadian Ice Dancer Olympic Gold Medalist in 7a and 7b. Figure 2 unveils New Nivea* as Subject, *100% nourishment* as Complement, and *0% greasiness* as another Complement of the construction. As a usual behaviour of advertising, the Finite has and the Conjunction and are the obliterated textual units. Thus the full declarative clause is probably *New Nivea Care [has] 100% nourishment [and] 0% greasiness*. The features of *New Nivea* are the selling point in the ad, highlighted as 100% nourishment and 0% greasiness. By implication, New Nivea is a healthy product that nourishes the human body with adequate nutrients. It implies that the nutrients from New Nivea prevent the body from experiencing oily surface; the cream only charms the human body.

The other interposed structure has a connection with the mode of a young lady in the framework. The advertising guru expresses the personality of the image as being *Tessa Virtue*. It is the combination of the scattered structures that generates a splintered declarative clause of *Tessa Virtue Canadian Ice Dancer Olympic Gold Medalist*. Positioning the clause in its fullness, one will have *Tessa Virtue [is a] Canadian Ice Dancer [and an] Olympic Gold Medalist*. After the punctuation of Finite and Article (*is* and *a*), and Conjunction and Determiner (*and* and *an*), the construct signals *Tessa Virtue* as Subject, *Canadian Ice Dancer* as Complement, and *Olympic Gold Medalist* as a Complement recurrence.

Ad 7 fraternises with a known star, *Tessa Virtue,* as a channel to market *New Nivea.* The body of the young lady demonstrates a replica of what the cream will do in human bodies. As the body of *Tessa Virtue* is nourished so will the body of its consumers. The sports-lady further motivates readers through her manner of laughter, as the

individual displays *New Nivea* to the public, intimating that *New Nivea Care* actually overhauls to maintain nourishing people's bodies.

AD8

There are three communicative clauses in AD 8 with peculiar disjunctions. 8a, *She adds great taste to all she does*, is declarative. 8b, *Happy International Women's Day*, is a minor clause. 8c, *#EachForEqual*, is a hash-tagged disjunctive construction. The grammatical cue of 8a commences from subject (*she*) to Finite (*present*), Predicator (*add*), Complement (*great taste*), and Adjunct (*to all she does*). The investigation could deduce salient concerns from the statement in 8a – (i) *great taste* and (ii) *to all she does*. *Great taste*, as appeared in the advertising plate, communicates to illustrate some semantic implications in the form of a count noun and uncountable noun.

On the one hand, as a countable noun, the constituent points to a boundless and unlimited sensation that the human tongue responds to being a feeling of *Royco's® chemical compound*. The mental excessive aesthetic influences consumers to give preference to adding the condiment to their food preparations. On the other hand, *great taste* tends to be figurative, decorating *Royco* as a small substance that adds flavour, for instance, to a big pot of soup. As a result, the entire ingredients of the soup experience the presence of Royco in its fullness. It is the abundance diffusion of the condiment, as functional anywhere it locates itself, that the communicator explicates as great taste. The omission of the indefinite article, a, is a pointer, informing the analysts to consider taste as a noncount noun. If the constituent is countable, the lexemes will definitely appear as *a great taste*. As mentioned earlier, *Happy International Women's Day* is a minor clause signalling a set structure of English. One might also add that AD 8 intends to elicit women, across the globe regarding their *Day*.

The concept of *#EachforEqual* is probable meaning potential enlightening women about the common access that everyone has in consuming *Royco* without impediments. The communication places every woman in a similar measure in the kitchen, accessible to Royco. The researchers consider *#EachForEqual* as Complement despite the compounding formation of *Each + For + Equal* (Bauer 2001; Lieber 2010). In a declarative essence, the full clause could be [*Royco represents #EachForEqual*]. Before *Royco*, every woman is equal, which could mean: equal right to the Kitchen, equal right to use *Royco* for food preparations, and equal right to put food on the family's tables. The mode of a woman carrying out a marital responsibility endures the claims above.

AD 9

Two clauses are operational in the *Asepso®* ad. The first is imperative, while the second is a splintered declarative. *Let your skin tell a fresh story with Asepso antibacterial soap* is a command; whereas *Cleanliness for healthy skin* is a dotted statement. Going by a constituent configuration, *Let your skin* is Subject, *tell* is Predicator, *a fresh story* is Complement and *with Asepso antibacterial soap* is Adjunct. Although it is quite uncommon for an obvious Subject to operate in the imperative clause, one observes such occurrence once in a while. In this context, *Let your skin,* is the Subject, functioning in a suggestive class (Thompson 2014).

The communication proposes a desire to readers in order to permit their skins to respond to the quality of *Asepso*. This could happen if individuals buy and use the soap consistently. There is no doubt that the *skin* is part of the human body; it does not represent a whole human body. The advertising stylist personifies the *skin,* projecting it to talk like a person (Long 2018). Having considered the skin as an animate object, every human being should be quiet. In essence, *the story* in this context is not the usual one. The narrative connotes the appearance of the *skin* to neighbours and neighbours' assessments.

The ad employs *a fresh story* as a strategy to compare the status of the skin in the past when using other soap to the present when using *Asepso* to bath. Moreover, the framework reveals another characteristic of *Asepso* as being an *antibacterial soap.* This locates *Asepso* as a probable drug that inhibits *skin* germs. In a simple diction, *Asepso* kills skin diseases. That is the logical intention for employing the appositive facility, *antibacterial soap,* to recapitulate the quality. 9b, *Cleanliness for healthy skin,* contains Complement and Adjunct. The stretch of the fragment could be *[Asepso gives] cleanliness for [a] healthy skin.* The image of a young lady, joyfully displaying her skin for viewers, is the mode that demonstrates the *skin's fresh story* campaigned in AD 9. Individuals, who use *Asepso,* in the publicist's point of view, will appear as the young lady in happiness.

AD 10

The analysts have classified the dispersed text of AD 10 into five clauses. The first is *Cheers to those who came before us.* The grammatical mnemonics are Predicator (*Cheers*) and Adjunct (*to those who came before us*). The full clause could have been *[Give] cheers to those who came before us.* The imperative clause deploys *Cheers* to represent a normal toast, obtainable when drinking a beer in an esteemed company. Notably, *those who came before us* implies a reference to the seeming brewers and consumers of the *Black is Beautiful* global beer (Pityana 1972; Snail 2008; Taylor 2016; Ortega 2018). The appreciation, one might remark, is a voice of consumers, who presently enjoy *Guinness®* that is *Made of More.* The ad also displays, in a dark form, illustrating *Guinness Black* with a throng of consumers jubilating in the background.

The second is *Pledge to drink right* at the *Right Age* with the *Right Amount* in the *Right Way.* For the researchers to explore the entirety of the punctuated clause, it could be *[The] pledge to drink right [involves] right age, right amount [and] right way.* The concept, *Pledge,* is a solemn promise to drink *Guinness* cautiously-appropriately. Engaging one in such a drinking fraternity could succour someone to escape the life-threatening

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alcoholic substance in the content. In order to avoid excessive alcohol thrilling, the third clause asserts that *[A consumer of Guinness] must be 18 years or older. 18 years* "is" the minimum age requested for anyone in Nigeria to drink any alcoholic beverage. The disjunctive grammar realises Finite (*Must*), Predicator (*be*) and Complement (*18 years or older*). It is salient to deploy a Finite in a clause without the Subject. *Must* is assertive, laying emphasis on certainty and compliance of rules, highlighted in reference to *Age, Amount* and *Way* (Hermerén 1999). These are unbending requirements for a deliberate satisfaction derived from Guinness.

In conclusion, the fourth clause summarises that the lovers of this beer should *Drink Guinness responsibly* because the beer is not ordinary rather *Guinness [is] made of [much] more* palatable ingredients incomparable to other beers. A relevant mode decorated in this communication is a chopped up arm, exhibiting a *Guinness* black bottle to recipients, as a thematic image much more pronounced than all the other modes – the text, picture and colour. This is an indicator that the *Guinness* beer is the only reason for displaying AD 10 for readers' consumption.

6. Conclusion

This investigation upholds that advertising can function as a tool for teaching the English language to foreign students. The reasons presented are that advertising frameworks seemingly have no restrictions in constructing persuasive texts. One might also submit that the intention and need to inspire readers to consume ads and advertised products motivate publicists to be creative in their communication strategies. Consequently, this study reveals grammatical mnemonics in order to demonstrate the communicative elements of the analysed ads.

Within the spheres of SFPCA, the notions of orthographic clauses, *Six Countries;* counting of uncountable nouns, *with a Nescafe;* and creative structures, *EazyBanking* and *Souper* are obvious in the advertising plates. *DataPlus* representing a morphological compounding, **966*911#* projecting an alphanumeric constituent, and *#EachForEqual* exhibiting the hash-tag notion are functional facilities of the communications. The advertisers are shown to use statements, e.g. *Today, we celebrate you…;* commands, *Keep your account safe;* and minor clauses, *Happy Women's Day, Happy International Beer Day,* and *Happy Father's Day;* some of the constructions are interspersed and splintered phenomena. Some of the disjunctive elements are *More details, Big stout for N100, cleanliness for healthy skin,* and *Airtel the smartphone network.* Further observations establish flashback, as in *Cheers for those who came before us* and oath taking as in *Pledge to drink right.*

Engaging EFL students in the analysis of these advertising features is likely to enhance their understanding of the constituents and grammatical challenges of the clauses. It may also create a wider understanding of grammatical distinctions in

learners to enable them identify grammatical and ungrammatical configurations of the textual features of ads.

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Dr. Taofeek O. Dalamu, a Senior Lecturer, obtained a Ph.D. in English Language from the University of Lagos, Akoka-Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria. As a faculty member, he currently teaches English at the Department of English and Literary Studies, Anchor University, Lagos, Nigeria. This individual specialises in Systemic Functional Linguistics, as applicable to Discourse Analysis, Multimodality, Social Semiotics, and Digital Humanities in relation, mostly, to advertising communications. As a functional social semiotician, Dr. Dalamu exhibits a variety of over two scores of publications in reputable international journals across the globe. See: `www.researchgate.net.cdn/taofeekdalamu`

Dr. Ke Yang obtained a Ph.D. (Ed.D.) in English Education from Hong Kong Baptist University, Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong; and M.A. English Linguistics at University of Nottingham. However, he teaches cross-cultural communication and advanced English reading at the College of English, Nanjing Xiaozhuang University, Nanjing, China PR, East Asia. Some of his publications are available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ke-Yang-18. Email: `16447093@life.hkbu.edu.hk`

KATARZYNA LACH MIRGHANI[1]
University of Białystok, Poland
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3651-0825

Thank you, sorry and *please:* English politeness markers in Polish

Abstract. The aim of this study is to analyse the use of the English politeness markers *thank you*, *sorry* and *please* in Polish. My initial hypothesis was that the politeness markers have already been incorporated into the mental lexicon of Polish speakers, and are thus understood and accepted by them, but they do not have the prospect of replacing their Polish equivalents because they lack the necessary pragmatic force. Previous studies (Terkourafi 2011; Peterson & Vaattovaara 2014) show that pragmatic borrowings are unlikely to do so. However, this corpus study finds a context in which a borrowing is used increasingly, namely *sorry* in the collocation with ale ('but'). It seems to have started replacing its Polish equivalents in this context, as it constitutes 25% of all collocations of apologetic behaviour with *ale* in the National Corpus of Polish. However, the majority of the occurrences of the analysed politeness markers in the corpus are restricted to Internet-mediated communication.

Keywords: linguistic politeness, pragmatic borrowings, politeness markers, *thank you, sorry, please*.

1. Introduction

The study of politeness has been one of the focal points of pragmatics since the 1970s. There are three primary ways of understanding this phenomenon: politeness as social rules (Watts et al. 1992), politeness as adherence to maxims (Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983) and politeness as face management (Brown & Levinson 1987; Spencer-Oatey 2008). Recent (postmodern) approaches view it also as a discursive concept, shaped in interaction (cf. Haugh 2007; Mills 2011). As observed by Ogiermann (2009: 1), "[w]hile pragmatic theories view politeness as a set of strategies used to redress face and culture as a factor influencing strategy choice, postmodern theories emphasise the unpredictable nature of politeness and the heterogeneous nature of culture". This study draws from

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1   Address for correspondence: Centre for Linguistic Studies, Faculty of Philology, University of Białystok, Pl. NZS 1, 15-420 Białystok, Poland. E-mail: k.lach@uwb.edu.pl

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, which is often used in cross-cultural comparisons in the field of politeness, and analyses the English and Polish cultures as negative/positive politeness cultures; it also aims to investigate the social rules governing politeness (cf. Watts et al. 1992).

When two languages are in contact, it is inevitable that some words are borrowed (Andersen et al. 2017). Researchers have demonstrated that the process concerns not only lexical but also pragmatic borrowings (Andersen 2014). Rather than contribute to the content of an utterance, pragmatic borrowings modify the hearer's interpretation by carrying linguistic and extralinguistic signals – they shape the listener's interpretation by signalling "speaker attitude the speech act performed, discourse structure, information state, politeness, etc." (Andersen 2014: 17). Politeness markers are among the most common items involved in pragmatic borrowing (Andersen 2014; Peterson 2017). Having become a lingua franca, English started influencing other languages and became the source language of pragmatic borrowings for many of them (Terkourafi 2011; Peterson & Vaattovaara 2014). This study focuses on the use of the English politeness markers *thank you, sorry* and *please* in Polish. It investigates their use in the National Corpus of Polish to establish the degree to which they have been adapted to the Polish morphological patterns and to identify the language registers and contexts in which they appear most frequently.

2. English and Polish politeness

Researchers (e.g. Brown & Levinson 1987; Lubecka 2000; Ogiermann 2012) agree that some cultures are inherently positive or negative politeness cultures. This division is connected with Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction between positive and negative face. Their understanding of the notion of face goes back to Goffman, who defined it as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (1955: 213). Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that all speech acts are potentially face-threatening; hence their use of the term "face-threatening act" (FTA).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 62) associate negative face with the want that one's actions be unimpeded by others, and positive face with the want for one's wants to be desirable to others. In consequence, negative politeness cultures are characterized by the use of strategies involving indirectness. They aim to minimise the feeling of imposition and thus fulfil the negative face wants. In positive politeness cultures, polite behaviour focuses on the strategies that fulfil the positive face wants by focusing on appreciation and approval of the hearer which may be obtained by maintaining the feeling of being united and having some common ground (Brown & Levinson 1987).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 129-130), in English-speaking countries, negative politeness is predominant and more developed, which means that

negative-politeness strategies, such those involving indirectness, are more elaborate. Poland is said to be a positive politeness country (cf. Lubecka 2000; Ogiermann 2012), where the sense of camaraderie predominates over the need to be unimpeded. Negative politeness in Polish culture may be associated with a high degree of social distance and thus, among the members of the in-group, perceived as an indication of coldness or dishonesty. In Polish, indirectness, achieved among other means by highly elaborate utterances (Jakubowska 1999), which are marked as inherently polite by Clark and Schunk (1980), may be perceived as "bizarre", "absent from Polish culture" (Wierzbicka 1985: 149), or even "manipulative" (Ogiermann 2009: 38). In Polish culture, politeness is achieved by different means, such as diminutives, exaggeration and exclamations (Wierzbicka 1985; Ogiermann 2009, 2012).

3. English-Polish interactions

Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 17-42) provides a comprehensive diachronic analysis of the English-Polish interactions since the 17th century. The first English borrowings were found in the magazine called "Merkuriusz Polski Ordynaryjny" from 1661 (the examples are: *lord, mylord, spiker* [the assimilated form of *speaker*], and *par*). They described English realia, which according to the author, is typical for the oldest borrowings. The other group of the oldest borrowings were maritime terms (*cutter, ket(ch), sloop* and *yacht*). Later, in a dictionary from 1779, the scholar found 17 borrowings all of which were within the two categories mentioned above. All 17 words were nouns, which as she states is a common tendency in all European languages. In the 20th century, the influence of English gained momentum. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1994) published a compilation of 1600 lexical units deriving from this language, and sixteen years later a dictionary of English loanwords with 2000 units in 2010 (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010). Looking at the growth rate over the sixteen years between 1994 and 2010, it may be inferred that the number of loanwords has certainly grown in the first two decades of the 21st century. The growth had been intense even before the increase in the use of the Internet. Since 2010, the Internet has become one of the most common means of communication and facilitated international contacts. What is more, Szerszunowicz (2020) demonstrates that American culture has influenced Polish ways of communication in everyday interactions and induced the emergence of some pragmatic idioms such as *miłego dnia* [*have a nice day*]. Sztencel (2009: 3) claims that the contact between Polish and English is not "casual" nowadays and has reached Stage 3 according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988) borrowing scale and should be described as "more intense". The use of the politeness markers *thank you, sorry* and *please* in Polish is also one of the indications of the intense language contact.

4. Material and method

This study draws from the speech acts theory (Austin 1962) and politeness theories (see Lakoff 1973, 1990; Leech 1983; Brown & Levinson 1987; Watts et al. 1992). It combines the study of pragmatic borrowings (Andersen 2014; Ogiermann 2012) with the corpus linguistics framework (see McEnery & Hardie 2012). The analysed phrases, i.e. *thank you, sorry* and *please,* are formulaic expressions also called *Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices* (IFIDs) (Ogiermann 2012). This study first looks at their use in English, then it examines the use of their Polish equivalents and, finally, it investigates the uses of *thank you, sorry* and *please* in Polish.

In order to compare the usage of the selected English and Polish politeness markers, and to analyse the use of English politeness markers in Polish, two corpora have been utilised: the British National Corpus (henceforth the BNC) and the National Corpus of Polish (henceforth the NCP). Both of them are reference corpora and no new entries are added to them. The BNC consists of 100 million words from over 4000 samples of modern English. 90% of the corpus consists of the written sources and 10% of the spoken samples of British English (see Aston & Burnard 1997: 28-31). The entries are dated from 1985 to 1994. The NCP consists of approximately 1.5 billion words in Polish from the period between 1988 and 2010 (see Przepiórkowski et al. 2012: 8). Both corpora are available online. The BNC has been accessed through the online interface by Birmingham Young University (see `https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/`). The NCP has been accessed through the PELCRA NJKP browser (Pęzik 2012) (NKJP is the abbreviation of the full name of the corpus in Polish: Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego). Both corpora provide researchers with the metadata about each entry so the year of each entry could be obtained. The frequencies and collocations have also been collected through the corpus tools. For the purpose of defining the analysed phrases, the dictionaries of English and Polish have been used (Rundell Fox 2002; Drabik et al. 2018).

The analysis focused on the quantitative and qualitative data to establish in what contexts and how frequently the English politeness markers are used in Polish. Moreover, this study aims to explore the possibility of the replacement of the Polish politeness markers with the English ones in some contexts. For this purpose, it was essential to analyse the frequencies and the patterns of use (the collocations) of the phrases in question in Polish. The choice of the phrases with English politeness markers was not restricted in any way. The only criterium was the use of the markers in naturally occurring sentences formulated in Polish, and not in translations or quotations from English. In order to obtain such search results in one particular case (*thank you* and *thanks*) some phrases with English collocates such as *for* and *in advance* had to be excluded. The translations of the Polish phrases provided in this chapter have been provided by the present author; they are given in square brackets when necessary.

5. Discussion of results

5.1. *Thank you*, *sorry*, and *please* in English speech patterns

5.1.1 Thank you

To *thank* is a performative verb that is used "to tell somebody that you are grateful for something they have done or given to you" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1484). From the discourse analysis perspective, the function of *thank you* is interactional – its aim is to express one's gratitude. The verb *thank* is transitive and its grammar pattern is: "to *thank* sb for (doing) sth" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1484). According to Rundell and Fox (2002: 1484), *thanks* is also an informal interjection and can be used for "telling someone you are grateful for something they have said or done", "politely accepting something that is offered to you", or (when used with *no*) for "politely refusing something" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1484). What is interesting, even when used as a performative verb, it rarely occurs with an explicit subject (the subject is implied). In the BNC, out of 9555 occurrences of *thank you*, there are barely 126 occurrences of *I thank you*. The other, more informal form of this phrase is *thanks* with a frequency of 6297 in the BNC. The most common collocate of *to thank* is *you* (frequency 9555) as an interjection or an IFID (Ogiermann 2012: 32). The pronoun *you* does not collocate with the informal *thanks*. The most common collocates of both *thank you* and *thanks* in the BNC are: *very* and *much*. They usually appear together as in examples (1) a-e. The frequency of *very* in the BNC is 1314, and the frequency of *much* is 1332.

(1) a. *Thank you very much.*
    b. *Thank you* all *very much.*
    c. *Thank you very much, thank you* Chris.
    d. *Thanks very much.*
    e. That's great, *thanks very much.*

The next most frequent collocate of *thank you* and *thanks* is, as evidenced in the BNC, the preposition *for* (frequency of *thank you* is 1091 and of *thanks* 633), which may be seen in examples (2) a-e.

(2) a. I haven't been able to write formally to *thank you* for the meeting...
    b. *Thank you for* that...
    c. Well *thank you* for your comments anyway...
    d. *Thanks for* inviting me.
    e. *Thanks for* pointing that out Terry.

Another common collocate of *thank you* and *thanks* is *no* which occurs in a frontal position as in "*no, thanks*" (frequency 318) or "*no, thank you*" (frequency 308) and is a polite way of refusing. Other collocates of *thanks* are *to* (frequency 2456) and *the* (frequency 1031), but the function of such utterances is not exclusively performative – they serves as means of giving credit to somebody.

5.1.2 Sorry

Sorry is an adjective that means "ashamed, embarrassed, or unhappy about something that you have done" or "feeling sadness or sympathy for someone because something bad has happened to them" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1365). Since it is an adjective, it usually follows the verb *to be*. The grammar pattern is: a pronoun + *to be* + *sorry* + a preposition (*for/to/about*). The verb *to be* and a pronoun may be elided, but are always inferred as in examples (3) a-c.

(3) a. Oh, *sorry* to disturb you both.
    b. Well *sorry*, Anne, but I know too much about you to take this drivel.
    c. Yes. *Sorry*, I'm not explaining myself very well, am I?

In each sentence, the first person pronoun and the verb *to be* could be added so the first sentence could be formed as "Oh, *I am sorry* to disturb you both".

The most frequent prepositions that follow *sorry* are *for*, *to* and *about* (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1365). In the BNC, they are also the most common collocates, along with *I* and *am.*

(4) a. I'*m sorry about* that!
    b. I'*m sorry for* all that, I'm really *sorry*.
    c. I'*m sorry for* you but this is what democracy is all about…
    d. I'*m sorry to* have brought this down
    e. *Sorry to* butt in but if anybody's got a car parked at the back
    f. …well, *sorry to* interrupt, but…

As can be seen in examples (4) c, (4) e and (4) f, not only can *sorry* be used after an FTA has been performed but it also serves as a softening tool if a speaker wants to interrupt or say something unpleasant. The clause after the IFID is then introduced with *but,* which is not one of the top ten collocations, but is still fairly common (frequency – 319).

5.1.3 Please

Please is an interjection that is "used as a polite way of asking for something or of asking someone to do something" and for "emphasising a request, an order, or a statement" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1081). It may be placed at the end of a clause: *Can I make an order,*

please or at the beginning: *Please stop it*. If it occurs in the middle, it becomes an emphasising tool: *Can you please stop it?* Another use of *please* is a "polite way of accepting something that someone has offered you: *yes, please* or *please do*" or for "saying that you think someone has said something silly" (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1081). In this meaning, the collocate will be *oh* as in *Oh, please*.

The common collocations in the BNC are *me* (usually appearing in a distance of from two to four words, as in examples (5) a-d), *contact*, *yes*, and *do*. The personal pronoun *me* occurs in the context of asking for something. Its frequency in BNC is 626. The collocate *contact* appears in the context of asking someone to contact the speaker or another party, as in examples (5) e-g, and its frequency is 577.

> (5) a. Will you get *me* the key then *please*?
>   b. Can somebody pass *me* the new potatoes *please*?
>   c. Let *me* use the Tippex *please* Phillipe.
>   d. Otherwise *please* send *me* a colour sample...
>   e. *Please*! *Please contact* us at this number...
>   f. If you have any queries, *please contact* the travel agent through which you booked...
>   g. Should you have any query or complaint regarding this insurance *please contact*
>   HCI.

The collocates *yes* and *do* occur in the context of agreeing to something (as in examples (6) a-c). The frequency of *yes* is 308. Although the frequency of the collocate *do* is 721 in BNC, in the majority of cases, it is used in a negative request as in example (6) e. Just a few examples of the emphasised agreement with the use of *do* (as in example (6) d) could be found.

> (6) a. One of these will do? *Yes please, yes please,*
>   b. Shall we do that now? *Yes. Please.*
>   c. Are we coming down Saturday? *Yes, please.*
>   d. *Yes*. Please *do* Den.
>   e. *Please do* not hesitate to contact me if...

5.2. The use of the Polish equivalents of *thank you, sorry,* and *please* – *dziękuję, przepraszam, proszę*

5.2.1. Dziękuję ('thank you')
The infinitive form of *dziękuję* is *dziękować*. It is a verb that means "to express gratitude, to give thanks" (Drabik et al. 2018: 180). The equivalent of *thanks* in Polish is *dzięki*, which is a more informal way of giving thanks. The most common collocates of *dziękuję*,

as evidenced in the NCP, are *bardzo* and *mocno,* which are intensifiers meaning 'very',as well. Panu and pani are the objects in a V-form. The most common collocate of *dzięki* is *wielkie,* which literally translates into 'big' and is an intensifier. The use of an object is optional so the main difference between the English to *thank* and the Polish *dziękować* is that the former is transitive and the latter intransitive.

5.2.2. Przepraszam *('sorry')*

The infinitive form of the verb *przepraszam* is *przepraszać.* It is a transitive verb that means "to ask for forgiveness by explaining oneself and giving excuses" (Drabik et al. 2018: 773). It may also be used to politely get someone's attention. Other phrases also described by Ogiermann (2012) which are used for apologising are *przykro mi* and *wybacz.* The meaning of *przykro mi* is the closest to the English *I'm sorry. Wybacz* means 'forgive me'. The most popular collocations of *przepraszać,* according to NCP, are *mocno* and *bardzo* – the intensifiers that are used for *dziękuję* as well. *Przepraszać* and *sorry* are different parts of speech so their grammar patterns are different.

5.2.3. Proszę *('please')*

Prosić is an infinitive form of the Polish equivalent of *please, proszę.* It means not only "to ask somebody for something", but also "to encourage someone to pay us a visit or to get somewhere" (Drabik et al. 2018: 746). The verb is transitive and its most popular collocations in the NCP are the objects *panią* and *pana* ('Mr' and 'Ms'). It may be used with the collocate *o* ('for'). *Prosić* and *please* are different parts of speech, so their patterns of use differ.

5.3. *Thank you, sorry,* and *please* in Polish

5.3.1. *Thank you*

First of all, it is worth noting that the use of *thank you,* according to the NCP data, is not common in spoken communication in Polish. There were no search results in the spoken part of the NCP when searching for any of the variations that appeared in the written corpus. The reason for that may be the difficulty of pronouncing the sound /θ/ because such dental fricatives do not exist in Polish. That is why some assimilated forms such as *tenks, tenkju* or *fenks* emerged. Furthermore, the basic form *thank you* (as opposed to *thanks*) was not very common in the written part of the NCP and in the majority of cases it was used as a citation or a part of a title. In these utterances, the phrase was surrounded by other English words. The most common collocates of *thank you* in the NCP were the English words *very* and *for,* and *powiedzieć* ('to say') which is a reporting verb and is used for citations in the corpus. The primary results consisted of 872 texts (1251 occurrences) in which the phrase *thank you* could be found. After excluding the results with common

collocates that would suggest the English context, such as *for* and *in advance,* there were 326 texts (395 occurrences) found, many of which still consisted of longer English phrases or were a part of intercultural Polish-English discourse. *Very* and *much* were not excluded because the phrase *thank you very much* could be observed in the Polish context. There were just a few occurrences of *thank you* in the Polish context and all of them were used in the Internet-mediated interactive communication. The examples were as follows:

   (7) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2005:
        Thank you very much za wysłuchanie
        [Thank you very much for listening to me]
      b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006:
        ohh, *thank you,* Ja ya, czaję bazę
        [ohh, thank you, (Ja ya), I get it]
      c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006:
        Thank you from the mountain; PP
      d. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2007
        O *thank you* very much Mankid. Przynajmniej Ty jedna sie ze mna zgodzilas.
        [Oh thank you very much Mankid. At least you've agreed with me.]

The utterances in (7) show that *thank you* in Polish was used according to the English pattern. What is interesting, example (7) c shows a humorous, literal translation of the Polish phrase *z góry* (lit. 'from the mountain'), which means 'in advance'.

Thanks was used more commonly in the NCP data. The search without excluding any phrases gave 907 texts (1211 occurrences). After excluding the same collocates as with *thank you*, i.e. *for* and *in advance,* the search gave 450 occurrences in 404 texts. Although the numbers of occurrences and texts with *thank you* and *thanks* did not differ considerably (395 vs 450 occurrences and 326 vs 404 texts), an analysis of the random selection of 10 consecutive examples of the use of *thank you* and *thanks* from the corpus showed clearly that there were many fewer examples of English or intercultural discourse in the case of *thanks*. As shown in Table 1, there are no examples of the use of *thank you* in the Polish context (example 8 is a metalinguistic comment), while as shown in Table 2, the majority of instances exemplify the Polish context (with the exception of number 4 and 6 in which *thanks* appeared as a part of a webpage address).

Table 1. An excerpt from the search results for *thank you* in NCP

1.	Benedykt XVI powiedział „	***thank you***	"
2.	dom, czy wszystko u niego w porządku na pewno odpowie: I'm fine,	***thank you***	… ? Po dwudziestu latach pobytu za oceanem Jerzy Skolimowski jest

3.	Semsaladem - 0 pkt, 34,91s; 2. Claudia Gisler (Irlandia)	*Thank You*	- 0 pkt, 38,21; 3. Cian O'Connor (Irlandia) - 0 pkt, 35,00.
4.	z miejscowymi - wręcz nadużywać tych ich wszystkich: "please", "	*thank you*	" i "I'm sorry". Choć to tylko forma. Bez tego możesz uchodzić za
5.	va bien? Merci ale: Obruni, obruni, How are you? I'm fine.	*Thank you*	. czyli: Biały, biały, jak się masz? Dobrze. Dziękuję.
6.	Sinatra – owacja na krawędzi powstania, ale nikt nie wstał. "	*Thank you*	, you can sit down" - rzucił w stronę sali. I dopiero wszyscy
7.	oklaski i okrzyki: "Glory!"; "Allelujah!"; "Praise the Lord!"; "	*Thank you*	, Jesus!"; "Amen!", potwierdzają zachwyt zebranych wobec takiego
8.	szukran odpowiada, że tu już nie mówi się szukran, tylko	*thank you*	. Bo ta wojna toczy się też o język.
9.		*THANK YOU*	, PROFESSOR!
10.		*Thank you*	, Steven

Table 2. An excerpt from the search results for *thanks* in NCP

1.	news:1uht26y1tcurr$.109nz344o 3439$.dlg@40tude.net...	*Thanks*	, a jak długo - jeśli można spytać, bo to już czwarty tydzień się
2.	ewentualnie adres witryny na której się znajduje.. z góry	*thanks*	
3.	gubila nie	*thanks*	:)) wszytko w przyszłości, jakby nie było erased
4.	biuletynu informacyjnego. [więcej] http://www.humanista.pl/	*thanks*	.phtml/ może ja serio jakoś inaczej myślę i tylko dla mnie to jest
5.	okazać tragiczne w skutkach :) :-) : : Witamy w Klubie :)	*Thanks*	! : Moja intencja nie jest pisanie, ze okazac sie moze to dla nas
6.	w wiadomości news: d88m3v$b1t$1@inews.gazeta.pl...	*Thanks*	. -- rkcybere
7.	go skomentował - taka kobieta-dragon (nie mylić ze smoczycą) ;)	*Thanks*	, anyway. Saulo
8.	wymagam numerów Dialogu, może być też jakiekolwiek inne źródło.	*thanks*	from the mountain AD
9.	jest kultura polska." Istotnie, warto ten wywiad "zaliczyc"...	*Thanks*	za link... Jdr "Ja bym chcial, zeby nie tylko Litwini,
10.	lodowaty Który wybrać? Może polecicie jeszcze jakiś inny?	*Thanks*	from mountain ;) pozdrawiam -- JjF [mailto:

Despite the fact that there were many occurrences of *thanks* in the Polish context in a given random selection, not many Polish collocations could be found in the NCP and none of them was in the top ten in terms of frequency. The top Polish collocation was

góra 'mountain', which forms the phrase *z góry thanks* meaning 'thanks in advance' as in examples (8) a and (8) b. The phrase is an example of a hybrid, i.e. a combination of a native element with a foreign one. There were 11 occurrences of this collocation in the NCP. What is interesting, there were 29 occurrences of the expression *thanks from the mountain,* which is the already mentioned humorous, literal calque of the Polish phrase *z góry.* This word combination can be noticed among the randomly selected examples in Table 2 point 10.

(8) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2000

Za wszelką pomoc *z góry thanks* bardzo!!

[For all the help, thanks a lot in advance!!]

b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2002

Z góry thanks za pomysły.

[Thanks in advance for the ideas.]

c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2004

Fenk ju so macz!

[Thank you so much!]

d. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2007

Ewentualnie trzymającym kciuki - wery fenkju

[To the ones who'll their keep fingers crossed - thank you very much]

e. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2005

– Shadie 5 avek mi sie podoba z tych co dałas

– tenkju

[– Shadie, I like 5 avatars from the ones that you've given

– thank you]

f. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2005

Fenks za przypomnienie, zapomniałem o tym.

[Thanks for reminding me. I've forgotten about it.]

g. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2003

Tenks za pocieszenie. :)

[Thanks for comforting me. :)]

As already noted, the Polish language does not have the fricative sound /θ/. For a Polish person, this sound is somewhere between /f/ and /t/. Polish spelling and pronunciation are closely connected. If there is the sound /t/ in a word, it is represented as *t* in spelling. The sound /j/ that is present in *you* has a corresponding letter *j.* Thus people may spell *thank you* and *thanks* with the use of the letters mentioned above. This is why variants like in examples (8) c-g, such as *fenk ju, fenkju, tenkju, fenks* and *tenks* are also present in the corpus.

Apart from *thank you*, *thanks*, and the phonetically assimilated forms, in Polish internet-mediated communication some abbreviated forms, such as *thx* and *tnx* could be noticed. Especially the former appears to have gained some popularity. The search results for *thx* gave 3628 examples from 2616 texts (after excluding common English collocations, there were 3476 examples in 2513 texts); the results for *tnx* gave 111 examples in 99 texts. The most common collocations were similar for both abbreviations. The most frequent was the already mentioned *góra* and *za* ('for'). *Góra* appeared 577 times in relation to *thx* and 12 times with *tnx*; *za* appeared 426 times with *thx* and 24 times with *tnx*. Another common collocate was *big* (example (9) c.) which is a literal translation of the Polish phrase *wielkie dzięki*. This collocation appeared 35 times in the corpus.

(9) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2008

Z góry *thx za* wszystkie opinie na ten temat.

[*Thank you* in advance for all the opinions on this subject.]

b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006

Thx za każdy komentarz...

[*Thx* for each comment...]

c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006

...a tak a propo to *big thx za* odpowiedzi...

[...by the way, *big thx* for your responses...]

Noteworthy is the fact that, although *thank you* and its derivates are not very common in Polish, the corpus data indicate that they are fairly often used in phraseologisms that are translated literally from Polish. The examples are *thank you from the mountain* and *big thx*.

5.3.2. Sorry

Sorry is the politeness marker that, according to Görlach (2001b), has been present in Polish since the 1980s. The corpus data confirm that it is used frequently in Polish. There were over 20,000 examples of search results for *sorry*. Some assimilated forms such as *sory, sori, sorki, sorka* and *sorunia* could also be found. These variants show graphemic and morphological assimilation and prove that *sorry* has entered the mental lexicon of the speakers of Polish. Similar findings have already been reported by Zgółkowie (1992) and Piotrowski (2003).

As can be seen in Chart 1, s*orry* is the prevalent form in written internet-mediated interactive communication while in the spoken part of the corpus *sory* is more widespread (Chart 2). The third most common version is *sorki* (Chart 3), which is a diminutive form of *sorry*. It usually appears in internet-mediated interactive communication but is visibly less widespread. Moreover, *sorry* appears in literature and internet non-interactive

sources but in these cases, it is not used as a spontaneously uttered IFID. *Sori* and *sorka* have not been included in the charts because their frequencies are too low to be graphically presented as in most of the discourse types their frequency is below 1 per 1 million words. The charts present the most significant types of discourse in which the frequency equals at least 1.

Chart 1. The frequency of *sorry* in NCP per 1 million words in different types of discourses.
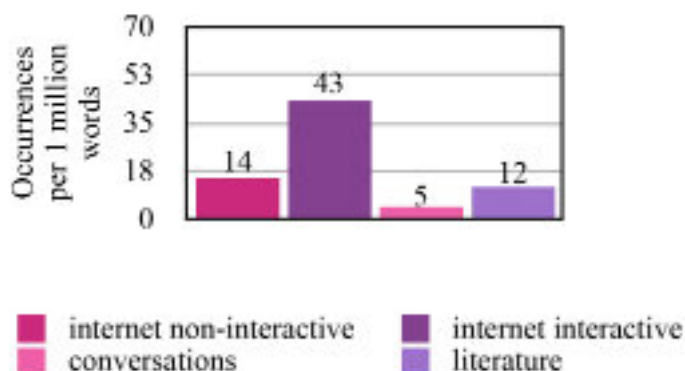
Occurrences per 1 million words

43

14

5

12

- internet non-interactive conversations
- internet interactive literature

Chart 2. The frequency of *sory* in NCP per 1 million words in different types of discourses.

Occurrences per 1 million words

65

2

7

1

- internet non-interactive conversations
- internet interactive literature
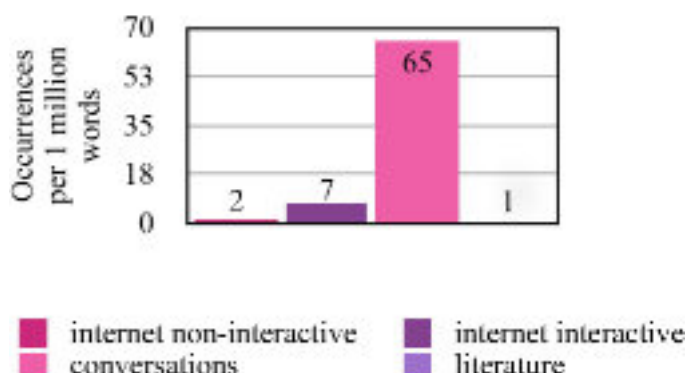
Chart 3. The frequency of *sorki* in NCP per 1 million words in different types of discourses.

Occurrences per 1 million words

15

4

0

2

- internet non-interactive conversations
- internet interactive literature
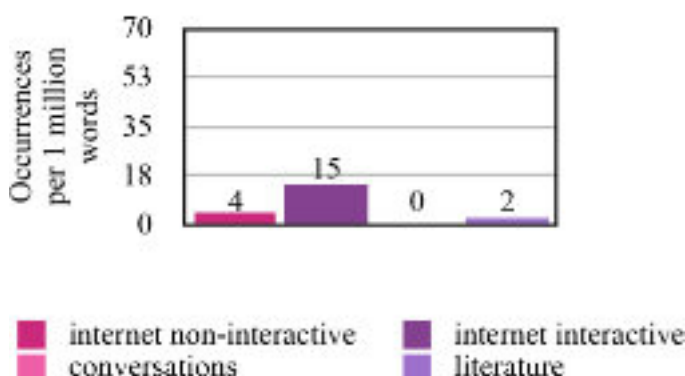
Another piece of evidence for the entrenchment of *sorry* and its derivatives in the Polish language is the fact that they are used with a number of native collocates such as *ale, za, to, że,* etc. the NCP and 1 occurrence in the spoken part. It may sound appealing due to the alliteration and the rhyme. The meaning of the phrase is "*sorry,* it is as it is" or "*sorry* you have no choice" accordingly like in (10) a and (10) b.

(10) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006

Sytuacja jest jeszcze w miare zdrowa gdy akcjonariuszy jest dwóch, trzech
I zasiadają oni w zarządzie ale jeśli jest ich 1000 to *sorry Gregory…*
[The situation is quite healthy when there are two or three shareholders who are
on the board of directors. When there are 1000 then s*orry Gregory…*]

b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2003

Albo bierzesz zaawansowany albo początkujący. Jeżeli jednak to co chcesz
wybrać miałeś w szkole średniej to *sorry gregory* … musisz brać poziom
zaawansowany.
[You take an advanced or a beginner (course of a language). If you had the
language you want to choose in high school, *sorry gregory,* you have to take an
advanced (course).]

Sorry, Winnetou comes from an old joke, in which a child is asked who was the greatest leader in history, and, in order to get a good grade, he gives the name Lenin (or Stalin, or Napoleon depending on a version) and then whispers to himself (or to a picture of the Native-American fictional character) "*Sorry, Winnetou,* business is business". The child uses this phrase to apologise to a fictional leader for betraying him and their common ideals because "the reality is as it is". The profit serves as an excuse. As can be seen in (11) b, (11) c, (11) d, (11) e and (11) g, the phrase is often used in a similar context and with some equivalent of the "business is business" part. There are different ways of spelling business in (11) d and (11) e, there is a straightforward translation in (11) c, and there are different excuses such as the war in (11) b or law in (11) g. There are also examples in which there is no excuse given and the phrase is used as an embellishment like in examples (11) a, (11) f and (11) h. What is more, there are at least four spelling variations of the character's name as in (11) a, (11) b, (11) c and (11) e and two variants of spelling the word business, which may be an indication, that the users of the phrase are not really fluent in English.

(11) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2001

sorry winnetou, nawet w media markt jest tańsze…
[*sorry, Winnetou,* it's cheaper even in Media Markt…]

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    b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2002

       sorry, Winnetou, wojna jest, to i straty muszą być...

       [*sorry, Winnetou,* it's the war so there must be some casualties...]

    c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2003

       Sorry, Winetou - interes to interes...

       [*Sorry, Winnetou -* business is business]

    d. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2003

       Sorry Winetou, Biznes is biznes...

       [*Sorry, Winetou,* business is business...]

    e. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2007

       Porządność porządnością ale *sorry Vinnetou,* business is business...

       [Decency is decency but sorry, Winnetou, business is business...]

    f. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2007

       Jeśli w Twoim domu jest z tym problem, to *sorry Winetou,* ale to nie moja sprawa.

       [If your family has a problem with that, *sorry, Winnetou,* it's not my problem.]

    g. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2008

       ...*sorry Winnetou* prawo jest prawem...

       [... *sorry, Winnetou,* the law is the law...]

    i. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2009

       Sorry *Vinnetou,* ale najwyraźniej pochodzę od innej małpy niż Ty...

       [*Sorry, Winnetou* but I, apparently, come from a different kind of monkey

       than you do...]

Winnetou and *Gregory* are the collocates that did not, in general, occur with the assimilated forms of *sorry*. There were only 8 occurrences of *sory, Winetu,* a phrase in which both words are assimilated to Polish spelling rules. There are no occurrences of such collocations with other forms.

Among the collocates, there is one that is excluded from the analysis, namely *I'm,* as it suggests English context – a citation or an intercultural discourse. On the other hand, some erroneous use of this collocate could be found. The collocate *I'am* (12) does not appear in many examples (33 occurrences) but it shows that the calque of the whole English phrase is used by people who probably do not speak English too well.
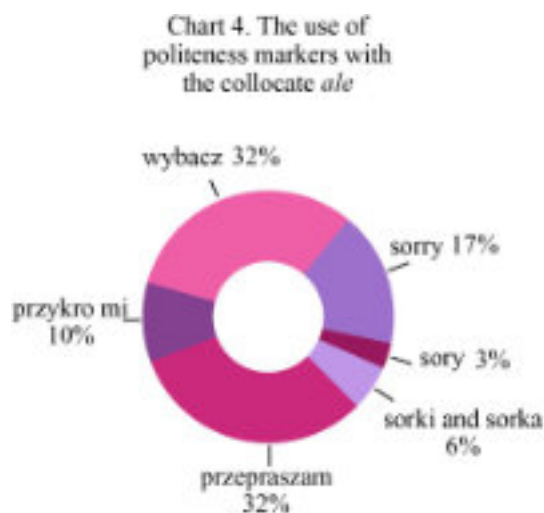
(12) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2003

       I'am *sorry* ..mam awarie serwera...

       [I'm *sorry*... there's a server failure]

     b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2005

       to był zart...I'am *sorry* 2005

       [it was a joke... I'm *sorry*.]

    c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006

       No tak …. I'am *sorry* Piotrze.

       [Oh yes… I'm *sorry* Peter.]

The most common collocate for *sorry* was *ale* ('but'). It may suggest that *sorry* is used as a softening device when a face-threatening act is about to be performed. In fact, when the numbers of occurrences of the Polish phrases *przepraszam, przykro mi,* and *wybacz* and the four English-derived variants were compared, it transpired that the combined number of the latter constituted more than twenty-five per cent of the IFIDs in this context (Chart 4). It may be a signal that in situations which, according to Ogiermann, may comprise one-fourth of apologetic behaviour in Polish (Ogiermann 2012: 35) English politeness markers have started substituting the Polish counterparts.

Chart 4. The use of politeness markers with the collocate *ale*

wybacz 32%

sorry 17%

przykro mi 10%

sory 3%

sorki and sorka 6%

przepraszam 32%

Other common collocates of all variants of *sorry* are *za* and *że,* both of which may be translated as 'for' or 'that'. They are introductory phrases after which the description of an FTA or a guilt admission should follow.

Sorry and its derivates shared collocations such as *ale* and *za* with their Polish counterparts, but they did not collocate with the most common collocates of *przepraszam*. There were no search results neither for the intensifiers such as *bardzo* or *mocno,* nor for the V-form objects *panią* and *pana*. It suggests that *sorry* and the derivates are not used in a formal context and that their pattern of use is different from the Polish verb.

5.3.3 *Please*

According to Görlach (2001a: xxiv; 2001b: 235), in Poland *please* is "known mainly to bilinguals and is felt to be English". However, the corpus data suggests that it has changed. It is true that the corpus data shows *please* to be used less frequently than *sorry,* but there seem to have occurred some assimilation processes that may enhance the use of this politeness marker in the future. The use of the primary form may seem

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problematic due to the *ea* cluster that does not appear in Polish very often (and if it does it is pronounced with the sounds /e/ and /ʌ/). Thus some derivate forms emerged. The first two are *plis*, which is a phonetic spelling, and *pliska*, which is a diminutive of the phonetically spelt form. Another form is *pliis*. The addition of the vowel *i* (one or even more) imitates the English pronunciation of the sound /i:/ which does not exist in Polish.

The search results for *please* consisted of 5126 examples in 3245 texts. Examining them confirmed that they were in fact used primarily in the English context as a citation or as a title, as their collocates included the English words *reply, please, signature* and *upgrade* etc. However, there were some examples, mainly from Internet forums, in which *please* was used as a pragmatic borrowing. They were mainly requests for help as in examples (13) a-c.

(13) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006
      Szukam danych o jakimś zabytku z powiatu limanowa / to takie wypracowanie /
      więc troche wiecej tych danych potrzeba / *please* pomóżcie....
      [I'm looking for some information about any monument from Limanową district.
      It's for an essay so I need a bit more data. *Please* help me...]
      b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2007
      Dajcie chociaz z 1 przyklad:) *Please* :) Bede wdzieczny...
      [Give me at least one example. *Please*. I'll appreciate (it)...]
      c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2008
      Nikt nie jest w stanie tego zrobic? *please*...
      [Is nobody able to do that? *please*...]

What is more, the search result for the phrase *please o* ('for') which is a calque of the Polish phrase *proszę o* and may be translated into 'I'm asking you for', gave 16 examples of sentences in which *please* was used as a verb. Examples (14) a-c show such use of the interjection *please*.

(14) a. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2001
      please o informacje...
      [*I'm asking you for* some information...]
      b. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2005
      please o wiadomośc prywatna...
      [*I'm asking you for* a private message...]
      c. the excerpt from an internet forum from 2006
      please o interpretacje...
      [*I'm asking you for* an interpretation...]

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As one could anticipate, searching for the assimilated forms of *please* only gave the results in the Polish context. For *plis,* there were about 100 search results in 39 texts, for *pliska* there were 198 results in 98 texts, and 52 results in 47 texts for the elongated forms from *pliis* to *pliiiiiiis*. All of the examples are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Randomly selected examples of search results for the derivates of *please*

1.	ale nie ma aplikacji. Podajcie jakies inne programy niz gg rpc	*pliska*	.
2.	kasienka:) kochani	*pliska*	trzyamjcie kciuki we wtorekkkk.. .bardizom plosee...boja chyba nerw
3.	juz kiedys>>>jak coz wiecie na ten temacik,niom to	*pliska*	piszcie..... buzaicki i z gory dzieki
4.	Hmm.. I taka mała prośba.. Jakby ktoś znalazł ten program to	*pliska*	.. napiszcie mi PW, bo w tych tematach rzadko siedzę i może mnie
5.	nic nie zniknęło. Co mam robić? Jak całkowicie zresetować gadu?	*Pliska*	, pomocy!!!!
6.	forum o takich rzeczach nie gadac jestem jeszcze dzieciakiem. I	*pliska*	wykasujcie tego bloga!!!!!!!
7.	CYTAT(stokrotka1500 @ 28.08.2008, 10:24) "MAGPIS odblokuj!!!!	*plis*	" No odblokowałam CYTAT(stokrotka1500 @ 28.08.2008, 10:24)
8.	aliase_zaczarowana dacie prawdziwy e-mail od danzela	*plis*	ja dopiero zaczęłam kolekcjonować autografy
9.	autograf to zalatwia aktorow z teraz albo nigdy" to ja też chcę...	*plis*	!!!!
10.	uczestników JOś IV edycji chce ktoś to mogę powiedzieć" powiedz	*plis*	!
11.	AguUu(L)a	*plis*	
12.	na mój bylejaki filmik Dziwny ten Swiat Rafal oczywiscie 5 gwiazdek	*plis*	
13.	[snapback]149205[/snapback] "uzywalem go ale sie troche gubi"	*pliis*	kto moze wyslac mi snickersa bez znaczenia ktora wersja na malia
14.	jest... niech no mi ktoś zaspoileruje co tam można zobaczyć!	*pliis*	! :)) Pomożecie? Q

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15.	LPR -	pliis	do sądu mnie, za gebę, za ryj!!!!!!!!
16.	Azor, normalnie	pliiis	, bo mnie przepona wysiada. --- Moje poglądy nie są homologowane
17.	Jimi wrote: Łał! mógłbyś napisać dokładniej gdzie?	pliiis	pamiętam że widziałem chyba ze dwa odcinki tego dawno temu - i
18.	napisana?" [służba głoszenia] Napiszesz mi, kidy to się stało?	Pliiis	, nie ukrywaj prawdy. Naprawdę zamierzasz je iszbin:
19.	bądź taki, powiedz jak tam było na tej wojnie z tym perskim, plis,	pliiis	pliiiis, powiedz choć troche. wapniak -- Wysłano z
20.	news:bk21asika1@opal. futuro.pl... tylko nie Żelazna,	pliiis	narpawde NAJLEPSZA, gdzie szkoli sie lekarzy pediatrów z całej

The search for *pliska* and *plis* resulted in the selfsame collocates, namely *odpisać* ('reply') and *pomoc* ('help'). There were also a number of phrases with the Polish preposition *o* ('for') with both *pliska* and *plis,* where the assimilated forms were used as verbs. It means that *please* has undergone graphemic, morphological, and syntactic assimilation.

5.4. The English vs. Polish markers of politeness: a comparison of functions in the National Corpus of Polish

Although the English and Polish politeness markers discussed in this paper essentially serve very similar functions, i.e. they are used respectively for thanking, apologising and asking for something, they cannot be used interchangeably in Polish. First and foremost, in order to use the English politeness markers, the gravity of an FTA which they are supposed to soften in Polish cannot be too heavy. In the corpus data, they were usually used in internet-mediated communication. In such communication the participants do not normally know each other nor can they see the recipient of the message so the importance of saving each other's faces is not that high. What is more, the Face Threatening Acts themselves are not of a very threatening nature because of the superficial relationships between the participants. This finding is consistent with the observation made by Zgółkowie (1992), who note that when *sorry* is used in Polish it is restricted to situations involving small offences. Terkourafi (2011) observes that in Cypriot Greek, English politeness markers are ranked lower in terms of both appropriateness to be used in a formal context and their sincerity to convey feelings. The use of diminutive forms of *sorry* (*sorka, sorki, sorunia*) and *please* (*pliska*), as well as the preference of Polish speakers for *thanks* over more formal *thank you* confirms the obswrvation that the borrowed politeness markers tend to be preferred in informal situations, and are less suitable for contexts involving serious face threats than the native ones.

Moreover, it appears that the English politeness markers can be utilised within one of the positive politeness strategies, i.e. claiming common ground with the use of jokes and humour (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103-125). Such seems to be the function of their diminutive forms and their use in informal phrases alluding to jokes (*sorry Winnetou*) and rhyming expressions (*sorry Gregory*). These results confirm those of Peterson and Vaattovaara (2014), who also found that borrowed politeness markers serve positive politeness by positioning the interlocutors within the common ground.

One of the analysed politeness markers, *sorry*, occurs visibly more often than the others, and was observed to be used frequently in one specific context – for introducing and apologising for an FTA before it was committed. In the corpus data, the English-derived forms in the possible spelling variants were used in twenty-six per cent of phrases collocated with *ale* ('but'). It may suggest that, contrary to my initial hypothesis and to the findings of Terkourafi (2011), English politeness markers may replace the native ones in some contexts, as they may become even the preferred ones in the future. Such findings should be tested in a newer corpus and in a corpus focusing on spoken utterances.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to examine the use of the English politeness markers *thank you*, *sorry* and *please* in Polish, as evidenced in the National Corpus of Polish. The initial hypothesis was that these politeness markers are used in Polish, but they do not have enough pragmatic force to replace their Polish counterparts, as they seem to be rarely used in formal contexts or to refer to situations involving serious face threats.

The hypothesis of the study was largely confirmed. The English politeness markers *thank you*, *sorry* and *please* have been incorporated into the mental lexicon of Polish speakers, and are particularly common in internet-mediated interactive communication. The corpus data shows that their frequencies differ, *sorry* being the most common and *please* the least common. The form *thank you* is rarely used in Polish; *thanks* is much more common. There are numerous assimilated forms such as *sorka, sorki, plis, pliska, tenk ju, fenks, tenks* etc., and the abbreviation *thx*. Such abbreviations are typical for Internet-mediated communication. The use of such assimilated forms may suggest that they are no longer used by bilinguals. They are comprehensible and accepted also by monolingual speakers, who use them with Polish spelling and Polish pronunciation. The existence of such forms may suggest that they are likely to be used more often in the future, as it facilitates their pronunciation and makes them more familiar. This study confirms the earlier findings reported by Zgółkowie (1992) and Terkourafi (2011) that borrowed politeness markers tend to be used for FTAs with a low estimated risk of face loss, and are preferred in informal contexts. It also supports Peterson and Vaattovaara's (2014) observations concerning the employment of borrowed politeness markers in

speech patterns associated with positive politeness (informal humorous phrases, diminutive forms of the borrowed items). This study has also identified a context which seems to be characteristic of the use of *sorry* in Polish, namely softening an FTA that was going to be committed by introducing apologies before it happened.

However, some limitations of this study should be pointed out. The analysed corpus could not show the most recent processes due to the time it had been collected. The NCP was chosen because of its size. It consists of approximately 1.5 billion words in Polish from the period between 1988 and 2010 (see Przepiórkowski et al. 2012: 8). It is possible that a newer corpus could exemplify a wider use of the politeness markers in question because of the rapid development of technology and the ubiquity of the Internet. What is more, spoken and semi-spoken data constitutes only up to 10% of the NCP (see Przepiórkowski et al. 2012). The study of pragmatic borrowings requires focusing on the spontaneously articulated utterances so more such data would be desired.

This article may serve as a starting point for the future investigation of the functions of borrowed politeness markers in Polish. It would be useful to perform an acceptability test similar to the one of Peterson and Vaattovaara (2014) to test in what contexts English politeness markers would be accepted by representatives of different social and age groups in order to analyse the more recent developments.

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<p style="text-align:center">∗∗∗</p>

Katarzyna Lach Mirghani is a PhD student of Linguistics at the University of Białystok, Poland. Her research interests include cognitive linguistics, computational linguistics and pragmatics. Her current research focuses on inter- and cross-cultural pragmatics and inclusivity in language.

AGATA ROZUMKO[1]
University of Białystok, Poland
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7718-3253

Between V and T address: The translation of English address terms into Polish in serial storytelling (the case of *Doc*)

Abstract. This study is concerned with the translation of address terms in serial storytelling. It adopts the interpersonal pragmatics perspective on address terms and treats them as elements of fictional characters' relational work, i.e. the work they do to negotiate their relationships in interaction. More specifically, this paper focuses on the renditions of the form *Doc* as used by detective Jane Rizzoli to address doctor Maura Isles in the Polish translation of Tess Gerritsen's Rizzoli and Isles crime fiction series. Since English and Polish have different address systems (N-V-T and T-V, respectively) and there are no informal terms equivalent to *Doc* to address a female doctor in Polish, its renditions depend entirely on the translator's ability to understand and recreate the characters' relational interaction. The Polish translators of the Rizzoli and Isles series showed different degrees of attention to the interactional coherence of the translation, which is why some of its parts contain inappropriate and impolite address forms. Overall, the relational work done by the characters has largely been domesticated in the translation and adapted to Polish speech patterns and rules of politeness. Consequently, shifts in the characters' address mode take place at different moments in the translation than they do in the original version, and the form *Doc* is rendered in a variety of ways (both formal and informal) depending on the stage of the characters' relational interaction.

Keywords: address term, *Doc*, translation, crime fiction series, relational work, English, Polish.

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1 Address for correspondence: University of Białystok, Centre for Linguistic Studies, Faculty of Philology, Pl. NZS 1, 15-420 Białystok, Poland. E-mail: a.rozumko@uwb.edu.pl

1. Introduction

The choice of address terms depends, among other things, on the degree of social distance between interlocutors, the nature of their relationship and the context in which their interaction is taking place (cf. e.g. Braun 1988; Mühleisen 2003; Clyne et al. 2009). In fiction, address terms serve as indicators of social and personal relationships among characters. The range and usage of address terms differ across languages, which is why recreating relationships between fictional characters within different address systems often poses problems for literary translators (cf. Kluge 2019; Ton 2019; Rozumko 2023). This paper contributes to the existing literature on the translation of address terms by examining their treatment in the translation of serial storytelling. It focuses on the renditions of the address term *Doc*, an informal variant of *Doctor*, in the Polish translation of Tess Gerritsen's Rizzoli and Isles crime fiction series. Polish does not have a direct equivalent of the address term *Doc,* which is why its renditions always depend on the translator's ability to interpret the relationship between the characters who use it, and to find an equivalent which is suitable at a given stage of their relational interaction. This study focuses on the uses of *Doc* by detective Jane Rizzoli in her interactions with doctor Maura Isles, a pathologist she cooperates with throughout the series, and analyses its renditions in different parts of the series as the professional and personal relationship between the characters develops. The analysis is conducted from the perspective of the pragmatics of fiction and interpersonal pragmatics, with a focus on the use of address terms as part of the "relational work" (cf. Locher 2008) done by the two characters. The aim of the study is to examine how the renditions of the address term *Doc* affect the interactional coherence of the translation and how they influence the presentation of the characters and their relationship.

2. Theoretical framework: interpersonal pragmatics and the pragmatics of fiction

Interpersonal pragmatics focuses on the role of language in the creation and negotiation of relationships (cf. Locher & Graham 2010). One of the key notions in the field is "relational work", i.e. the "work" individuals do in defining and negotiating relationships with others in interaction (Locher & Watts 2005; Locher 2008). It involves making choices concerning the selection of address terms, greetings, politeness formulae, syntactic structures, the tone of voice, etc., by means of which interactants position themselves vis-à-vis others and construct their relationships. In the process, they also construct and negotiate their identities (Locher & Watts 2005; Locher 2008). Interpersonal pragmatics tends to adopt the postmodernist understanding of identity as "a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon", constructed intersubjectively (rather than individually) in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 585). Interpersonal pragmatics is primarily concerned with the relational work that takes place in real-life communication, but the framework

it offers can also be applied to the analysis of fictional works and their translations (cf. Locher 2020; Rozumko 2023). As explained by Jucker (2015: 63), "fictional language offers a large and very rich data source for pragmatic analyses provided it is analysed on its own terms and not as a less than perfect substitute for spontaneous spoken communication". The communicative behaviour of fictional characters is one of the areas examined within the pragmatics of fiction. This branch of pragmatics focuses on such issues as polite and impolite behaviour of fictional characters, character positioning, characterisation, linguistic variation, the role of dialogue in fiction, etc. (cf. e.g. Culpeper 2001; Jucker 2015, 2016; Bednarek 2017; Culpeper & Fernandez-Quintanilla 2017).

While fictional discourse tends to differ from everyday communication, interactions among fictional characters need to be realistic and convincing. As observed by Dynel with reference to telecinematic discourse, its creators "operate on the assumption that characters' interactions should be tacitly accepted by viewers as natural relative to the socio-cultural context and should not strike them as being artificial, even if statistically infrequent" (Dynel 2017: 56). This observation also applies to the presentation of relational work in written fiction. Because relational work tends to be culture and language specific, recreating it in a believable way in translation is often difficult. While in real-life communication relational work is usually unmarked (situationally appropriate) and a considerable part of it goes unnoticed (Locher & Watts 2005), in translation it is more likely to be marked (because it is impolite, overpolite or inappropriate) and draw attention to itself (cf. e.g. Rozumko 2023). Inconsistency in the use of address terms and the use of inappropriate address terms in translation may disrupt the interactional coherence of the translation (cf. Reiber 2016; Rozumko 2023).

3. English and Polish address terms in translation

The translation of address terms between English and Polish has already received a considerable amount of scholarly attention (cf. e.g. Szarkowska 2006, 2013; Woźniak 2008; Sojda 2012; Hołobut & Woźniak 2017) and there is agreement among scholars that it requires a careful consideration of the relationships among discourse participants. However, the specific choices made by fiction translators in this area have not been studied systematically as elements of the characters' relational work. Many of the findings reported in previous studies are, however, relevant to the aims of this paper because they discuss the role of address terms in fictional characterization and stylization of fictional discourse. Woźniak (2009) shows, for instance, that the address terms used in Polish translations of science fiction films do not always correspond to their source language equivalents in terms of style and register; Szarkowska (2013) notes the difficulties involved in recreating idiolects and non-standard forms of address, while Hołobut and Woźniak (2017) analyse the role of address terms in the archaization of the language used in English language historical films and in their Polish and Italian

translations. Studies have also shown some general tendencies in the treatment of address terms in translation (cf. Kluge 2019). Sinner (2011) and Brehmer (2015) report that pronominal address is often domesticated, i.e. translated according to the norms of the target language, while nominal address is more likely to be foreignized, i.e. oriented towards the norms of the source language.

The specific solutions in the translation of address terms often result from the differences between the address systems of the languages concerned. In the case of English and Polish, the differences occur on the lexico-grammatical as well as socio-cultural levels. Both languages have pronominal and nominal address, but Polish, which is a pro-drop language, also expresses address by means of verbal inflections (cf. Rusiecki 2008; Szarkowska 2013), e.g. *Dokąd idziesz?* [2nd p. sg present tense] 'Where are you going?'. Neither of the two languages has the classic T-V distinction in their pronominal systems. The T-V model, proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) with reference to the semantics of the Latin address pronouns *tu* (T) and *vos* (V), works best for languages which have informal and formal address pronouns, such as French (*tu/vous*) and German (*du/Sie*). English, however, has one universal address pronoun (*you*), while in Polish pronouns only express T semantics (*ty* in the singular and *wy* in the plural). A framework which seems better suited for the study of address terms in English and Polish is Cook's (2019) N-V-T model, which is an extended version of Brown and Gilman's (1960) proposal, where N stands for a neutral mode of address. Importantly, Cook (2019) notes that T and V semantics can be conveyed by both pronominal and nominal terms of address. The meanings associated with T include: informality, intimacy, solidarity, closeness, and familiarity, while the meanings associated with V are: formality, respect, deference, distance, and politeness (Bresin 2021: 1). In the absence of T and V pronouns, English expresses T and V semantics solely by nominal terms of address; in Polish, all V encoders are nouns.

While the N-V-T distinction is relatively straightforward when applied to address pronouns, whose number is small, it is more difficult to apply to nominal address terms as those express a whole spectrum of meanings, and indicate different degrees of familiarity and distance between interlocutors. There seems to be agreement among scholars (e.g. Brown & Ford 1961; Leech 1999) that the most distancing address terms in English are honorifics (e.g. *Sir, Madam*), followed by titles/honorifics + last names (e.g. *Mr/Professor Jones*), and last names alone (cf. Brown & Ford 1961). More informal address terms, associated with T semantics, include first names (full forms being more formal than short ones), familiarisers (e.g. *mate*), family terms (e.g. *mummy*) and endearments (e.g. *darling*) (Leech 1999; Cook 2019)[2]. In Polish, V semantics is primarily expressed by the honorifics *pan* 'Sir/Mr', *pani* 'Madam/Ms' (followed by third person verb forms,

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2   The term "title" is used by some scholars to include honorifics as well (Brown & Ford 1961; Leech 2009). Following Clyne et al. (2009), in this work it is used to refer to professional titles, such as *Doctor* and *Professor*.

e.g. *Co pani robi?*, lit. 'What is madam doing?'), whose status is similar to that of V pronouns in other languages (cf. Braun 1988; Huszcza 2005; Szarkowska 2013). Formal situations require the use of *pan/pani* in combination with titles (*pani doktor* 'Ms Doctor', *panie profesorze* 'Mr Professor'). Slightly less formal is the use of *pan/pani* with the word *proszę* (lit. 'I ask'), as in *proszę pana/pani*, which is the default V address when the professional titles of interactants are unknown or irrelevant. The least distancing form within the V domain is the combination of *pan/pani* with first names (e.g. *pani Agato* 'Ms Agata'). In contrast to English, titles and honorifics are not normally combined with surnames in Polish. Unless they have a distinguishing function, e.g. when one person from a group is addressed, such combinations are usually perceived as impolite or foreign (cf. Marcjanik 2009). As noted by Marcjanik (2009: 32), combinations of titles and honorifics with surnames are sometimes used by non-native speakers of Polish who are accustomed to such forms in their native languages. The shift from V to T requires a ritual agreement, which should be initiated by the older person, a woman (in interaction with a man) or a work superior (cf. Marcjanik 2009, 2020). T forms are used among young people, friends and members of the family. The T domain is also characterised by frequent use of diminutive forms of first names, not only among family and friends, but also co-workers.

Both English and Polish show the tendency towards familiarization and informalization in the use of address terms (cf. Leech 1999; Marcjanik 2002, 2009, 2020; Murray 2002; Lakoff 2005; Bruns & Kranich 2022). Bruns and Kranich (2022: 114) link it partly with the increasing emphasis on "the importance of equality, participation, and antidiscrimination" in modern western societies. In Poland, the use of less formal address forms is also attributed to Anglo-American influence on Polish ways of speaking (cf. Marcjanik 2009). The changes reported by scholars primarily include an increase in the use of first names and a decrease in the use of titles, but in English, the trend seems to also concern the use of clipped forms of titles, such as *Doc* (*Doctor*) and *Prof* (*Professor*). An equivalent change in Polish involves the omission of the honorific *panie* and the use of the title alone (*doktorze, profesorze*), but, as observed by Marcjanik (2009: 39), it is only possible with masculine forms. The only appropriate way to address a woman doctor and a woman professor in Polish is thus by combining the honorific *pani* with their professional titles: *pani doktor* ('Ms Doctor') and *pani profesor* ('Ms Professor'), respectively. In the absence of direct Polish counterparts of informal variants of titles, translators must rely on their pragmatic competence to render them appropriately.

4. Translations of crime fiction series as a source of data for interpersonal pragmatics

Crime fiction has become one of the most popular fiction genres. It owes much of its popularity to translation, through which it has become "the most globalised of all

popular genres" (McCaw 2020: 48). Hopkins and Seago (2018: 220) note that popular literature is now more often read in translation than high literature, which may be one of the reasons why the translation of crime fiction has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention in recent years. The quality of crime fiction translation as well as the strategies adopted by its translators depend on a number of factors. Seago and Lei (2020: 85) name the following: "The status of the respective languages involved, the status of the text or author to be translated, and whether the receiving culture is familiar with the genre or author." Despite its high readership and an increased interest from scholars, the genre still has a rather low status, and crime fiction series are particularly often perceived as lowbrow. As observed by Mayer (2020), serial storytelling in general and crime fiction in particular tend to be valued less than stand-alone works.

The association of crime fiction series with "cheap and fast" literature (cf. Mayer 2020) has a bearing on the quality of its translation, though, somewhat ironically, it requires more skill than the rather low reputation of the genre may suggest. One of the reasons why crime fiction is not easy to translate is that it is highly culture specific. Its translation requires the ability to use appropriate terminology and to recreate the discourse of various social groups: police officers, experts in various fields, witnesses and criminals. As summarised by Seago (2014: 5), "the crime translator needs to create a believable and nuanced cultural and professional setting, handle a range of voices, register, dialect, slang and swearing to evoke distinct characters within their social context, location and interaction with each other". Equally important is the translator's attention to the details and clues that lead to solving the case and make a crime fiction text coherent (cf. Seago & Lei 2020). Maintaining "macro-coherence", i.e. the "logical, cognitive, factual congruity" of the textual world (Merlini Barbaresi 2002: 120), is particularly challenging in the translation of crime fiction series, as serial storytelling requires a consistent presentation of the events, places, characters and relationships throughout different parts of the series. As observed by Merlini Barbaresi (2002: 122-123), characters' "actions, reactions, emotions and expressions must be logically connected and internally congruent. Equally important are the relationships among various characters, which must be mutually motivated at every stage of their development". Crime fiction series often have one or two main characters who enter into multiple personal and professional relationships in different parts of the series. The development of their relationships is reflected in their "relational work", which involves address terms negotiations and shifts in address use. It is thus the relational dimension of crime fiction series that makes their translation particularly interesting from the perspective of interpersonal pragmatics.

5. Material and research procedure

This study examines the renditions of the address term *Doc* in the Polish translation of the Rizzoli and Isles series by the American crime fiction writer Tess Gerritsen. More

precisely, it focuses on the uses of *Doc* by the main character of the series, homicide detective Jane Rizzoli (in her early thirties at the beginning of the series), in her interactions with doctor Maura Isles (4-5 years older than Jane Rizzoli), a forensic pathologist she cooperates with. Tess Gerritsen's Rizzoli and Isles series consists of thirteen books published between the years 2001 and 2022. The two characters meet in the second part of the series; in the subsequent parts, they work together and gradually become friends. The relational work they do is thus an important part of their characterisation. The thirteen books in the series were translated by six different translators: Jerzy Żebrowski (parts 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 13), Zygmunt Halka (parts 2 and 5), Zbigniew Kościuk (part 7), Krzysztof Obłucki (part 8), Anna Jęczmyk (part 9), and Andrzej Szulc (part 12).

To analyse the renditions of the title *Doc* in the Polish translation of the series, I first examined the address terms used between the two characters in the original version to establish how they address each other in different contexts and how their address mode changes as their relationship develops. Subsequently, I analysed the ways in which they address each other in the Polish translation of the series. The analysis which follows is qualitative in character. It focuses on the renditions of the title *Doc* as part of the relational work done by the two characters and with reference to the interactional coherence of the translation. It aims to answer the following research questions: (1) How is *Doc* rendered by the different translators of the series? (2) Are its renditions consistent with the other elements of the characters' relational work? (3) How do the renditions of *Doc* affect the presentation of the two characters and the relationship between them?

6. Discussion of results

6.1. Address terms used between Jane Rizzoli and Maura Isles in the original version of the series

The two characters meet in the second part of the series, *The Apprentice*, in the autopsy lab, where doctor Isles is performing an autopsy on a victim of the crime that Jane Rizzoli is investigating. Their relationship is first strictly professional. Throughout part 2, Maura Isles addresses Jane Rizzoli as *Detective Rizzoli* (V address), as illustrated in (1), whereas Jane Rizzoli does not use any nominal forms of address and only addresses Maura Isles by the pronoun *you* (N).

> (1) '*Detective Rizzoli*, you asked me what kind of blade he used.'
>   'Please tell me it's not a scalpel.' (*The Apprentice*, p. 42)

In part 3, *The Sinner*, they spend a lot of time together and talk not only about their investigation, but also about their private lives. During one of their conversations Maura Isles shifts to T address, and begins addressing Jane Rizzoli by her first name (example

2). Occasionally, she also addresses her by her surname, as in (3). Jane Rizzoli, however, consistently addresses Maura Isles by *Doc* (example 3). It needs to be noted that even when the two characters become friends, they mostly meet in connection with the crimes they are investigating, usually at crime scenes or in the autopsy lab, where the title *Doc* used by Rizzoli indicates that their relationship continues to be professional.

    (2) She turned to look at Rizzoli. 'You're Catholic, *Jane*. Aren't you?' (*The Sinner*, p. 37)

    (3) Maura Isles: 'There's nothing more to see here.'
        Jane Rizzoli: 'We just got here, *Doc*.' (...)
        Maura Isles: '*Rizzoli*', she whispered. 'Can we get out of here now?' (*The Sinner*, p. 240)

This non-reciprocal pattern continues until part 8, *The Killing Place,* in the course of which Jane Rizzoli begins addressing Maura Isles by her first name (example 4). She does so in a very emotional situation when Maura contacts her after a long absence during which her life was at threat. However, in addition to using Maura's first name, Jane Rizzoli continues to address her as *Doc* until the end of part 11.

    (4) '*Jane*?' The voice was close to a sob. 'Thank God you answered!' (...)
        'I thought you were dead!' Jane blurted.
        'I'm alive. I'm okay!'
        'Jesus, *Maura*, we had your memorial service!' (*The Killing Place,* p. 291-292)

It is important to note that the changes in the characters' address mode are not accompanied by any meta-comments from the characters or the narrator anywhere in the series. Thus, the translators could only rely on their own interpretation of the relational interaction between the characters to render the address terms appropriately.

6.2. The address terms used between Jane Rizzoli and Maura Isles in the Polish translation

The relational work done by the two characters in the Polish translation of the series is quite different from its original version. The translators of the different parts clearly worked independently and did not always pay attention to consistency in the use of address terms or the coherence of the characters' relational work throughout the series, which supports the common perception of serial storytelling and its translation as being "cheap and fast" (cf. Mayer 2020). Continuity is only maintained within the parts translated by Jerzy Żebrowski (1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13). Otherwise, the relational work done by the two characters is characterised by frequent and unexpected shifts in address use, which have no counterparts in the original version and make their relational interaction illogical and incoherent. In the Polish translation of the series, Jane Rizzoli first

addresses Maura by T, from which she switches to V (parts 3-4), and then again to T (parts 5-13), but she also occasionally uses V and combinations of T and V. Maura Isles shifts from V to T already at the end of part 2 (even though she still uses V in the English version at the time), but in parts 3 and 4 she returns to V, which she uses interchangeably with combinations of V and T before she shifts to T for good in part 5.

Some of the choices made by the translators make the characters' utterances impolite while they are completely neutral in the original version, which affects the presentation of the characters and their relationship in the series. For instance, in part 2 (*The Apprentice*) Jane Rizzoli addresses Maura Isles by the N pronoun *you*, which the translator (Zygmunt Halka) invariably renders as T (the 2nd p. sg pronoun *ty* and the 2nd p. sg verbs), as in (5b), even though Maura Isles addresses her as *Detective Rizzoli* (V), as illustrated in (6b).

(5a) Jane Rizzoli: Did *you* X-ray the neck? (*The Apprentice*, p. 86)
(5b) Jane Rizzoli: Zrobiła*ś* [2nd p. sg, past tense] prześwietlenie szyi? (*Skalpel,* p. 84)
(6a) Maura Isles: *Detective Rizzoli*, *you* are coming in, right? (*The Apprentice*, p. 192)
(6b) Maura Isles: *Detektyw Rizzoli*, czy *pani* przyjedzie? (*Skalpel*, p. 182)

Such asymmetrical address is unlikely to be used in real life because it would be highly disrespectful for a detective to respond with T if a medical doctor addresses them with V. As observed by Szarkowska (2006), the rendition of the neutral pronoun *you* as T regardless of the situational context is the most common problem in the translation of English address terms into Polish. A detailed analysis of all the address terms used between the two characters in the two language versions of the series is beyond the scope of this paper, but some of them are discussed in section 6.3, which focuses on the renderings of the form *Doc*.

6.3. Renditions of the address term *Doc*

Jane Rizzoli does not address Maura Isles as *Doc* in all the parts of the series. In parts 2 (*The Apprentice*) and 5 (*Vanish*) she addresses her by the pronoun *you*, while in parts 12 (*I Know a Secret*) and 13 (*Listen to Me*) she uses *you* and her first name. In the other parts, the renditions of the term are characterised by similar inconsistency as the renditions of all the other address terms used between the two characters. The only translator who attempted to recreate the shifts in the characters' address mode resulting from the development of their professional and personal relationship is Żebrowski, which is why his renditions of the term *Doc* will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the treatment of the term by the other translators of the series.

In the parts translated by Żebrowski, the characters first use reciprocal V (the beginning of part 3, *The Sinner/*Pol. *Grzesznik*), then Maura Isles switches to V combined with

T, while Jane Rizzoli continues using V, until they move to reciprocal T (part 6, *The Mephisto Club*/Pol. *Klub Mefista*). At the stage of reciprocal V, Żebrowski renders *Doc* as *pani doktor* (lit. 'Ms Doctor') and translates the pronoun *you* (N) as *pani* in both characters' utterances, as illustrated in (7a) and (7b). The translation strategy he uses is thus domestication (both in the case of nominal and pronominal address). The characters address each other more formally than they do in the original version, but their address is consistent with Polish rules of politeness (cf. e.g. Marcjanik 2009).

(7a) 'Hey **Doc**.' At the front of the chapel, a mop of dark hair popped up as Detective
Jane Rizzoli rose to her feet and waved. 'The vic's up here.'
Maura Isles: 'Do **you** know what happened? What did the sisters tell **you**?'
(The Sinner, p. 17)

(7b) **Pani doktor**? – W głębi kaplicy dostrzegła burzę ciemnych włosów, gdy detektyw
Jane Rizzoli wyprostowała się i pomachała do niej. – Ofiara jest tutaj.
Maura Isles: Wie *pani*, co się wydarzyło? Co powiedziały siostry? (*Grzesznik*, p. 19)

The problem begins when Maura Isles starts addressing Jane Rizzoli by her first name (in the middle of part 3, *The Sinner*), but Jane Rizzoli continues responding with *Doc*. The relational work that they do in the original version of the novel (they show interest in each other's personal lives, feelings and emotions) indicates that their relationship is becoming closer, but the change in their address mode is one-sided. While in English the distance between the informal term *Doc*, the neutral pronoun *you*, and the first name is relatively small, the distance between their most straightforward Polish equivalents (the V form *pani doktor* on the one hand and first name address on the other) is considerably greater, which makes it difficult to recreate the characters' asymmetrical address mode in translation. The translator decided to solve this problem by using mixed forms (V+T), i.e. Maura Isles continues using the V form *pani* (which is the rendition of the pronoun *you*), but she combines it with first name address (T), while Jane Rizzoli still addresses Maura Isles with the V form *pani doktor* ('Ms Doctor'), as illustrated in (8a) and (8b).

(8a) '**Doc**'? Rizzoli was standing at the other end of the hallway.
'Why didn't you call me?' said Maura.
'Costas is taking this one.'
'So I just heard.'
'You don't need to be here.'
'You could have told me, **Jane**. You could have let me know.' (*Body Double*, p. 393)

(8b) **Pani doktor**? – Rizzoli stała u wylotu korytarza.
– Dlaczego **pani** do mnie nie zadzwoniła? – spytała Maura.

> – Zajmuje się tym Costas.
>
> – Właśnie się dowiedziałam.
>
> – Nie powinna **pani** tu przyjeżdżać.
>
> – Mogła mi **pani** powiedzieć, **Jane**. Mogła mnie **pani** zawiadomić. (*Sobowtór*, p. 290)

The problem with such mixed forms (V+T) is that they are very infrequent in real-life communication in Polish, and sound rather artificial. Marcjnik (2009: 40) notes that the combination of first name address with the form *pan/pani* is sometimes used by older and socially superior speakers to address their significantly younger interlocutors (e.g. older university professors addressing their students) to indicate a friendly attitude. This, however, is not the case in the Rizzoli and Isles series, as the two characters are of a similar age. Maura's use of the V+T form makes her appear more distant and reserved towards Jane Rizzoli than she is in the original version. The unnaturalness of the characters' address at that stage of their relational interaction was probably the reason why the translator decided that Jane Rizzoli should start addressing Maura Isles by her first name earlier than she does in the original version. Thus, in the Polish version of part 6 (*The Mephisto Club/*Pol. *Klub Mefista*) the characters already use reciprocal T and address each other by their first names, even though in the original version of the book their address is still asymmetrical: Jane Rizzoli addresses Maura Isles as *Doc*, while Maura Isles addresses her by her first name. The translator's decision to shift to reciprocal T makes their relational work more coherent; first name address is more in line with the informal greetings they use (e.g. *hey/*Pol. *witaj*) and with the personal topics they discuss. However, in consequence, the term *Doc* is either omitted (example 9b) or replaced with the first name *Maura* (example 10b) in part 6 (*The Mephisto Club/*Pol. *Klub Mefista*) and the subsequent parts of the series translated by Żebrowski.

(9a) 'If you're looking to get warm, **Doc**,' said Jane, 'you're not going to find it out here. But I guess that's your choice.' (*Mephisto Club*, p. 134)

(9b) – Jeśli chce*sz* [2nd p. sg, present tense] się rozgrzać – powiedziała Jane – to nie tutaj. Ale **twój** wybór. (*Klub Mefista*, p. 95)

(10a) 'C'mon **Doc**,' she said, climbing out. 'We'll get **you** home.' (*Mephisto Club*, p. 265)

(10b) – Chodź, **Mauro** – powiedziała, wysiadając. – Odwieziemy **cię** do domu. (*Klub Mefista*, p. 192)

The other translators of the series mostly translate the characters' address as reciprocal T, but they are less consistent and less concerned with the coherence of the characters' relational work. Zbigniew Kościuk, the translator of part 7 (*Keeping the Dead/*Pol. *Mumia*) mostly renders *you* (N) as *ty* (T), and often omits the term *Doc*, which is consistent with Żebrowski's strategy used in part 6. However, in some contexts, he renders *Doc*

as *pani doktor* 'Ms Doctor' (V) and in others, he translates it using the diminutive form *doktorku* (T). The V form *pani doktor* appears during one of the characters' interactions in the autopsy lab (example 11b).

> (11a) Jane turned to Maura, 'Let's get on with the autopsy, **Doc.** We need more
>   information to work with.' (*Keeping the Dead*, p. 40)
> (11b) Jane zwróciła się do Maury. – Kontynuujmy autopsję, ***pani doktor***. Potrzebujemy
>   więcej informacji, żeby zacząć dochodzenie. (*Mumia*, p. 50)

On the one hand, such a translation is inconsistent with the T forms they use throughout the novel; on the other hand, the professional context in which it occurs to some extent justifies the translator's choice. The other term used by Kościuk as an equivalent of *Doc*, *doktorku* (example 12b) is, however, entirely inappropriate. First of all, *doktorku* is a masculine form and, as such, it is never used to address female doctors in real life. Its use in the translation breaks both the local and macro-coherence of the textual world (cf. Merlini Barbaresi 2002). It is situationally inappropriate and disrupts the coherence of the characters' relational work. Moreover, *doktorku* is a diminutive with derisive and condescending overtones, which are entirely absent from the characters' relational work in the original version of the series. The form was popularized in the Polish translation of Bugs Bunny cartoons, as the rendition of *Doc* in the well-known phrase "What's up *Doc*?" that Bugs Bunny uses to address Elmer Fudd, a character who is trying to hunt him. Elmer Fudd is not a medical doctor, and in the cartoon, *Doc* functions as an informal synonym of the word *man*. While *doktorku* sounds appropriate and funny when used by the cartoon character, it is highly disrespectful when used to address a medical doctor. It is, however, the only informal variant of the word *doktor* available in Polish, which is probably why, despite its inappropriateness, it was also used by Krzysztof Obłucki in his translation of the next part of the series (part 8, *The Killing Place*/Pol. *Dolina umarłych*), as shown in example (12b).

> (12a) Hey, **Doc**, we're wondering where you are,' said Jane. 'Give me a call, okay?'
>   (*The Killing Place*, p. 86)
> (12b) Cześć, ***doktorku***, zastanawiamy się, gdzie jesteś – powiedziała Jane. – Zadzwoń
>   do mnie, dobrze? (*Dolina Umarłych*, p. 76)

There is not much interaction between Jane and Maura in part 8. With the exception of the instance quoted in (12a), they address each other using their first names. In part 9 (*The Silent Girl*/Pol. *Milcząca dziewczyna*), translated by Anna Jęczmyk, *Doc* is rendered as *pani doktor* (V) and combined with *cię*, the object case of the *ty* pronoun (T), as illustrated in (13b).

(13a) 'Hey, **Doc**,' called out Jane, crossing towards her, the wind scrambling her dark
hair, 'I see Tam finally found *you*.' (*The Silent Girl*, p. 57)

(13b) Cześć, **pani doktor**! – zawołała Rizzoli, idąc w jej stronę. Wiatr rozwiewał jej
ciemne włosy. – Widzę, że detektyw Tam jednak *cię* znalazł. (*Milcząca
dziewczyna*, p. 49)

In contrast to the T+V combination involving the use of the first name and the form
pani (Ms) in one utterance, employed by Żebrowski in the translation of part 3, *The
Sinner* (example 6b), the V+T combination involving title + surname and the pronoun *ty*
is, according to Marcjanik (2009: 40), considered impolite in Polish. Marcjanik (2009)
notes that such mixed address terms are encountered among people who have worked
together for a long time but the distance in their professional status makes it difficult for
them to shift to T address. This, however, is not the case in the analysed translation, as
the characters already use T address earlier in the book. In (13b) the V form *pani doktor*
is also combined with the informal greeting *cześć* (*hey*), which is unlikely to happen in
real life, unless the speaker intends to use it jokingly. Such playful use of address terms
combined with the impolite forms that Jane Rizzoli uses in the Polish version of the
earlier parts make the detective appear less professional than she is in the original
version of the series.

7. Conclusions

By analysing the renditions of the form *Doc* as used by detective Jane Rizzoli to address
doctor Maura Isles in the Polish translation of Tess Gerritsen's Rizzoli and Isles crime
fiction series, this study has hoped to offer some insights into the translation of address
terms in serial storytelling. Address terms are part of the relational work done by
fictional characters; they indicate the nature of relationships among them and reflect
the development of their relationships throughout the series. In Tess Gerritsen's series,
Jane Rizzoli uses the form *Doc* to address doctor Maura Isles at different stages of their
relational interaction, first as the only address term and later, when they become
friends, interchangeably with her first name. Such use is facilitated by the availability of
the neutral pronoun *you* in English, which can be combined with various types of
nominal address. The absence of informal ways equivalent to *Doc* to address a female
doctor and the existence of the binary opposition between V and T address in Polish
makes recreating their address mode in translation quite difficult and requires a good
understanding of the characters' relational work. The six Polish translators of the series
showed varying degrees of sensitivity towards the issue in question, which has resulted
in numerous inconsistencies in the characters' address mode, unexpected shifts in
address terms and the use of inaccurate and impolite forms (e.g. the disrespectful
masculine diminutive *doktorku*). Disregarding all the inconsistencies and translation

errors, the main strategy adopted by the translators was to domesticate the characters' relational work and adjust their address to the Polish rules of politeness. Thus, *Doc* is rendered as *pani doktor* 'Ms Doctor' at the initial V stage of the characters' interaction, and omitted or replaced with the doctor's first name when the characters' relationship becomes too close to maintain V address. Such findings reveal the usefulness of the concept of relational work in the study of address terms in the translation of serial story-telling, and show that both nominal and pronominal address terms undergo domestication if it facilitates maintaining the coherence of the characters' relational interaction.

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Agata Rozumko is an Assistant Professor in the Centre for Linguistic Studies at the University of Bialystok, Poland. Her current research interests are in the areas of modality, evidentiality, discourse markers, relational work, and translation, with a particular focus on the translation of discourse markers and address terms.

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