CrossRoads

A Journal of English Studies

ISSUE 40
1/2023

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A Journal of English Studies

ISSUE 40

1/2023

Contents

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Vowel adaptation patterns within English loanwords in Iraqi Arabic

Abstract. This research examines the phonological adaptation of pure vowels in English loanwords in Iraqi Arabic (IA). Unlike previous small-scale studies, the present study collected 346 loanwords through document review and self-observation, and then analyzed them using quantitative content analysis to identify the patterns of pure vowel adaptation involved in incorporating English loanwords into IA. The content analysis findings showed that most pure vowel adaptations in English loanwords in IA follow systematic patterns and may thus be attributed to specific characteristics of both L1 and L2 phonological systems. Specifically, the findings suggest that the IA output forms typically preserve the features of the input pure vowel to the maximum degree feasible by either converting input pure vowels to their direct IA counterparts or replacing them with their closest IA match.

Keywords: Iraqi Arabic, Baghdadi Arabic, loanwords, borrowing, vowel adaptation, vocalic adaptation

1 Introduction

1.1 The research problem

It is common practice for speakers of a language to borrow terms from another to make up for inadequacies in their vocabulary. The popularity of borrowed words and phrases might be attributable to the prestige of the source language, cultural innovations, or other causes. Numerous such terms have been incorporated from English into Iraqi

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Arabic (IA), and with the rise of globalization, social media, technology, and other plat-forms that use English as their major medium, many more are likely to be borrowed.

The sounds and syllable patterns of borrowed foreign words are sometimes forbidden in the target language, and accordingly, several phonological alterations are imposed on these loanwords as they become part of the target language. Within the last two decades, a number of studies have been done to investigate English loanwords in IA and the modifications they experienced as they were absorbed into IA. Yet, these research studies not only dealt with a restricted quantity of data, but also failed to provide any quantitative data that could help discover the recurring patterns in the aforementioned changes.

1.2 Purpose of the study
Given the scarcity of research on English loanword adaptation in IA, the current study seeks to identify and characterize the pure vowel adaption patterns involved in nativiz-ing English loanwords by native speakers of IA.

1.3 The research question
The research question for this study is:
- What types of vocalic adaptation patterns are evident in the nativization of English words by native speakers of IA?

1.4 The value of the study
The continual absorption of a significant number of English loanwords into IA necessi-tates a thorough phonological analysis that will lead to a deeper understanding of IA phonology and phonological theory in general. Unfortunately, the few research studies on English loanwords in IA that are presently accessible have failed to give such a complete study. As a result, there is a gap in the literature on IA loanword phonology. By examining how English pure vowels are modified in IA, the current study bridges the gap and makes up for the lack of research in this area.

1.5 Delimitations of the study
This research is confined to investigating the pure vowel modifications that English loanwords in IA have undergone. Consonantal, suprasegmental, and diphthong changes are outside the scope of the current study.

In addition, the scope of this study is confined to investigating the following two language varieties:
a. Iraqi Arabic (IA), also known as Muslim Baghdadi Arabic or gilit-dialect, is the "dominant, both numerically and in prestige," dialect of the Arabic language spoken in Iraq (Blanc, 1959, p. 449).

    b. British English, or General British (GB), is the standard English language dialect spoken and written in the United Kingdom (Cruttenden 2014: 80).

Words from both British and American English have been borrowed into IA. Before 2003, British English was the dominant language in Iraq for various social and political reasons. As a result, it is considered that British English is the source of the vast majority of loanwords found in the corpus, notably those drawn from books and printed dictionaries. Since it is impossible to pinpoint the origin of every borrowing made after 2003, and for purposes of analytical consistency, the researcher will presume that these loanwords also originate from British English.

2. Review of the literature

2.1. Borrowing and loanword adaptation

Linguistic borrowing refers to the process through which a group of speakers incorporates certain foreign linguistic components into their own language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37; Malmkjaer 2002: 238). When studying any changes that occur during loanword adaptation, it is important to understand the difference between two kinds of loanwords: established borrowings and nonce borrowings.

Nonce borrowings, also known as single-word codeswitching, are words that are borrowed from another language and used in the primary language of an utterance to describe a specific event or scenario for which a term does not already exist. Nonce borrowings are distinct from established borrowings in that they do not satisfy the requirements for the level of acceptability or the frequency with which they are used (Poplack 2001: 2063).

In contrast, established borrowings, which are the focus of this research, are foreign words that have entered the vocabulary of the borrowing language. These loanwords are the outcome of "a completed language change, a diachronic process that once started as an individual innovation but has been propagated throughout the speech community" (Haspelmath 2009: 38).

According to Poplack (2001: 2063), there are three ways to identify established loanwords:

1. Established Loanwords take on the morphological, syntactic, and, frequently, phonological characteristics of the language into which they have been incorporated.
2. They are frequent in the person's speech and common in the society at large.
3. These words become part of the recipient language's lexicon and are available to monolingual speakers as part of the usual lexical repertoire.

According to Peperkamp (2005), phonological analysis of established loanwords must be diachronic since it explains the alterations made by the speakers who first

introduced these items. Furthermore, depending on the sound changes that happened during adaptation and those that occurred afterward, borrowings may take on distinct phonological structures. It may be difficult to determine how an item reached a target language and if characteristics such as orthography were relevant (Haunz 2007).

2.2 GB and IA phonological systems

A total of 44 phonemes make up the GB phonemic inventory, including 20 vowels and 24 consonants. Of these 20 vowels, there are twelve pure vowels and eight diphthongs (Roach 2009:17). The 12 GB pure vowels are further categorized as follows:

- Short vowels: /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /e/, /ə/, /ʌ/, /æ/, and /ɒ/
- Long vowels: /i:/, /u:/, /ɜ/, /ɔ:/, and /ɑ:/

In IA, on the other hand, there are 39 phonemes: 8 vowels and 31 consonants. All vowels in IA are pure vowels. The 8 IA pure vowels are further categorized as follows:

- Short vowels: /ɪ/, /ʊ/, and /a/
- Long vowels: /i:/, /u:/, /e:/, /ɔ:/, and /a:/

2.3 Past studies of the adaptation of English loanwords in IA

Although several studies have been conducted within the last two decades on the topic of English loanwords in IA and the adaptations these words underwent (for example, Abdullah & Daffar 2006, Mohammed 2009, Salman & Mansour 2017, Mubarak & Kadhim 2019, and Al-Quraishi & Mansour 2020), the majority of these studies were conducted on a small scale and focused on the sociolinguistic or morphological aspects of those adaptations. So far, only two researchers have attempted to characterize adaptations in terms of phonological properties: As-Sammer (2015), who characterized adaptations in terms of vowel quality vs. vowel length, and Salman (2020), who classified these adaptations in terms of the phonological processes involved in them.

As-Sammer (2015) examined 150 loanwords that he accumulated over time as a result of his own everyday communication in an attempt to explore the adaptation processes that occurred when these English loanwords were incorporated into IA. In terms of vowel quality, As-Sammer explained how the three English pure vowels /ɪ/, /e/, and /ɒ/ changed their vowel backness, vowel height, and lip rounding when borrowed into IA. As for vowel length, As-Sammer listed six English pure vowels, /ɪ, e, æ, ə, ʌ, ɒ/, which were lengthened when adapted to IA, and only one vowel, /u:/, which got shortened when incorporated into IA.

Salman (2020) examined an unspecified number of English loanwords in IA that she collected by systematically searching for loanwords in two dictionaries, and also through a self-observation technique that she used herself, being a native speaker of IA. The researcher did not attempt to identify vowel adaptation patterns, and her research principally focused on the phonological processes involved in adapting these words. In

connection to the adaptation of pure vowels, the researcher listed five processes: addition, deletion, lengthening, shortening, and substitution. She then provided a few example words for each of these adaptation processes.

Though containing several useful examples and tendencies of vowel adaptations, neither of these two last studies offered any adaptation patterns. Actually, As-Sammer concluded his study by stating that these modifications provided "no default patterns" (As-Sammer 2015: 1). What I found more regrettable was that neither of the two studies provided any quantitative information (numbers, frequencies, etc.) that could be utilized in determining and verifying adaptation patterns.

3 Method

3.1 Research design

A descriptive, non-experimental, quantitative approach using content analysis was used to fulfill the study's aim of determining the vocalic adaption patterns of English loanwords in IA. Krippendorff (2004: 18) defines content analysis as "a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use." Different scholars have offered varying classifications of content analysis. Thus, while Ahuvia (2001: 139) distinguishes three unique types of content analysis: traditional, interpretive, and reception based, it has been proposed by other scholars that content analysis may be broken down into "latent (subjective and qualitative) and manifest (objective and quantitative) categories of analysis," as described by Babbie (2007: 356) and Holsti (1969: 12–14). The present research uses traditional manifest content analysis, which involves being objective and using highly systematic procedures to compile numerical summaries and tally-ups of manifest content (Holsti 1969: 3–14; Ahuvia 2001: 139; Krippendorff 2004).

Validity is the extent to which an instrument accurately measures what it is intended to measure (Mackey & Gass 2016: 158). Typically, this relies on how well the sample reflects the population. Using the whole available population as the research sample strengthened the validity of this study by ensuring that every loanword in the research population had an equal chance of being included in the sample.

Interrater reliability is the degree of agreement between two or more independent observers using the same instrument. The researcher interviewed two more IA native speakers to verify the presence of the 346 loanwords list in IA. Both informants were born and raised in Baghdad, where they continue to reside, and their English proficiency was elementary. In addition, triangulation, or the use of several data-gathering techniques (self-observation, document review), was used to improve the reliability and internal validity of the study (Merriam & Grenier 2019: 14).

3.2 Data collection

An etymological dictionary of loanwords in IA (Albazarkan 2000) that included 351 English loanwords in IA served as the primary source for the corpus making up the majority of the data for the present research. All of the English loanwords in IA described in the following four academic publications (Abdullah & Daffar 2006), (Mohammed 2009), (As-Sammer 2015), and (Salman 2020) were also included in the corpus. Finally, the researcher, a native speaker of IA, relied on a self-observation method to accumulate more loanwords over the course of almost a year (from March 2021 to February 2022). To do this, the researcher consulted a number of monolingual English dictionaries and took notes on the loanwords used by the Iraqi population in everyday situations (e.g., on TV, on social media, etc.).

The investigation uncovered a total of 590 English loanwords in IA. The researcher and his dissertation supervisor verified that these words met the requirements for inclusion in accordance with Poplack's (2001: 2063) definition of well-established loanwords. During this cross-examination, only those words that met the aforementioned criteria were included in the research, hence forming the accessible population. Words that did not meet these criteria were eliminated. All 346 words (the population with access to the research) formed the data for the current investigation (see Appendix A).

3.3 Data analysis

Soon after the corpus loanwords were assembled, IPA symbols were used to record the IA pronunciation of these words and the GB pronunciation of their English source terms (see Appendix A). A valuable tool in determining how the English words were transcribed into their GB phonemic form was the online Cambridge Dictionary, available at `https://dictionary.cambridge.org/`. Note that the present study agrees with the editors of the Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary that "It is necessary to show, in British English entries, cases of potential pronunciation of /r/, mainly in word-final position" (Roach et al. 2006: xiv) and thus includes the /r/ within the transcription of these words to indicate the potential for pronunciation.

As previously indicated, most loanwords used in IA come straight from dictionaries and word lists culled from other scholarly works, where their pronunciation is already provided. To guarantee the correctness of the IA phonemic transcriptions in the loanword corpus, the researcher, his dissertation supervisor, and two additional native speakers of IA double-checked the pronunciations.

Following this step, loanwords were analyzed one by one, comparing GB and IA pronunciation, and noting any vocalic adaptations. To address the study question, the phonological adaptations of each GB vowel as it was incorporated into the IA lexicon were then detected and tallied in order to ascertain the patterns of English loanword vowel adaptations in IA and answer the study question (see the tables in Section 4).

4 Results

As noted in Section 2, there are 12 pure vowels in the GB phonemic inventory, namely /iː/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /uː/, /e/, /ə/, /ɜː/, /ɔː/, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɑː/ and /ɒ/ (Roach 2009: x). The adaptation patterns of each of these 12 pure vowels are presented in the following subsections.

4.1 Adaptation of GB /iː/

The high front unrounded tense vowel /iː/ exists in the IA phonemic inventory. Therefore, the GB vowel /iː/ in English loanwords in IA is typically perceived faithfully and is regularly mapped to its direct IA counterpart (in 23/28 cases, 82.5%). Nevertheless, some instances of this vowel in the corpus exhibit irregular behavior, surfacing as the pure vowels /a/, /eː/, /ɪ/, or the semi-vowel /j/, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Adaptation of the GB high front long vowel /iː/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
iː	cream	kriːm	iː	kriːm	23	82.5%	28
	kilo	kiːləʊ	eː	keːlu	2	7%	
	meter	miːtər	a	matɪr	1	3.5%	
	guarantee	gærəntiː	ɪ	garanti	1	3.5%	
	neon	niːɒn	j	njɔːn	1	3.5%	

4.2 Adaptation of GB /ɪ/

Since the near-high near-front unrounded lax vowel /ɪ/ is available in IA, the GB vowel /ɪ/ is mostly perceived faithfully and regularly mapped to its direct IA counterpart (in 74/108 cases, 69%). Some instances of this vowel in the corpus, however, exhibit irregular behavior, surfacing as the pure vowels /iː/, a/, /eː/, or the semi-vowel /j/, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Adaptation of the GB high front short vowel /ɪ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɪ	dish	dɪʃ	ɪ	dɪʃ	74	69%	108
	bonnet	bɒnɪt	iː	baniːd	17	16%	
	video	vɪdiəʊ	j	vɪdjɔː	9	8%	
	bracket	brækɪt	eː	braːkeːt	6	5%	
	sausage	sɒsɪdʒ	a	sˤɔːsˤadʒ	2	2%	

As mentioned above, instances of GB /ɪ/ in the corpus have surfaced as /j/ (in 9/108 cases, 8%) as a strategy for avoiding vowel hiatus. Vowel hiatus is disallowed in IA because the occurrence of two successive vowels in two different syllables necessitates having a vowel-initial syllable, which is prohibited in IA. Several methods, such as coalescence, vowel apocope, and glide formation, have been suggested cross-linguistically to eliminate vowel hiatus (Carr 2008: 71).

Corpus data analysis revealed that vowel hiatus in English loanwords in IA is typically resolved using glide formation whereby the first vowel, i.e., /i/ is changed to its closest glide counterpart /j/ as in adapting GB /ə.kɔː.di.ən/ accordion to IA /ʔakɔːrdjɔːn/, GB /æl.jə.mɪn.i.əm/ aluminium to IA /ʔalamɪnjɔːm/, GB /bɪl.i.ədz/ billiards to IA /bɪljaːrd/, GB /ˈreɪ.di.əʊ/ radio to IA /raːdjɔː/, GB /stjuː.di.əʊ/ studio to IA /stɔːdjɔː/, GB /vɪd.i.əʊ/ video to IA /vɪdjɔː/, etc.

4.3 Adaptation of GB /ʊ/

The near-high near-back rounded lax vowel /ʊ/, which already exists in IA, is the least common vowel, appearing only three times within the loan corpus. In all three instances, the GB vowel /ʊ/ in English loanwords in IA, this vowel is perceived faithfully and is regularly mapped to its direct IA counterpart (in 3/3 cases, 100%), as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Adaptation of the GB high back short vowel /ʊ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ʊ	cushion	kʊʃən	ʊ	kʊʃin	3	100%	3

4.4 Adaptation of GB /uː/

Despite its presence in the IA phonemic inventory, the high back rounded tense vowel /uː/ has two common realizations in IA. On the one hand, the GB vowel /uː/ seems to be perceived faithfully and is regularly mapped to its direct IA counterpart (in 11/21 cases, 52%). Loanwords in the corpus where GB /uː/ is adapted regularly into IA /uː/, e.g., boot, fuse, group, soup, stool, etc., are mostly monosyllabic. The adapted IA vowel sound /uː/ in the only two multisyllabic words, tracksuit and parachute, occurs in syllables where it is preceded by a fricative and followed by a plosive consonant.

On the other hand, in many loanwords in the corpus, the GB vowel /uː/ is adapted into IA /ɔː/, e.g., *balloon, cartoon, coupon, shampoo,* etc., as shown in Table 4. Note that these loanwords are all multisyllabic words and that the adapted IA vowel sound /ɔː/ in these words occurs mostly in syllable-final position or, in two instances, followed by nasal /n/.

Table 4. Adaptation of the GB high back vowel /u:/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
u:	fuse	fju:z	u:	fju:z	11	52%	21
	cartoon	kɑ:tu:n	ɔ:	ka:rtɔ:n	10	48%	

4.5 Adaptation of GB /e/

The GB mid front unrounded lax vowel /e/ does not exist in the IA phonemic inventory. It is regularly mapped in English loanwords to its closest phonological match, IA /a/ (in 18/34 cases, 53%). Nevertheless, some instances of this vowel in the corpus exhibit irregular behavior surfacing as the pure vowels /ɪ/ and /e:/, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Adaptation of the GB mid front vowel /e/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
e	tennis	tenɪs	a	tanɪs	18	53%	34
	Pepsi	pepsi	ɪ	bɪbsi	9	27%	
	set	set	e:	se:t	7	20%	

4.6 Adaptation of GB /ə/

The GB mid front unrounded lax vowel /ə/ does not exist in the IA phonemic inventory. Loan corpus data show that, when integrated into IA, the GB vowel /ə/ exhibits one of four regular realizations. The most common of these is when the vowel is mapped to its closest phonological match, IA /a/ (in 18/34 cases, 53%). In the three other, less common realizations, the vowel surfaces as the IA vowels /ɔ:/, /ɪ/ and /a:/, respectively, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Adaptation of the GB mid central vowel /ə/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ə	filter	fɪltər	a	fɪltar	86	57%	149
	doctor	dɒktər	ɔ:	dɪktɔ:r	26	17.5%	
	oven	ʌvən	ɪ	ʔɔ:vɪn	21	14%	
	balloon	bəlu:n	a:	ba:lɔ:n	10	7%	
	model	mɒdəl	e:	mɔ:de:l	2	1.5%	
	oxygen	ɒksɪdʒən	i:	ʔɔ:ksɪdʒi:n	2	1.5%	
	diplomat	dɪpləmæt	ʊ	dɪblʊma:si	2	1.5%	

4.7 Adaptation of GB /ɜ:/

The GB mid central unrounded tense vowel /ɜ:/ is not available in the IA phonemic inventory and is regularly mapped in English loanwords to its closest phonological match, IA /eː/, (in 4/6 cases, 66%). Only two instances of this vowel in the corpus exhibit irregular behavior surfacing as the pure vowels /ɪ/ and /a/, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Adaptation of the GB mid central vowel /ɜ:/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɜː	T-shirt	tiːʃɜːt	eː	tiːʃeːrt	4	66%	6
	thermos	θɜːməs	ɪ	tɪrmɪz	1	17%	
	hamburger	hæmbɜːgər	a	hambargar	1	17%	

4.8 Adaptation of GB /ɔ:/

A total of 15 occurrences of the GB mid back rounded tense vowel /ɔ:/ were observed in the loan corpus. In the majority of these instances (in 13/15 cases, 86%), this GB vowel is perceived faithfully and regularly mapped in English loanwords to its direct IA counterpart due to the fact that the vowel already exists in the IA phonemic inventory. The only two occurrences where this vowel shows irregular realizations are in the words *dashboard* and *sauna,* where the vowel is mapped into the pure vowel /a/ and the vowel-plus-glide sequence/aːw/, respectively, as illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8. Adaptation of the GB back rounded vowel /ɔ:/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɔː	hall	hɔːl	ɔː	hɔːl	13	86%	15
	dashboard	dæʃbɔːd	uː	daʃbuːl	1	7%	
	sauna	sɔːnə	aːw	saːwna	1	7%	

4.9 Adaptation of GB /æ/

According to Cruttenden (2014: 120), the GB low front unrounded lax vowel /æ/, which does not exist in IA, is "generally longer in GB than the other short vowels /ɪ, e, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/," and that when occurring before voiced consonants, its length becomes almost the same as that of long vowels.

This vowel is regularly mapped in English loanwords to its two closest IA phonological matches:

1. low central unrounded tense vowel /a:/ (in 40/82 cases, 48%)
2. near low front unrounded lax vowel /a/ (in 40/82 cases, 48%)

In addition, two instances of GB /æ/ in the corpus have also been mapped to /ɪ/, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9. Adaptation of the GB low front vowel /æ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɔ:	cash	kæʃ	a:	ka:ʃ	40	48%	82
	jack	dʒæk	a	dʒag	40	48%	
	racket	rækɪt	ɪ	/rɪkɪt	2	4%	

This variation in the mapping of the GB low front vowel /æ/ in IA may probably be attributed to the variation in duration that this vowel exhibits in different contexts, causing IA listeners to perceive it as the short vowel /a/ in contexts where it has a short duration, and as the long vowel /a:/ in those where it exhibits long duration.

4.10 Adaptation of GB /ʌ/

Due to the absence of the near-low central unrounded lax vowel /ʌ/ in the IA phonemic inventory, the GB vowel /ʌ/ is regularly mapped (in 16/22 cases, 72%) to its closest phonological match IA /a/ when it appears in English loanwords in IA. The corpus, however, also shows six words where the vowel surfaces as the pure vowels /a:/, /ɪ/, /u:/, and /ɔ:/, respectively, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Adaptation of the GB low central vowel /ʌ /in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ʌ	bug	bʌg	a	bag	16	72%	22
	bus	bʌs	a:	ba:sˤ	2	9%	
	subbase	sʌb.beɪs	ɪ	sɪb.be:s	2	9%	
	cup	kʌp	u:	ku:b	1	5%	
	oven	ʌvən	ɔ:	ʔɔ:vɪn	1	5%	

4.11 Adaptation of GB /ɑ:/

Since the near-low central unrounded lax vowel /ɑ:/ does not exist in the IA phonemic inventory, the GB vowel /ɑ:/ is almost always (in 18/20 cases, 90%) mapped to its closest

phonological match, IA /aː/, when integrated into IA within English loanwords. The only exceptions to this are two words where the vowel surfaces as the pure vowel /a/, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Adaptation of the GB low back vowel /ɑː/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɑː	mask	mɑːsk	aː	maːsk	18	90%	20
	chance	ʧɑːns	a	ʧansˤ	2	10%	

4.12 Adaptation of GB /ɒ/

The IA phonemic inventory lacks the low back rounded lax vowel /ɒ/. Accordingly, the GB low back rounded lax vowel /ɒ/ is regularly mapped (in 28/36 cases, 78%) in English loanwords to its closest phonological match, the IA vowel /ɔː/. In addition to this regular mapping, some instances of this vowel in the corpus exhibit irregular behavior surfacing as the pure vowels /a/, /aː/, /ʊ/, /uː/, and /ɪ/, as shown in Table 29. The mapping of the GB vowel sound /ɒ/ into IA /a/ in the IA words /watsap/ (*WhatsApp*) and /jaxɪt/ (*yacht*) may be explained by referring to the fact that the source form of these two words has the vowel sound spelled with the letter "a" so it can be argued that English orthography might have played a role in IA speakers' decision to make this mapping.

Table 12. Adaptation of the GB low back short vowel /ɒ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
ɒ	block	blɒk	ɔː	blɔːk	28	78%	36
	yacht	jɒt	a	jaxɪt	4	12%	
	washer	wɒʃər	aː	waːʃar	1	2.5%	
	doctor	dɒktər	ɪ	dɪktɔːr	1	2.5%	
	bottle	bɒtl	ʊ	butˤʊl	1	2.5%	
	dollar	dɒlər	uː	duːlaːr	1	2.5%	

5 Discussion

This research study sought to shed light on how GB pure vowels were adapted in English loanwords in IA to determine the phonological patterns in the IA adaptation of English vowels and how the closest IA matches for GB vowels were selected. Analysis of the data showed that most GB vocalic adaptations in English loanwords in IA follow predictable

patterns that can be attributed to features of both the L1 and L2 phonological systems. Nonetheless, several vocalic changes were not determined by phonological considerations, and the spelling of the words seemed to have a role.

As mentioned earlier in this study, out of the 12 GB pure vowels, five vowels, namely, /iː/, /ɪ/, /uː/, /ʊ/, and /ɔː/, have direct counterparts in IA, while the other seven pure vowels, namely, /e/, /ə/, /ɜː/, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɑː/, and /ɒ/ do not have any direct counterparts in IA, and thus need to undergo phonological changes to be accepted in it.

Loan corpus data analysis showed that the output forms tend to maintain the features of the GB input vowels to the greatest extent possible. This is done by either mapping GB input vowels to their direct IA counterparts or replacing them with their closest IA match, as illustrated in Table 13 and Table 14.

Table 13. Adaptations of GB pure vowels which are available in IA

	GB Vowel	Typical IA mapping	Other IA mappings
1	iː	iː	eː, a, ɪ, j
2	ɪ	ɪ, iː, j, eː	a
3	ʊ	ʊ	
4	uː	uː, ɔː	
5	ɔː	ɔː, uː	aːw

Table 14. Adaptation of GB pure vowels which are not available in IA

	GB Vowels	Typical IA mapping	Other IA mappings
1	e	a, ɪ, eː	
2	ə	a, ɔː, ɪ, aː	eː, iː, ʊ
3	ɜː	eː	ɪ, a
4	æ	a, aː	ɪ
5	ʌ	a	aː, ɪ, uː, ɔː
6	ɑː	aː	a
7	ɒ	ɔː	a, aː, ɪ, ʊ, uː

5.1 GB Vowels With Direct IA Counterparts

When it comes to the GB vowels /iː/, /ɪ/, /uː/, /ʊ/, and /ɔː/, which are available in IA, data analysis showed that these vowels are typically mapped faithfully to their IA counterparts, as shown in Table 15.

Table 15. Typical adaptation patterns of most GB pure vowels which are available in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
iː	cream	kriːm	iː	kriːm	23/28	82.5%
ʊ	cushion	kʊʃən	ʊ	kʊʃɪn	3/3	100%
ɔː	hall	hɔːl	ɔː	hɔːl	13/15	86%

There are two exceptions, however, where a pure vowel with a direct counterpart in IA may show more than one typical adaptation pattern. The first exception is the adaptation of the GB vowel /ɪ/ into IA /iː/, typically when the vowel is followed by a voiceless affricate, e.g., IA /sandawiːʧ/ *sandwich*, IA /swiːʧ/ *switch*, etc., or when the lengthened vowel receives the stress, as in IA /baˈniːd/ *bonnet*, /fiːtaˈmiːn/ *vitamin*, etc. Alternatively, the vowel may be adapted into IA /eː/, usually when the lengthened vowel receives the stress, as in /braˈkeːt/ *bracket*, /gaːzˈgeːt/ *gasket*, /ʧaˈkeːt/ *jacket*, etc., or it may be adapted into the semi-vowel /j/ as a strategy for avoiding vowel hiatus, as in /vɪdjɔ/ *video*, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Typical adaptation patterns of the GB pure vowel /ɪ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
ɪ	dish	dɪʃ	ɪ	dɪʃ	74	69%
	bonnet	bɒnɪt	iː	baniːd	17	16%
	video	vɪdiəʊ	j	vɪdjɔː	9	8%
	bracket	brækɪt	eː	braːkeːt	6	5%

The second exception is the adaptation of the GB vowel /uː/ to IA /ɔː/, which occurs mostly in syllable-final position, as in /gaːzɔː/ *cashew* and /taːtɔː/ *tattoo,* or in two instances where the vowel is followed by nasal /n/, as in /baːlɔːn/ *balloon,* and /kaːrtɔːn/ *cartoon,* as shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Typical adaptation patterns of the GB pure vowel /uː/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency		Total
uː	fuse	fjuːz	uː	fjuːz	11	52%	21
	cartoon	kɑːtuːn	ɔː	kaːrtɔːn	10	48%	

5.2 GB Vowels With no Direct IA Counterparts

On the other hand, GB pure vowels, which do not have a direct counterpart in IA, are typically replaced with their closest IA phonetic match, as shown in Table 18. For

instance, the GB mid-front short vowel /e/, mid-central short vowel /ə/, and low central short vowel /ʌ/ are matched with the IA near-low front short vowel /a/.

Table 18. Typical adaptation patterns of most GB pure vowels
which are not available in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
ɜ:	T-shirt	ti:ʃɜ:t	e:	ti:ʃe:rt	4/6	66%
ʌ	bug	bʌg	a	bag	16/22	72%
ɑ:	mask	mɑ:sk	a:	ma:sk	18/20	90%
ɒ	block	blɒk	ɔ:	blɔ:k	28/36	78%

However, there are three exceptions where a pure vowel with no direct counterpart in IA may show more than one systematic adaptation pattern. First, there is the GB midfront unrounded lax vowel /e/ surfacing as the pure vowels /a, ɪ, e:/, as illustrated in Table 19.

Table 19. Typical adaptation patterns of the GB pure vowel /ə/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
e	tennis	tenɪs	a	tanɪs	18/34	53%
	Pepsi	pepsi	ɪ	bɪbsi	9/34	27%
	set	set	e:	se:t	7/34	20%

The second exception is adapting the GB mid central unrounded lax vowel /ə/ into the pure vowels /a, ɔ:, ɪ, a:/, as shown in Table 20. As mentioned earlier, these other adaptation patterns may be ascribed to the influence of orthography since the letters used to represent the vowel in writing in the source language play a critical role in its adaptation.

Table 20. Typical adaptation patterns of the GB pure vowel /æ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
ə	filter	fɪltər	a	fɪltar	86/149	57%
	doctor	dɒktər	ɔ:	dɪktɔ:r	26/149	17.5%
	oven	ʌvən	ɪ	ʔɔ:vɪn	21/149	14%
	balloon	bəlu:n	a:	ba:lɔ:n	10/149	7%

Finally, there is the adaptation of the GB vowel /æ/ to either IA /a/ or IA /a:/, which could be, at least partly, caused by the vowel length difference exhibited by this vowel in different contexts, causing IA listeners to perceive it as the short vowel /a/ in contexts

where it has a short duration, and as the long vowel /a:/ in those where it exhibits long duration, as shown in Table 21.

Table 21. Typical adaptation patterns of the GB pure vowel /æ/ in IA

GB input			IA output		Frequency	
æ	cash	kæʃ	a:	ka:ʃ	40	48%
	jack	ʤæk	a	ʤag	40	48%

In conclusion, the findings are consistent with those reported by Galal (2004: 18), Jarrah (2013: 80), As-Sammer (2015: 36), Guba (2016: xiv, 104), Aloufi (2016), and Alhoody (2019: 170), namely that the borrowing language typically mapped source vowels onto their closest target language phonemes, with the exception of cases that can be explained by such factors as spelling, vowel harmony, prosody, etc.

As no earlier research on the adaptation of English terms into IA has sought to uncover adaptation patterns, it is not possible to interpret the findings of this study within the existing literature on IA. Alternatively, two research studies on different Arabic dialects, Guba (2016) and Alhoody (2019), have explored the adaption of vowel sounds in English words when they are borrowed into Ammani Arabic (AA) and Modern Hijazi Arabic (MHA). These three dialects share a vowel sound system consisting of roughly the same eight pure vowels, but due to changes in consonants, syllable structure, and prosodic elements, they display distinctively diverse vocalic adaptation patterns. Thus, while the GB pure vowel /ɒ/ in the loanwords *laptop* and *nylon* is adapted into IA /ɔ:/, the same sound is adapted into AA /u;/ and MHA /u:/ with the words pronounced as /la:btu:b/ and /na:jlu:n/.

6 Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the vocalic adaption of English loanwords in IA. In particular, the research sought to identify and characterize the pure vowel adaption patterns involved in the nativization of English loanwords by IA native speakers. The findings reveal that the output forms tend to retain as many characteristics of the GB input vowel as feasible.

Further findings indicate that, for pure vowels, features are maintained by either mapping GB input vowels to their direct IA counterparts or by replacing them with their closest IA match. Thus, the GB vowels /i:/, /ɪ/, /u:/, /ʊ/, and /ɔ:/, which are available in IA, are typically mapped faithfully to their IA counterparts. The only two exceptions where a pure vowel with a direct counterpart in IA may show more than one typical adaptation pattern are the adaptation of the GB vowel /ɪ/ into the IA vowels /i:/, /e:/, or the semi-vowel /j/, and the adaptation of the GB vowel /u:/ into the IA vowel /ɔ:/.

In contrast, the GB pure vowels /e/, /ɜ:/, /ʌ/, /ɑ:/, and /ɒ/, which do not have a direct parallel in IA, are usually substituted with their closest equivalent in IA, with only two

exceptions where a pure vowel with no direct parallel in IA may show more than one adaptation pattern: the GB vowel /ə/ surfacing as the pure vowels /a, ɔ:, ɪ, a:/, and the GB vowel /æ/ surfacing as either IA /a/ or IA /a:/.

The current investigation has produced a number of important contributions to both the phonology of IA loanwords and the phonology of loanwords more generally. To begin with, the research has filled a gap in our understanding of the phonology of IA loanwords, providing the first account of this type of pure vowel adaptation based on a systematic quantitative content analysis of the entire accessible population (346 established loanwords). In addition, much-needed documentation of the IA dialect has been supplied as a result of this work. The approach that was taken in this study to collect primary and secondary data, as well as to confirm the pronunciation of loanwords and to make a careful selection of all established loanwords that are accessible to IA speakers, lends credence to the quality of the loan corpus that was collected for the present study. This study not only offers a description of a dialect that is continually developing, but it also offers the potential to be used in investigating various aspects of IA.

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Appendix A: Loanword corpus

The table below contains all the English loanwords in IA that were used in the study. Proper nouns are denoted by capitalization, and a hyphen (-) is used to distinguish the several possible pronunciations.

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
1	accordion	əkɔ:diən	ʔakɔ:rdjɔ:n
2	aerial	eəriəl	ʔarjal
3	airbag	eəbæg	ʔe:rba:g
4	air conditioner	eəkəndɪʃənər	ʔɔ:rkɪndɪʃin - ʔe:rkɔ:ndɪʃinar
5	album	ælbəm	ʔalbɔ:m
6	aluminium	æljəmɪniəm	ʔalamɪnjɔ:m
7	ampere	æmpɪər	ʔampe:r - ʔambe:r
8	android	ændrɔɪd	andrɔ:jd
9	aspirin	æspərɪn	ʔaspɪri:n
10	atlas	ætləs	ʔatˤlas
11	automatic	ɔ:təmætɪk	ʔɔ:tɔ:ma:ti:ki
12	axle	æksəl	ʔaksɪl
13	back	bæk	bag
14	bacteria	bæktɪəriə	baktɪrja
15	baking powder	beɪkɪŋ paʊdər	be:kɪn pa:wdar
16	balance	bæləns	balansˤ
17	balcony	bælkəni	balakɔ:na - ba:lkɔ:n
18	(Intragastric) balloon	bəlu:n	ba:lɔ:n
19	bandage	bændɪdʒ	ba:ndɪdʒ
20	bank	bæŋk	bang
21	bar	bɑ:(r)	ba:r
22	battery	bætəri	pa:tri - ba:tri
23	beige	beɪʒ	be:dʒ

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
24	Bermuda (shorts)	bəmjuːdə	bɪrmɔːda
25	bicycle	baɪsɪkl	baːjsɪkɪl
26	billiards	bɪliədz	bɪljaːrd
27	biscuit	bɪskɪt	bɪskɪt
28	block	blɒk	blɔːk
29	blouse	blaʊz	bluːz
30	body (of a car)	bɒdi	badi
31	bonnet	bɒnɪt	baniːd
32	boot (type of shoe)	buːt	buːt
33	bottle	bɒtl	bʊtˤʊl
34	(box) cutter	kʌtər	katar
35	bracket (lighting support)	brækɪt	braːkeːt
36	brake [pedal]	breɪk	breːk
37	break (recess)	breɪk	breːk
38	bug	bʌg	bˤag
39	bus	bʌs	baːsˤ
40	busboy (waiter/garcon)	bʌsbɔɪ	bɔːj
41	bye bye	baɪbaɪ	bajbaːj
42	cabin	kæbɪn	kaːbiːna
43	cable	keɪbl	keːbɪl
44	cake	keɪk	keːk
45	camera	kæmərə	kaːmɪra
46	canary	kəneəri	kanaːri
47	captain	kæptɪn	kaːptɪn
48	caravan	kærəvæn	karavaːn
49	carburettor	kɑːbəretər	kaːbreːta - kaːbreːtar
50	carbon	kɑːbən	kaːrbɔːn
51	card	kɑːd	kaːrt invitation
52	cartoon	kɑːtuːn	kaːrtɔːn
53	cash	kæʃ	kaːʃ
54	cashier	kæʃɪər	kaːʃeːr

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
55	cashew	kæʃuː	gaːzɔː
56	casino	kəsiːnəʊ	gaːziːnɔː
57	catalogue	kætəlɒg	katalɔːk
58	cement	sɪment	smɪnt
59	centre	sentər	santar
60	ceramics	səræmɪks	siːraːmiːk
61	chance	ʧɑːns	ʧansˤ
62	chassis	ʃæsi	ʃaːsˤi
63	chef	ʃef	ʃeːf
64	cheque	ʧek	ʧeːk ; ʃeːk
65	chips	ʧɪps	ʧɪbɪs
66	cholera	kɒlərə	kɔːlɪra
67	cigarette	sɪgəret	ʤɪgaːra
68	cinema	sɪnəmə	siːnama
69	circus	sɜːkəs	seːrk
70	classic	klæsɪk	klaːsiːki
71	clips	klɪps	klɪps
72	clutch	klʌʧ	klaʧ
73	coat	kəʊt	kɔːt
74	coca cola	kəʊkəkəʊlə	kɔːkakɔːla
75	cocktail	kɒkteɪl	kɔːkteːl
76	coil	kɔɪl	kɔːjɪl
77	colon (body part)	kəʊlɒn	qɔːlɔːn - qaːlɔːn
78	commission	kəmɪʃən	kɔːmɪʃin
79	compressor	kəmpresər	kɔːmpreːsar - kɔːmbreːsar
80	computer	kəmpjuːtər	kɔːmpjuːtar - kɔːmbjuːtar
81	Concrete	kɒŋkriːt	kɔːnkriːt
82	conditioner (hair)	kəndɪʃənər	kɔːndɪʃinar
83	corner (football)	kɔːnər	kɔːrnar
84	corridor	kɒrɪdɔːr	kɪlɪdɔːr - kɒlɪdɔːr - kɪlɪdɔːr
85	counter	kaʊntə	kaːwɪntar

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
86	couple	kʌpəl	kapıl - kabıl
87	coupon	ku:pɒn	kɔ:bɔ:n
88	course	kɔ:s	kɔ:rs
89	cover	kʌvər	kavar
90	cowboy (jeans)	kaʊbɔɪ	ka:wbɔ:j
91	crane	kreɪn	kre:n
92	cream	kri:m	kri:m
93	crystal	krɪstəl	krɪsta:l
94	cup	kʌp	ku:b
95	cushion	kʊʃən	kʊʃin
96	custard	kʌstəd	ka:star
97	dashboard	dæʃbɔ:d	daʃbu:l
98	design	dɪzaɪn	dɪza:jn
99	diploma	dɪpləʊmə	dɪblɔ:m
100	diplomat	dɪpləmæt	dɪblʊma:si
101	disc	dɪsk	dɪsk
102	doctor	dɒktər	dɪktɔ:r
103	dollar	dɒlər	du:la:r
104	domino	dɒmɪnəʊ	dɔ:mna
105	double	dʌbl	dabal
106	dozen	dʌzən	darzan
107	drama	drɑ:mə	dra:ma
108	drill (tool)	drɪl	dre:l
109	drunkard	drʌŋkəd	drɪŋga
110	dynamo	daɪnəməʊ	da:jnamɔ:
111	eczema	eksɪmə	ʔagzıma
112	elastic (band)	ɪlæstɪk	la:sti:k
113	exhaust	ɪgzɔ:st	ʔɪgzɔ:z
114	eye shadow	aɪ ʃædəʊ	ʃadɔ:
115	eyeliner	aɪlaɪnər	ʔa:jla:jnar
116	Facebook	feɪsbʊk	fe:sbʊk - fe:s

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
117	feed pump	fiːdpʌmp	fiːtpam
118	fifty-fifty	fɪfti -fɪfti	fɪfti -fɪfti
119	file	faɪl	faːjal
120	film	fɪlm	fɪlɪm
121	filter	fɪltər	fɪltar
122	fit	fɪt	fɪt
123	fitter	fɪtər	fiːtar
124	flash (camera)	flæʃ	flaːʃ
125	foam	fəʊm	fɔːm
126	folklore	fəʊklɔːr	fɪlɪklɔːr
127	foul	faʊl	faːwal
128	freezer	friːzər	friːz - friːzar
129	full	fʊl	fʊl
130	fuse	fjuːz	fjuːz
131	gallon	gælən	galan
132	game	geɪm	geːm
133	gangrene	gæŋgriːn	gangariːn
134	garage	gærɑːʒ	garaːʤ
135	gas	gæs	ɣaːz
136	gasket	gæskɪt	gaːzgeːt
137	gear	gɪər	geːr
138	geyser	giːzər	giːzar
139	glass	glɑːs	glaːsˤ
140	goal	gəʊl	gɔːl
141	gorilla	gərɪlə	ɣɔːrɪlla
142	gram	græm	ɣraːm
143	grease	griːs	griːz
144	gross	grəʊs	glɔːsˤ
145	group	gruːp	gruːb
146	gauge	geɪʤ	geːʤ
147	guarantee	gærəntiː	garanti

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
148	guitar	gɪtɑ:r	gi:ta:r
149	gym	ʤɪm	ʤɪm
150	hall	hɔ:l	hɔ:l
151	hamburger	hæmbɜ:gər	hambargar
152	handbrake	hændbreɪk	hɪndɪbre:k
153	happy birthday	hæpibɜ:θdeɪ	hapibe:rdaj
154	headphone	hedfəʊn	hadfɔ:n - hatfɔ:n
155	heater	hi:tər	hi:tar
156	helicopter	helɪkʊptər	halɪkɔ:ptar
157	horn	hɔ:n	hɔ:rɪn
158	ice cream	aɪskri:m	ʔa:jsɪkri:m
159	inch	ɪnʧ	ʔɪnʤ
160	influenza	ɪnfluenzə	fla:wanza
161	Instagram	ɪnstəgræm	ʔɪnɪstagra:m
162	iPhone	aɪfəʊn	ʔa:jfɔ:n
163	Isolation (tape)	aɪsəleɪʃən	sle:ʃɪn
164	jack	ʤæk	ʤag
165	Jacket	ʤækɪt	ʧa:ke:t
166	jeans	ʤi:nz	ʤi:nz
167	jeep	ʤi:p	ʤe:b
168	jelly	ʤeli	ʤali
169	Jerrycan (container)	ʤerikæn	ʤalika:n
170	joker	ʤəʊkər	ʤɔ:kar
171	judo	ʤu:dəʊ	ʤɔ:dɔ:
172	ketchup	keʧʌp	kaʧap - kaʧab
173	kettle	ketəl	kɪtli
174	keyboard	ki:bɔ:d	ki:bɔ:rd
175	kilo	ki:ləʊ	ke:lu:
176	kiwi	ki:wi:	ki:wi:
177	Kleenex	kli:neks	kli:nɪks
178	laptop	læptʊp	la:btɔ:b

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
179	laser	leɪzər	le:zar
180	light	laɪt	la:jt
181	line	laɪn	la:jɪn
182	load	ləʊd	lɔ:d
183	lorry	lɒri	lɔ:ri
184	make-up	meɪkʌp	me:kab
185	mall	mɔ:l	mɔ:l
186	manhole	mænhəʊl	manhɔ:l
187	manicure	mænɪkjʊər	manɪke:r
188	mascara	mæskɑ:rə	maska:ra
189	mask	mɑ:sk	ma:sk
190	master's (degree)	mɑ:stəz	ma:star
191	maximum	mæksɪməm	maksɪmam
192	mayonnaise	meɪəneɪz	ma:jɔ:ni:z
193	menu	menju:	ma:nju:
194	metre	mi:tər	matɪr
195	microwave	maɪkrəweɪv	ma:jkrɔ:we:v
196	mile	maɪl	mi:l
197	million	mɪljən	mɪljɔ:n
198	millionaire	mɪljəneər	mɪljɔ:ne:r
199	minimum	mɪnɪməm	mɪnɪmam
200	missed call	mɪstkɔ:l	mɪskɔ:l
201	mobile	məʊbaɪl	mɔ:ba:jɪl
202	model	mɒdəl	mɔ:de:l
203	modern	mɒdə(r)n	mɔ:drɪn
204	motor	məʊtər	ma:tˤɔ:r
205	motorcycle	məʊtəsaɪkəl	ma:tˤɔ:r-sɪkɪl
206	(computer) mouse	maʊs	ma:ws
207	neon	ni:ɒn	njɔ:n
208	negative (photo)	negətɪv	nagatɪv
209	Nescafé	neskæfeɪ	nɪska:fa

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
210	nylon	naɪlɒn	na:jlɔ:n
211	(day) off	ɒf	ɔ:f
212	offside	ɒfsaɪd	ʔɔ:fsa:jd
213	out	aʊt	ʔa:wt
214	oven	ʌvən	ʔɔ:vɪn
215	oxygen	ɒksɪʤən	ʔɔ:ksɪʤi:n
216	ozone	əʊzəʊn	ʔɔ:zɔ:n
217	packet	pækɪt	pa:ke:t - ba:ke:t
218	pajamas	pəʤa:məz	bɪʤa:ma
219	parachute	pærəʃu:t	baraʃu:t
220	park	pɑ:k	pa:rk - ba:rk
221	parliament	pɑ:lɪmənt	parlama:n - barlama:n
222	pass (football, ticket)	pɑ:s	ba:sˤ
223	pedal	pedəl	pa:jdar - ba:jdar
224	pedicure	pedɪkjʊər	badɪke:r
225	penalty	penəlti	balanti - panarti -banarti
226	Pepsi	pepsi	bɪbsi
227	piano	piænəʊ	pja:nɔ: - bja:nɔ:
228	pickup (truck)	pɪkʌp	bi:kap - bi:kab
229	piston	pɪstən	pɪstɪm - bɪstɪm
230	pizza	pi:tsə	bi:tza
231	plaster	plɑ:stər	pla:star - bla:star
232	plastic (n)	plæstɪk	pla:sti:k - bla:sti:k
233	pliers	plaɪəz	pla:jɪs - bla:jɪs
234	plug	plʌg	blak
235	polish	pɒlɪʃ	pɔ:lɪʃ - bɔ:lɪʃ
236	pose (position)	pəʊz	pɔ:z
237	poster	pəʊstər	pɔ:star - bɔ:star
238	pound (sterling)	paʊnd	pa:wan
239	powder	paʊdər	pɔ:dra - bawdar
240	prestige	presti:ʒ	prɪsti:ʤ

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
241	professor	prəfesər	prɔ:fɪsɔ:r
242	(overhead) projector	prədʒektər	prɔ:dʒaktar
243	protocol	prəʊtəkɒl	prɔ:tɔ:kɔ:l - brɔ:tɔ:kɔ:l
244	pump	pʌmp	bam - pam
245	puncture	pʌŋktʃər	panʧar - banʧar
246	Pyrex	paɪreks	ba:jraks
247	quiz	kwɪz	kwɪz
248	racket	rækɪt	rɪkɪt
249	radar	reɪdɑ:r	ra:da:r - la:da:r
250	radiator	reɪdieɪtər	ra:de:tar
251	radio	reɪdiəʊ	ra:djɔ: - ra:djɔ:n
252	receiver	rɪsi:vər	rɪsi:var
253	regime	reɪʒi:m	rɪdʒi:m
254	relax	rɪlæks	ri:la:ks
255	remote [control]	rɪməʊt	ri:mɔ:t - ri:mɔ:n(t)
256	ring (cars)	rɪŋ	rɪng
257	robe	rəʊb	rɔ:b
258	rod	rɒd	rɔ:tˤ
259	roller (paint)	rəʊlər	rɔ:la
260	routine	ru:ti:n	rɔ:ti:n
261	salad	sæləd	zala:tˤa
262	(hair) salon	sælɒn	sˤa:lɔ:n
263	salsa	sælsə	sˤalsˤa
264	sandal	sændəl	sˤandal
265	sandwich	sænwɪʤ	sandawi:ʤ
266	satellite (dish)	sætəlaɪt	satala:jt - dɪʃ
267	sauna	sɔ:nə	sa:wna
268	sausage	sɒsɪʤ	sˤɔ:sˤaʤ
269	scrap	skræp	sɪkra:b
270	second (driver)	sekənd	sɪkɪn
271	secretary [m]	sekrətəri	sɪkɪrte:r

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
272	set	set	seːt
273	shampoo	ʃæmpuː	ʃaːmpɔː - ʃaːmbɔː
274	share	ʃeər	ʃeːr
275	shift	ʃɪft	ʃɪft
276	shorts	ʃɔːts	ʃɔːrt
277	shower	ʃaʊər	ʃawar
278	side	saɪd	saːjɪd
279	silencer	saɪlənsər	sˤaːlansˤa
280	silo	saɪləʊ	saːjlɔː
281	sink	sɪŋk	sɪnk
282	skate	skeɪt	skeːt
283	slide	slaɪd	slaːjd
284	sister (nurse)	sɪstər	sɪstar
285	soda	səʊdə	sˤawda
286	sorry	sɒri	sɔːri
287	soup	suːp	suːp
288	spanner	spænər	spaːna - sbaːna
289	spare (tyre)	speər	speːr - sbeːr
290	special	speʃəl	spaʃal - sbaʃal
291	split (unit)	splɪt	sɪblɪt
292	sponge	spʌndʒ	sfandʒ
293	spray	spreɪ	sɪpreː - sɪbreː
294	Spring	sprɪŋ	sɪprɪng
295	standard	stændəd	standar
296	starter	stɑːtər	staːrtar
297	steak	steɪk	steːk
298	steering (wheel)	stɪərɪŋ	steːrɪn
299	stock	stɒk	stɔːk
300	stool	stuːl	stuːl
301	(live) stream	striːm	sɪtriːm
302	stress (worry)	stres	sɪtreːs

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
303	stretch (leggings)	streʧ	sɪtre:ʤ
304	studio	stju:diəʊ	stɔ:djo:
305	subbase	sʌbbeɪs	sɪbbe:s
306	switch	swɪʧ	swi:ʧ
307	syphon	saɪfən	si:fɔ:n
308	syringe	sɪrɪnʤ	srɪnʤa
309	table lamp	teɪbəl læmp	te:bɪl la:m
310	tank	tæŋk	ta:nki
311	tanker	tæŋkər	tankar
312	tattoo	tətuː	ta:tɔ:
313	taxi	tæksi	taksi
314	telephone	telɪfəʊn	talɪfɔ:n
315	television	telɪvɪʒən	talvɪzjo:n
316	tennis	tenɪs	tanɪs
317	thermos	θɜ:məs	tɪrmɪz
318	thermostat	θɜ:məstæt	θe:rmɔ:stæt
319	ticket	tɪkɪt	tɪkɪt
320	Tide	taɪd	ta:jt
321	toast	təʊst	tɔ:st
322	toaster	təʊstər	tɔ:star
323	tomato	təmɑ:təʊ	tˤama:tˤa
324	ton	tʌn	tˤan
325	top	tɒp	tɔ:b
326	tracksuit	træksu:t	tra:ksu:d
327	tractor	træktər	traktar
328	traffic (lights)	træfɪk	trafɪk
329	trailer	treɪlər	tre:la
330	transit	trænzɪt	tra:nze:t
331	T-shirt	ti:ʃɜ:t	ti:ʃe:rt
332	tube (in a tyre)	ʧu:b	ʧu:b
333	tyre	taɪər	ta:jar

	Loanword	Original form (GB)	Adapted form (IA)
334	vanilla	vənɪlə	va:nɪlla
335	video	vɪdiəʊ	vɪdjɔ:
336	visa	vi:zə	vi:za
337	vitamin	vɪtəmɪn	fi:ta:mi:n
338	volt	vɒlt	vɔ:lt
339	washer	wɒʃər	wa:ʃar
340	WhatsApp	wɒtsæp	watsap - wats
341	wheel	wi:l	wi:l
342	wire	waɪər	wa:jar
343	wrong side	rɒŋsaɪd	rɔ:ngsaɪd - rɔ:n
344	yacht	jɒt	jaxɪt
345	zig zag	zɪgzæg	zɪgza:g
346	zoom	zu:m	zu:m

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A cross-disciplinary analysis of authorial voice in the rhetorical structures of research article abstracts in the fields of linguistics and economics written by native and non-native English speakers

Abstract. This study aims to offer a cross-disciplinary analysis of authorial voice in the rhetorical structures of research article abstracts in the fields of linguistics and economics written by native and non-native English speakers. The research addresses questions related to the frequency of authorial voice in abstracts, the differences between the author's self-mentioning, cross-discipline-wise and cross-culturally, and its influence on the rhetorical structure of abstracts. The study is based on Hyland's (2000) five-move model and combines quantitative and qualitative methods. The frequency of the author's self-mentioning across thirty-two abstracts from the two selected fields of knowledge was determined by specifying the distribution of the author's visibility among the moves as well the forms of their visibility. The results of the study showcase the similarities and differences in conveying authorial voice in the corpus and are discussed thoroughly. We found that linguistic abstracts are characterised by a low degree of authorial voice while economic abstracts show a much higher frequency of authorial voice in the form of pronouns. We contend that there is a tendency towards higher authorial visibility among Anglo-American academic writers in comparison with non-native speakers.

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1. Introduction

Research article (RA) abstracts as an academic writing genre are characterised by an increasingly growing importance in the academic world. Generally, abstracts serve as a lens through which research outcomes become available to wider target audiences. Therefore, it is critically important for their authors to produce high quality abstracts with a high degree of clarity, informativeness, and scientific value. Aside from their scientific merit, RA abstracts are also endowed with a persuasive function. For example, the decision whether to consider a particular article for publication in a journal, whether to use it for citation in one's own research, or merely whether it is worth continuing to read further is often made at the stage of familiarisation with the title and RA abstract.

In terms of the rhetorical structure in RA abstracts, the role of the author, or group of authors, is crucial in the production of an excellent RA abstract. The preparation of an abstract presupposes academic interaction with the scientific discourse community via the transfer of expertise and the assessment of positions and views. It is due to such an interaction that a favourable space for research appears. An RA abstract typifies a kind of negotiation in which the author attempts to persuade the reader that their research is valid, relevant, and up-to-date. To reinforce such author-reader interactions, the writers strive to establish a solid and visible self-mentioning in the abstract in order to create the space for a dialogue with the target reader.

With the ever-progressing spread of English as the lingua franca of the global academic world, Anglo-American academic literacy has begun to interact with other academic literacies, as many non-native speakers who are striving to become part of the international academic discourse community are forced to publish in English (Hyland 2009; Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013). The Anglo-American academic linguoculture[3], rooted in its specific linguistic axiology and worldview, has its own text-forming as well as stylistic conventions and norms which are desirable to be followed, especially by English non-native speakers, in order to prepare a successful publishing output. Based on our academic experience, long-term empirical observations, as well as the research by Nelson & Castelló (2012), Swales & Feak (2012), Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013) and Januarto & Hardjanto (2020), Anglo-American writers seem to apply a higher degree of

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3 This term was first introduced by Russian linguist V. V. Vorobyev and denotes the relationship between language and culture. Reflecting a linguistic and ethno-cultural flavour, a Vorobyevian understanding of the term helps us to grasp culture from an anthropocentric point of view, language through the prism of cultural values, the position of culture at the top level of language, as well as the penetration of text into a culture and its subsequent interpretation (Ernazarova 2022). We also deem it proper to apply the term to academese based on its linguistic and cultural norms and conventions.

authorial presence and authority for the purpose of proving their statements and negotiating their positions with the reader.

The present study centres on an analysis of the degree of the author's authoritativeness and visibility in RA abstracts sourced from the fields of economics and linguistics written by Anglophone and non-Anglophone speakers. Our research premise is that an author's self-reference is justified by their need for personal support of their claims, statements, and judgements. As the linguistic form of personal pronouns is taken as the primary indicator of the author's presence, their frequency and place of appearance in particular rhetorical moves within the body of the RA abstract will be explored.

In this study, it is our ambition to deal with authorial voice in the light of academic objectivity. The general academic convention recommends scientific objectivity by avoiding the author's personality (Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013). However, a vivid change towards an increase in the author's representation in RA abstracts has been observed through the application of personal pronouns to maintain the author-reader negotiation mode (see, e.g., Kuo 1999; Nelson & Castelló 2012; Dontcheva-Navrátilová 2013; Januarto & Hardjanto 2020; Qasim et al. 2021). Shih-ping Wang et al. (2021: 17) write on personal pronouns in the context of academic objectivity: "a single author should avoid overusing subjective expressions of "we," and, instead, employ a variation of impersonal pronouns such as 'This paper', 'This study', or 'This research' to lend an objective voice of authorship to his or her findings".

Striving for a cross-cultural analysis, embedded within different text's "axiospheres", two target groups of authors were considered: native speakers, mainly Anglo-American researchers, and non-native speakers, notably Asian-Arabic authors. The study deals with the approaches applied by the two groups of authors towards their participation in the author-reader academic negotiation.

2. Literature review

In an attempt to elucidate RA as an academic genre, Cate Cross & Charles Oppenheim (2006: 431) provide a most useful and reasonable explanation, as follows:

> the abstract is a highly stylised type of condensed document representation. It must follow certain rules of construction for it to fully provide the user with the relevant information to make decisions about accessing or understanding the essential points of the document. There are a number of different types of abstracts that are able to serve the needs of these different users and that can successfully perform differing functions. However, the most prevalent types used by abstracting and indexing services and in scholarly journals are indicative, informative and indicative-informative abstracts.

With a view to the tripartite distinction given above, Rowley (1988) clarifies that while indicative abstracts generally imply the article content and lack indications of any research outcomes or conclusions, informative abstracts present mostly information of a qualitative or quantitative nature and contain this sort of information. As the author claims, informative abstracts "serve the dual function of aiding the assessment of document relevance, and also serve as substitutes for the original when only a cursory knowledge of the subject is needed" (Rowley 1988: 15). Lastly, indicative-informative abstracts give general information, as typical of indicative abstracts, along with concise conclusion-like statements (Cremmins 1996).

In the context of characterising the abstract as a genre, we consider it necessary to also pay heed to so-called structured abstracts, which after the meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group in 1987, the majority of scientific journals in the fields of medicine and psychology decided to introduce (Hartley 1997; Santos 1996). More recently, RA as an academic genre has made progress with the so-called graphical abstract, which, as Pferschy-Wenzig et al. (2016: 1) maintain, epitomizes a work of art that is "intended to summarize the article's main findings for readers at a single glance, to attract audience attention, and to make readers pick out one's article from a plethora of potentially interesting literature".

Our desk-research has revealed that a relatively large amount has been written in the extant literature on the issues of the analysis of RA abstracts in the interdisciplinary domain, as well as on the origins of authors producing abstracts and their authorial voice therein. In order to contextualise our research better and be able to draw out its merits, the following offers an overview of the most important achievements in RA abstract research. Overall, it seems fair to say that research models which foreground a comparative quantitative-qualitative analysis prevail.

With regard to investigations into cross-cultural variations in academese, Povolná (2016) analysed conference abstracts. Her corpus comprises non-native speakers of Slavic origin, mainly from Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine. Despite the different origins of the non-native speakers in our research in comparison with Povolná (2016), we found that there are comparable differences between the RA abstracts written by native speakers and non-native speakers. Moreover, Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013) dealt with authorial voice in academic discourse. Even though she focused only on linguistic abstracts, we agree with her that it is relevant to analyse authorial presence through the analysis of author-reference pronouns. Focusing on a contrastive analysis of microstructures in RA abstracts, Galaidin has explored the fields of medicine (2021a) and engineering (2021b), albeit leaving authorial presence aside.

Tracing considerable scholars' merits within "classic" RA research, Hyland (2001, 2003) placed focus on the use of self-citation and exclusive first-person pronouns based on a corpus of 240 research articles in eight academic domains such as electrical

engineering, marketing, mechanical engineering, sociology, philosophy, microbiology, applied linguistics, and physics. Paying heed to pronouns, the author drew the conclusion that authorial presence appears in particular places within the article where the authors seem to be most able to promote themselves and their contributions. In another work from 2003, he revealed that authorial presence was lower in abstracts than in papers. Four primary objectives were identified for authorial presence: stating a goal or outlining the structure of the paper; explaining a procedure; stating results or making a claim; elaborating an argument. We will adhere to this useful organizational approach in our qualitative analysis (see section 4.2). Moreover, Santos (1996) worked out his own model, ontologically and protocolary similar, consisting of the following five moves: situating the research, presenting the research, describing methodology, summarizing the findings, and discussing the findings. With English studies journals in mind, Doró's research (2013) unveiled that only a few abstracts followed the full structure by Santos (1996). Intriguingly enough, the analysed linguistics journals showed a high degree of resemblance to the literature journals in terms of rhetorical structure (ibid.).

Taking account of salient distinctions playing a role in authorial voice, Elena Filimonova (2005: ix) gives the following definition of "inclusive" and "exclusive" pronouns: "the terms "inclusive" and "exclusive" are traditionally used to denote forms of personal pronouns which distinguish whether an addressee (or addressees) are included in or excluded from the set of referents which also contains the speaker". Moreover, Michael Daniel (2005: 3) elucidates "inclusive" and "exclusive" pronouns in this manner:

> the "inclusive" is traditionally explained as an elaboration of the meaning of the first-person plural pronoun "we". When present in a language [...], the opposition of "we" inclusive and "we" exclusive, it is said, is intended to specify whether the reference of "we" includes (inclusive) or excludes (exclusive) the addressee.

In sum, we would wager that the more recent research seems to concentrate on the following three main strands: analysis of RA rhetorical move structures; analysis of RA abstracts written by native-speakers and non-native speakers; and analysis of authorial voice in RA abstracts.

In regard to the first identified strand, the past half-decade saw an upsurge of interest in the analysis of RA rhetorical move structures, as attested by the research of Ngai et al. (2018), Raeisi et al. (2019), Ashofteh et al. (2020), Tamela (2020), Qasim et al. (2021), Rahayati & Herlina (2021), and Ramadhini et al. (2021). Following the researchers' findings, we will try to check whether native authors followed the rhetorical structure of RA abstracts in a more rigorous way than non-native ones. Using a selective lens with a view to the above-mentioned pieces of research, the study by Ashofteh et al. (2020) showed

that the majority of RA abstracts contained three obligatory moves (PTR, DTM, and STF) according to Pho (2008). However, we do not entirely agree with the notion of "obligatory moves", since obligation does not arise from any official document and the decision on the structure of the abstract belongs to its author, unless specifically required by a particular scientific journal[4]. On the other hand, we find relevant the research by Tamela (2020), who investigated the move structure in RA abstracts in national and international Scopus indexed journals. We concur that there is a range of meaningful nouns and verbs that reinforce authorial voice in the abstract. She found that there are specific linguistic forms used in the Purpose move (verbs such as investigated, reports, examined, aims, etc., and nouns such as the analyses, the results, the findings, etc.), the use of the active voice in the Product move, and the present tense form in the Conclusion move.

Another strand in contemporary research with a focus on RAs is based on the perspective of the origin of their authors. More concretely, Al-Khasawneh (2017), on the basis of Hyland's (2000) model, found that native speakers adhered to the international convention of the academic discourse community, while non-native authors did not literally observe this convention. Next, Noorizadeh-Honami & Chalak (2018) analysed RA abstracts written by English and Persian authors. They ascertained that native speakers paid more attention to the Method move, whereas non-native speakers were more informative in the Introduction and Discussion moves. Furthermore, Çakir & Fidan (2015) analysed native and non-native writers' use of stance adverbs in English RA abstracts written by Turkish and Anglo-American academic writers. They found that Anglo-American authors placed more emphasis upon their role in the abstract. In sum, the common denominator of the majority of the latest papers seems to be the fact that there are significant differences in RA abstracts written by native and non-native speakers. However, they also differ in the degree of these differences, mainly due to the particular geographic origin of the native speakers as well as their cultural and educational backgrounds.

Lastly, of late there has been heightened enthusiasm from scholars with regard to exploring authorial voice in RA abstracts. The literature is replete with (empirical) evidence that authorial voice is useful for the purpose of achieving different objectives in academic writing, e.g., authority and authenticity (Nelson & Castelló 2012), or appraisal perspective (Zhang & Cheung 2018). More concretely, Januarto & Hardjanto (2020) established that the degree of the author's visibility is influenced by nativeness. Raeisi et al. (2019) dealt with a lexico-grammatical analysis of native and non-native abstracts based on Halliday's SFL model, and found that there was a minor difference between native and non-native abstracts in terms of lexical density.

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4 However, "obligatory moves" are justified to a considerable extent in hard science abstracts, whose structure tends to be more strict (see, e.g., Ramadhini et al. 2021).

Admittedly, it is also true that there are a few scholars who have explored the issue of RA abstracts in economics and linguistics. In particular, Fløttum et al. (2006), focusing on cultural identities in academic discourse, provided a comprehensive contrastive analysis of 450 English, French and Norwegian RAs from economics, linguistics and medicine. More recently, Ebrahimi & Chan (2015) analysed and compared the discourse functions of grammatical subjects used in RA abstracts in the disciplines of applied linguistics and economics. In another study, Ebrahimi & Saadabadi Motlagh (2017) carried out a cross-disciplinary and linguistic study of context frames in 200 research article abstracts from applied linguistics, economics, biology, and mechanical engineering.

As this literature review showcases, there has been ample research in terms of investigation of the issue of authorial voice in RA abstracts. However, the majority of the studies were focused rather narrowly on a selected aspect, be it only one academic discipline (e.g., experimental psychology or engineering), variations between natives and non-natives, or particular personal pronouns. Hence, despite the rather modest corpus, the relevance of our research lies in its comprehensiveness, embracing cross-disciplinarity of analysis (two disciplines: linguistics and economics), its cross-culturality (native and non-native English speakers) and a specified linguistic context with a focus on rhetorical structures. The choice of the attendant fields underpinning a cross-disciplinary analysis was also informed by other reasons. While linguistics constitutes a shared research interest of both authors of this paper, representing the proverbial "common ground", the selection of economics was motivated by the first author's deep interest in the given field of knowledge due to his further higher education studies with a focus on economics in progress, supplementing his existing philological education. In addition, economics as a social science is believed to represent a stimulating point of comparison with humanities, represented by linguistics in our case. Since economics is not as widely remote from linguistics as natural sciences such as chemistry, biology or physics, the selection of these fields could potentially yield intriguing research results.

3. Research design and methodology

3.1 Aim and research questions

This study aims to explore the differences and similarities between English-language RA abstracts from the fields of economics and linguistics in terms of authorial presence. The goal of the paper is also to find out whether, and if so to what extent, the fact that the author is native or non-native affects their authorial voice in the abstracts. By keeping this in view, three research questions were formulated, namely:

(1) What is the frequency of authorial appearances in the abstracts in the fields of economics and linguistics written by native and non-native speakers of English?

(2) In what way does authorial voice in the abstracts differ between those written by native speakers and non-native speakers, as well as between the disciplines of economics and linguistics?

(3) How does the rhetorical structure of abstracts affect authorial voice in the abstracts under study?

3.2 The corpus

The corpus underlying this study is made up of 32 abstracts selected from four academic journals. With regard to economics, 16 RA abstracts were selected from The Quarterly Journal of Economics and Journal of Asian Economics—8 written by native speakers and 8 by non-native speakers. With a view to linguistics, 16 abstracts were chosen from Applied Linguistics and the International Journal of Arabic-English Studies—8 written by native speakers and 8 by non-native speakers. All four journals are indexed in the Scopus database, which is supposed to testify to the quality of the academic articles. The abstracts were selected from journal issues between the years of 2019 and 2022, meeting the criterion of contemporariness in the research material. The total number of words in economic abstracts by native speakers is 1,249 whilst by non-native speakers it is 1,155. The total number of words in linguistic abstracts by native speakers reaches 1,194 words, and by non-native writers it is 1,531 words. Thus, the entire analysed corpus totals 5,129 words.

When choosing the abstracts, considerable emphasis was placed upon the aspect of selecting the articles by the author, either a native or non-native speaker of English. For the sake of the best possible identification of the author's origin, each and every author of the aforementioned 32 research articles was subject to identification by checking their personal website, the website of the institution to which they are affiliated, including their ORCID and Google scholar accounts, as well as personal biography and CV. While taking into account all of the inclusion criteria aspects (e.g., the author's name and surname, place of birth, educational background, and work experience), the main clue was the educational background. We presupposed that if the author had gained education at the secondary and university level in an English-speaking country, we could consider such an author a native speaker.

When it comes to the specific countries of origin, no differentiation was made in the case of native speakers. These were mainly from the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. However, an attempt was made to adhere to such a differentiation in the case of non-native authors. Therefore, 8 abstracts selected from the Journal of Asian Economics were penned by Asian authors, coming mainly from Japan, China, and India. On the other hand, the 8 abstracts picked from the International Journal of Arabic-English Studies were authored by Arabic researchers, mainly from Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Arabic authors were selected in order to extend the group of abstracts by

non-natives to a broader geographical Asian-Arabic region and, in doing so, to try to make the research more representative.

The distribution of analysed abstract types is given in Table 1. As can be deduced from the data, the majority of both linguistic as well as economic abstracts rank among informative types of abstracts.

Table 1. Distribution of analysed abstract types

Group of abstract	Type of abstract		
	Indicative	Informative	Indicative-informative
Linguistics—Native speakers	2 / 8	4 / 8	2 / 8
Linguistics—Non-native speakers	2 / 8	4 / 8	2 / 8
Economics—Native speakers	2 / 8	4 / 8	2 / 8
Economics—Non-native speakers	1 / 8	5 / 8	2 / 8

3.3 Methods

In the present study, Hyland's (2000) five-move model was applied as a methodological tool for the purpose of the identification of the rhetorical structure in the assembled corpus. The model includes five moves, i.e., Introduction, Purpose, Method, Product, and Conclusion, as Table 2 shows. Each of these moves represents the implementation of a particular communicative purpose. Hyland's (2000) five-move model distinguishes the Purpose move from the Introduction move in order to highlight clearly the description of the purpose of the study. We think that the advantage of Hyland's model, in contrast to, e.g., Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) (1994) model or Santos's model (1996), rests in its level of elaboration and clarity. In comparison to these two models, we consider Hyland's model to be the most suitable for the present research as it contains all of the elements commonly perceived as mandatory in modern academia.

Table 2. Linear order of Hyland's five-move model (adopted from Hyland 2000: 67)

Moves	Function
Introduction (M1)	Establishes context of the paper and motivates the research or discussion
Purpose (M2)	Indicates purpose, thesis, or hypothesis, outlines the intention behind the paper
Method (M3)	Provides information on design, procedures, assumptions, approach, data, etc.
Product (M4)	States main findings or results, the argument, or what was accomplished
Conclusion (M5)	Interprets or extends results beyond scope of paper, draws inferences, points to applications or wider implications

As for Hyland's move content, the Introduction move is where the author gets in contact with the target audience for the very first time, and therefore he/she is highly likely to appear. The Purpose move, however, is where the focus is rather shifted to the study per se, its aims and objectives. Therefore, authors remain rather invisible in this section. The Method move deals with the instruments and approaches applied in the study, which does not require the direct appearance of the author. The Product move, however, is where the author's self-reference highlights their achievements, and therefore strengthens their scientific role in the research. The Conclusion as a rhetorical move is often omitted by the authors or is presented in the form of not more than one sentence without the author's representation in it.

Furthermore, the study employs a mixed methodology, relying on quantitative and qualitative approaches with an emphasis on the latter. The quantitative method consisted of the calculation of the occurrences of the author's representation in the corpus. For this purpose, we split each of the 32 abstracts manually into separate tables. We labelled each and every sentence of the abstract using Hyland's (2000) five-move model and subsequently we inserted the data into the respective box of the table. Having split all abstracts into the tables, we calculated the cases of authorial presence. Finally, the data were translated into a summary table divided among 5 moves (Introduction (M1), Purpose (M2), Method (M3), Product (M4), Conclusion (M5)), academic discipline (economics and linguistics), and category of authors (native speaker, non-native speaker). The ultimate tabular structure, reflecting all analysed data, is given in Table 3 (see section 4.1).

With a view to the ways of manifesting authorial voice in the RA abstract, three strategies of the author's self-reference in scientific articles are commonly identified: (a) explicit mentioning through personal pronouns (first person singular, or, more frequently, plural); (b) agent hidden behind passive forms; (c) agent hidden behind personification structures (e.g., 'This study starts with…') (Rossini Favretti & Bondi Paganelli 1988). In our corpus, the author's presence is referred to predominantly via explicit mentioning through personal pronouns such as *I/my/me, we/our/us.* In the cases of a lack of author's representation in the abstract, we attempted to explain such a phenomenon, as well as to show how it is substituted or compensated for.

For the sake of identifying the reason behind the author's intention to appear in a particular abstract and move and/or its part, we offer further information, presented in Tables 4 and 5 (see section 4.2). The personal pronouns are put together with the verbs following them in a particular move, where the first line contains the most frequently used ones, and the subsequent lines contain those employed more rarely.

Therefore, the quantitative method in this study results from a mathematical calculation of assigning frequencies to the linguistic features identified in the corpus and serves as the basis for further qualitative methods used. In sum, a descriptive method

and discourse analysis were used when subjecting the data to qualitative content analysis. The data serve as the foundation for the identification and description of aspects of academic language use, giving authentic instances of a particular linguistic phenomenon under study.

3.4 Research suppositions

The below-mentioned suppositions deserve some further elucidation for the sake of clarity since we will attempt to offer explicit explanations for them in the qualitative part of the study.

The author's writing tradition[5] mainly refers to the style of academic writing that the researcher has been mastering throughout the years of their academic career. The writing tradition may be influenced by their educational, cultural or professional background, as well as the author's fellow researchers, co-authors, or even supervisors, who each also follow their own academic styles.

The academic discipline has a bearing on the general structure of the abstract, and authorial presence in particular. For example, some disciplines, such as medicine or engineering, are generally characterised by a more rigorous structure, whereas soft sciences tend to have a looser structure.

The particular country of origin has to do with the cultural and behavioural background of the author. In some cultures, like Japan, for instance, it is considered the norm to behave in an overtly modest and reserved way, which may have its translation in the lack of authorial voice of such a writer in the abstract.

Last but not least, the style of the journal to which the author is submitting can be of supreme importance. Generally, prior to submitting one's work to the selected journal, the author is required to become familiar with the author guidelines. It is also highly recommended to have a look at a range of already published articles in order to gain a more concrete idea of the journal content, topics, and structure. This preliminary familiarisation may have an ultimate effect on the form and content of a prospective article to be submitted, including the author's presence surfacing in its abstract.

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5 The author's writing tradition may be Saxonic (UK and USA), Teutonic (Germany), Gallic (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Latin America) or Nipponic (Japan). The Saxonic intellectual style is characterised by powerful organization and data collection which is often a result of team effort. The Teutonic intellectual style is marked by a focus on theory formation and promotes deductive reasoning instead of data analysis and inductive thinking. The Gallic intellectual style is commonly perceived as elegant and artistic. The Nipponic style is characterised by its fact orientation, and the emphasis is laid on using paradigms and propositions (see Galtung 1985: 822–841 for more detail).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Quantitative analysis

As can be inferred from Table 3, economic abstracts show a higher density of author's reference in comparison with linguistic abstracts. In the case of economic abstracts, both native and non-native speakers employ mostly the Method move and Product move. In the case of linguistic abstracts, native speakers use predominantly the Purpose move and Method move. Interestingly, there is not a single case of authorial self-reference in linguistic abstracts written by non-native speakers. On the one hand, we suppose that such a distribution of author's reference across the analysed abstracts may be quite random without necessarily having any justification behind it. On the other hand, such distribution may be explained by several factors, such as move content, the author's writing tradition/school, the nature of the academic discipline, the particular country of origin, the author's personal attitude, or even the style of the journal to which the author has submitted the article. We are well aware of the fact that more systematic research based on much larger corpora is needed in order to be able to confirm or refute the possible explanations.

None of the analysed abstracts has all of the 5 moves as indicated in Hyland's five-move model (Hyland 2000: 67). We wish to reiterate here that the point of this research is to zoom in on authorial voice in the abstracts rather than to analyse their rhetorical structure.

Table 3. Frequency of authorial voice by moves

Move	Abstracts from the domain of linguistics		Abstracts from the domain of economics	
	Native speaker	Non-native speaker	Native speaker	Non-native speaker
Introduction (M1)	0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	1/8 (12.5%)	0/8 (0%)
Purpose (M2)	2/8 (25%)	0/8 (0%)	3/8 (37.5%)	3/8 (37.5%)
Method (M3)	2/8 (25%)	0/8 (0%)	5/8 (62.5%)	4/8 (50%)
Product (M4)	1/8 (12.5%)	0/8 (0%)	4/8 (50%)	6/8 (75.5%)
Conclusion (M5)	0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	2/8 (25%)

To compare our findings with other scholars' research, Al-Khasawneh (2017) applied Hyland's (2000) model to reveal that native speakers observe the structure of RA abstracts more systematically and comprehensively than non-natives. However, it should be pointed out that Al-Khasawneh (2017) did not specifically study authorial presence in his article. Based on the juxtaposition of our research findings (see Table 3) and those by Al-Khasawneh (2017), we can draw a preliminary conclusion that there seems to be no direct interdependence between the rhetorical structure of an RA abstract and authorial

voice in it. On the other hand, we can see that particular moves, such as Purpose, Method, and Product, are more likely to contain the author's self-mentioning, whereas moves such as Introduction and Conclusion are often left without authorial voice.

Furthermore, Ebrahimi & Chan (2015) found that there are disciplinary differences as to the discourse functions of the grammatical subject in the disciplines of applied linguistics and economics. At the same time, the study by Ebrahimi & Saadabadi Motlagh (2017) revealed that the context of the frame's selection, frequency and discourse functions are influenced by the academic discipline and the genre of RA abstracts.

In addition, we analysed the use of the first-person plural pronoun "we" in the corpus. We found that "we" was used as exclusive 10 times and twice as ambiguous in the economic abstracts written by native speakers. There were 9 cases of "exclusive we" in the economic abstracts written by non-native speakers. In the latter group of abstracts, there were 8 incidences of the possessive pronoun "our" indicating its exclusivity, as well and only one suggesting its ambiguity. "Exclusive we" and "exclusive our" appeared in the linguistic abstracts written by native speakers only once. Thus, this part of the analysis brings us to the conclusion that authors predominantly apply "exclusive we" to highlight their importance, as well as the significance of their input in the research. These few (i.e., 3) cases of ambiguous "we" were the ones where some space was left for interaction with the target reader, however negligible.

In terms of the applied quantitative approach, our study resonates with that by Fløttum et al. (2006) with a view to the vagueness of determining the exclusivity and inclusivity of first-person plural pronouns. Fløttum et al. (2006: 101) expatiate upon the issue in the following manner:

> We have been at some pains to clarify the referential possibilities of first-person plural pronouns and would not be surprised to learn that some readers disagree with certain interpretations. One aim [...] has been to illustrate the difficulties of hard and fast classification. It can be quite difficult to distinguish between ordinary inclusive 'we', inclusive 'we' for 'you' and inclusive 'we' for 'I'. The distinction between inclusive 'we' for 'I' and exclusive 'we' for 'I' is also elusive.

Similarly, in our study, the classification of "we" and "our" into exclusive or ambiguous is rather subjective and based upon the scientific experience of the authors, so-called academic intuition. Simultaneously, the linguistic context in which a given pronoun is found also plays a role. However, our classification could be questioned in some cases by other researchers or target readers, thus pointing out the risks of neat compartmentalization of language material by means of black-and-white binary oppositions.

Another interesting commonality of our study with that by Fløttum et al. (2006) is that they found that economics is the discipline which shows the highest overall figure (with

medicine in second place and linguistics in third place) when it comes to the percentage of abstracts that encompass a personal pronoun indicating authorial presence. Although Fløttum et al. (2006) explored the issue between three languages, i.e., English, Norwegian and French, the similarity remains valid when considering our results presented in Table 3. The table clearly shows the quantitative prevalence of authorial voice in economic abstracts over those in linguistics, with no authorial self-representation whatsoever in the latter group of abstracts written by non-native speakers.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

For the sake of transparency, Tables 4 and 5 demonstrate through which linguistic means authorial voice in the selected RA abstracts is manifested in accordance with Hyland's (2003) division, i.e., stating a goal or outlining the structure of the paper; explaining a procedure; stating results or making a claim and elaborating an argument. Using this division, an attempt will be made at providing a qualitative explanation for the discourse functions of the author's surfacing (see sections 4.2.1–4.2.4). Tallying with the data in Table 3, Table 4 does not give any information on non-native speakers.

Table 4. Authorial voice collocates in linguistic journals

	Personal pronoun	Introduction (M1)	Purpose (M2)	Method (M3)	Product (M4)	Conclusion (M5)
Native speakers	I / we	call	develop	develop		
			identify	take	argue	
			explore			
			examine			
	Our		interviews			

Table 5. Authorial voice collocates in economic journals

	Personal pronoun	Introduction (M1)	Purpose (M2)	Method (M3)	Product (M4)	Conclusion (M5)
Native speakers	I / we	show	ask	estimate	find x 3	
		develop	test	use x 2	have	
		call	show	examine	estimate	
				run	discuss	
				test		
Non-native speakers	I / we		think	find	find	
			examine	conduct	determine	
				analyze	show	
				estimate	identify	
	Our		paper		paper	
					results x 2	results
					set up	
					review	
					findings	

The analysis below focuses on the selected Moves which can be logically related to their linguistic means (as indicated by the respective section headings 4.2.1-4.2.4). For this reason, e.g., Move 1 (Introduction) and Move 5 (Conclusion) were omitted in the analysis as they are neither about a goal/structure, procedure, or results, nor elaboration of an argument.

4.2.1 Stating a goal or outlining the structure of the paper: Move 2 (Purpose)

Academic authors use personal pronouns to highlight the objective of the abstract and/or to present the structure of the paper to the reader—its composition and organisation—more explicitly. This goal is accomplished when the author outlines the subject of their discussion. According to Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013: 18), the use of personal structures for expressing research aims and purposes supports "a high level of author visibility and presupposes a certain level of threat of criticism or rejection of the choice, scope or claimed novelty of the research problem".

(4) *This essay intends to explain what **I think of** as the essence of his economics and his contributions to Asia Pacific economics. (Economic journal, RA 1, non-native speaker)*

(5) *Using the opening and extensions of a high-speed rail, Shinkansen, in Kyushu, Japan, **we examine** its effects on land prices in urban agglomerations, which would reflect changes in the distribution of economic activities across urban agglomerations. (Economic journal, RA 7, non-native speaker)*

(6) ***We ask** whether equalizing search rates by motorist race would reduce contraband yield. (Economic journal, RA 6, native speaker)*

(7) *To identify how literacy practices can be seen as social remittances, **I identify** how Usman, the key respondent in this study, goes about describing his first six months in the UK by tracing the meaning-making trajectories in our interviews together. **I then explore** the language and literacy choices that his family and friends make on Facebook as they remit ideas, beliefs, and practices in their transnational literacies. **I examine** how these practices are shaped by beliefs about language. (Linguistic journal, RA 7, native speaker)*

In examples (1)–(3), the author surfaces in the abstract, underlining his/her role in determining the goal of the study presented in the abstract. The personal pronoun "we" is used when the article is written by more than one author and therefore indicates the importance, equality, and solidarity of all authors in terms of their contribution to the given work. In example (1) the author combines both hidden and explicit self-reference by showing the importance of the essay itself and at the same time exhibiting his own representation. Instance (4) exhibits an overt author's self-reference in the three subsequent sentences merging the purpose function and the method function.

In the provided examples we can observe a high degree of the author's self-mentioning distributed within the Purpose move. Both native (in both fields) and non-native speakers (only in the field of economics) use personal pronouns to support their statements. Example (1) refers to the author's personal opinion, whereas example (4) is a case of a triple subsequent authorial voice underlining the author's coherent and step-by-step methodology of research. Example (2) states the goal in the form of the author's descriptive explanation, whereas in example (3) the goal is stated through the research question posed by the group of authors.

The collocates of the personal pronoun with the verbs "develop, identify, explore, examine" are used by native speakers in the Purpose move in linguistic abstracts to explain the objective of their research. These are semantically strong verbs allowing them to underline the authors' importance in the preparation, identification and exploration necessary for the given study.

The collocates of the personal pronoun with the verbs "ask, test, show, think, examine" are used by native and non-native speakers in the Purpose move in economic abstracts to better present the objectives set out in the study. The verbs "ask, test, think, examine" also refer to the author's striving and searching for the best possible purpose of the study.

4.2.2 Explaining a procedure: Move 3 (**Method**)

Authorial voice is frequently used by researchers in order to explain a scientific methodology and procedure to the target readers. By doing so, the writers aim to emphasise their role and importance in the research process, in particular experiments, data collection and analysis, research design, datasets, and approaches applied. It is crucial for a professional academic to skilfully and appropriately use the methodology of research. Proper planning and implementation of the methodology facilitates the process of RA abstract perception for the target audience.

The relatively common application of author pronouns for the description of procedure by non-native speakers (example 6) may be explained as an attempt to conform to the Anglo-American conventions of the RA genre, which require an explicit description of methodological procedures.

(8) *I examine a field experiment randomizing property tax collection across 356 neighborhoods of a large Congolese city. (Economic journal, RA 4, native speaker)*

(9) *We analyze green productive efficiency in relation to polluting emissions using a large dynamic panel dataset of 229,491 Chinese manufacturing firms from 1998 to 2012. (Economic journal, RA 6, non-native speaker)*

(10) *I take a critical discourse analytic approach to analyze videotaped interviews with six hearing mothers. (Linguistic journal, RA 5, native speaker)*

In this connection, the research by Doğan-Uçar & Akbaş (2022) attests that explaining a procedure is the most commonly used discourse function in RA abstracts in hard sciences. The given examples show that authors explain the procedure of their research in the Method move. By doing so, they attempt to present their powerful academic identity by means of making their abstracts more explicit, clear, and understandable.

We concur with Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013) that a slightly more authoritative role is the one that authors adopt when describing procedure and involvement in the research process. We found the similarities between our research and that by Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013) in the hypothesis that exclusive personal forms indicating the alignment of researchers with the methodology adopted and the description of data collection, selection, and processing are typically found in the Methods section of research articles.

For illustration, in example (5) the author exhibits his/her specific role in the examination of the experiment by using the personal pronoun "I". Instance (6) emphasises the correct choice of the database for the study whereas instance (7) underlines the proper selection of an analytical approach by the author. In examples (5) and (6), native and non-native English authors of economic abstracts use verbal collocates "pronoun + examine/analyze" to explain the methodological procedure undertaken explicitly, while simultaneously emphasising the author's crucial role in the process. Example (7) showcases the responsibility taken by a native speaker of a linguistic abstract for applying a particular critical approach to his research.

Based on the analysed data (see Table 4 and Table 5), it is possible to argue that the collocates are distributed relatively equally among the native and non-native speakers in the Method moves.

The collocates of the personal pronoun with the verbs "develop, take" in the Method move in linguistic abstracts written by native speakers refer to working out a specific methodology or taking a particular approach to the study. Thus, they bring the readers' attention to the significance of the methodology applied.

The collocates of the personal pronoun with the verbs "estimate, use, examine, run, test, find, conduct, analyze, estimate" are used by native and non-native speakers in the Method move in economic abstracts to explain the practical application of the used methodology

4.2.3 Stating results or making a claim: Move 4 (Product)

Hyland (2002: 1103) states that "using the first-person plural pronoun to show results is the most self-assertive and face-threatening use of a we-oriented authorial presence since it is bold to state that 'we found' and this might not be a method of presentation chosen by many authors".

The application of rhetorical functions is a matter of the author's choice. However, revealing research outcomes is a great chance for authors to display their in-depth knowledge of the study matter, personal attitude, and scientific input. The instances below illustrate the way the selected authors state their results and make claims:

(11) *We find little displacement of municipal expenditure due to a federal grant. (Economic journal, RA 5, native speaker)*

(12) *We also determined that economic and social activities have restarted in some regions in many countries. (Economic journal, RA 3, non-native speaker)*

(13) *Our review of emissions data suggests that the amount of air pollutants emitted decreased in most subnational regions from 2019 to 2020. (Economic journal, RA 3, non-native speaker)*

(14) *We show that if the skill-productivity augmenting effect of better quality of ICT dominates its adverse wage-cost effect, then the quality of the export of ITeS will be upgraded if the government switches from deficit financing to balanced budget financing (through an input tariff) of its expenditure on ICT development. (Economic journal, RA 5, non-native speaker)*

Based on the analysed data, only one of the linguistic abstracts under study contains authorial visibility with the function of result or claim statement. In the case of both native speakers and non-native speakers, this may be explained by the fact that authors tend to adhere to the academic convention by shifting the focus of importance to the study per se and hiding the author in second place.

Examples (8), (9) and (11) from economics written by native and non-native speakers exhibit the author's pride in their collective effort resulting in substantive research outcomes. We consider example (10) interesting since the authors place the study at the centre of focus while putting the authors' authority at the forefront in an ostentatious manner by adding the possessive pronoun "our".

The collocates of the personal pronoun with the verbs "find, have, estimate, find, determine, show, identify" are used by native and non-native speakers in the Product move in economic abstracts to show what outcomes of the research they have obtained.

The collocates of the plural possessive pronoun "our" with the nouns "results, findings, review" are employed by non-native speakers in the Product move in economic abstracts to stress the authorship of the study as well as its original results.

4.2.4 Elaborating an argument: Move 4 (Product)

When elaborating an argument in academic discourse, Dontcheva-Navrátilová (2013: 27) states that "a high level of dialogicity and carefully elaborated argumentation enables the authors of the research articles […] to anticipate possible criticism and thus gives them a better chance of persuading readers to accept their novel claims".

Writers use personal pronouns for the purpose of the involvement of target readers in their argumentation. At the same time, such involvement may account for possible criticism.

(15) *Hearing mother interviewees displayed ambivalent shifts in footing, in particular, mode-switches, which, **I argue**, paralleled the ambiguous subject positions of their deaf children who they perceive as both deaf (without implants) and hearing (with implants). (Linguistic journal, RA 5, native speaker)*

(16) ***Our paper** provides a comprehensive judgment involving both average and dynamic price discovery contribution measurements on assessing the efficiency of Chinese agricultural futures markets. (Economic journal, RA 8, non-native speaker)*

In the examples above, the authors vividly align themselves with their positions and views, while assuming an authoritative position justified by a solid command of their arguments. In example (12), the author's presence may seem overt and redundant as it interrupts the part of the abstract in between. The author signifies the importance of his opinion and even invites a possible disagreement with his statement. Example (13) showcases the placement of the paper itself in the central position with the author's self-mentioning in the form of the possessive pronoun "our".

Overall, elaborating an argument is the least used function out of the four analysed in this study. Only one example was found in a linguistic journal by a native speaker and one in an economic journal by non-native speaker, unanimously in the Product move. The reason for such minor use may lie in the fact that abstracts are conventionally limited in terms of length by journal guidelines, and prospective contributors try to include the moves perceived as generally mandatory rather than elaborate an argument, which is not common in abstracts and could be interpreted as additional.

The collocate of the singular personal pronoun "I" with the verb "argue" in linguistic abstracts written by native speakers signals the author's strong position in the presentation of the study results.

The collocate of the plural possessive pronoun "our" with the noun "paper" is used by non-native speakers in the Product move in economic abstracts to highlight the relevance of the paper in the given field of expertise.

4.3 Summary of results

Based on the performed analysis, we found that the frequency of the author's self-mentioning was relatively equally distributed among the Purpose, Method, and Product moves. In economic abstracts, both native and non-native authors appeared in the form of personal pronouns, mostly in the Method and Product moves. In linguistic abstracts, native authors mostly employed the Purpose and Method moves.

The findings have evidenced that authorial visibility differs cross-culturally and cross-disciplinarily in the RA abstracts written by the two studied groups of authors in the selected academic domains. In the case of economic journals, the distribution of the author's appearance in the abstracts was relatively equal. This can be justified by non-native economic writers striving to conform to the generally accepted convention of an objective scientific study with a considerable emphasis on the author's person, which is typical of the English-speaking academic community. In the case of linguistic abstracts by non-native authors, none of them contained an explicit author's representation in the form of personal pronouns. This may be due to the Arabic linguoculture, which may exert an influence on its academic writing conventions. Another explanation could be that the selected journals have their own style, characterised by placing focus on the study in the first place and hiding the role of the author. In regard to the Applied Linguistics journal with a focus on native writers, it contained far fewer cases of the author's self-referencing. This brings us to the preliminary conclusion that linguistics as a science tends to be more research matter-oriented rather than author-oriented, but more research, based on much larger corpora, needs to be done in order to be able to validate this hypothesis empirically.

As far as the move structure vs. the author's visibility is concerned, both native and non-native authors of economic journals highlighted their presence mostly in the Method and Product moves. In the case of native speakers this may be related to the Anglo-American academic convention, which is strongly based on a vivid author-reader interaction and negotiation. Academic authors attempted to declare their direct appearance in these moves in order to highlight the relevance of the study, their personal input, as well as the appropriate selection of methodological tools for data analysis and their results. In the case of the non-native authors of economic journals, the frequent employment of the Method and Product moves confirms our supposition that non-native speakers strive to adhere closer to the Anglo-American academic tradition. Such choice of appearances in the two subsequent moves could be made for the purpose of reinforcing the author's presence in the text as well as highlighting their choice of methods resulting in the author's significant research findings. Linguistic abstracts by native authors contained their authors' representation in the Purpose and Method moves, in particular.

As regards academic objectivity, linguistics abstracts written by non-native speakers seemed to be the most objective. Following the conclusions by Wang et al. (2021), it is possible to claim that this group of abstracts was devoid of authorial self-representation in the form of personal pronouns. This gap was compensated for with the use of impersonal pronouns such as "This study, This article, This paper". Linguistic abstracts written by native speakers appeared to be rather objective in terms of their authorial voice. This is because the number of the authorial voice cases in the form of personal

pronouns was rather low, i.e., 8 appearances, out of which "I" appeared six times, "we" appeared once, and "our" once as well. The impersonal pronoun "this", being a collocate of the nouns "article, study, paper" was used fairly frequently, reinforcing the academic objectivity of the abstracts. In both groups of economic abstracts, the linguistic forms "we/our" prevailed over "I", thus giving space for the assumption that these abstracts were less objective given the fact that the vast majority of "we/our" was exclusive.

4.4 Limitations of the study

Admittedly, the conducted research is not free from limitations. These concern limitations in terms of size in particular and the attendant generalisability of the research results. However, a relatively small corpus of 5,129 words such as ours seems beneficial for comparative research of academic discourse conventions as they enable researchers to carry out more detailed and focus-driven analyses. Another limitation resides in the choice of domains (economics and linguistics), which, on the one hand are quite specific, but narrowed down to two academic disciplines. On the other hand, the disciplines of economics as well as linguistics are so broad within themselves that it is most challenging to refer to all sub-branches of the analysed domains in the present research results. The next limitation concerns the level of academic literacy, as the authors were selected based on their origin criterion. There is no doubt, though, that an RA abstract produced by a PhD. student, novice researcher and an experienced professor should differ significantly, with a direct influence on the abstract's quality. Last but far from least, certain compositional choices by the academic authors when producing their RA abstracts are merely idiosyncratic, and are thus beyond an objective researcher's control. However, these authorial decisions also have a bearing on the interpretation of the data, which should thus be taken with caution.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, the thrust of this study was threefold: to determine the frequency of authorial appearances in abstracts in the domains of economics and linguistics written by native and non-native-speakers of English; to find out how authorial presence in the abstracts differs between the abstracts written by native speakers and non-native speakers as well as between the disciplines of economics and linguistics; and to reveal the way the rhetorical structure of abstracts affects authorial presence in the abstracts under study.

This study is yet another contribution to a rather intense stream of the most recent publications (see, e.g., Zhang & Cheung 2018; Januarto & Hardjanto 2020; Doğan-Uçar & Akbaş 2022) focusing on the issue of author visibility. However, its merit rests in the fact that we analysed authorial voice taking into account the authors' origin (native vs. non-native), academic discipline, as well as the interdependency between the rhetorical structure followed by the author and the writer's self-mentioning in particular moves.

Overall, the results of this comparative study may be instrumental in disclosing certain patterns of academic discourse conventions in the selected professional domains and linguacultures. With a view to academia and its thriving publishing business, the insights drawn from linguistic explorations of this kind can significantly add to a deeper grasp of the reasons existing behind the heterogeneity of contemporary academic discourse and its writing conventions, with a special focus on authorial voice, across various professional domains and cultures.

With regard to future avenues of research in the given area, it would be worthwhile to focus on a greater academic discipline variation (for example, medicine and technical sciences) and draw out summary comparative analyses. Likewise, it would be relevant to look at possible variations within humanities, too, and zoom in on in-between comparisons in, e.g., linguistics, literature or translation studies, and then compare these results with other academic disciplines in hard sciences. The investigations could also be widened to other linguistic categories such as, e.g., the passive, modals, or academic discourse markers and so forth, and their incidence in RA abstracts. With cross-cultural variations in mind, it would also be apt to channel research avenues into comparisons of various linguacultures, e.g Anglo-American, Slavic or German, depending on a researcher's linguistic skills and potential, reflecting various writing styles and traditions. In this way, the wealth of possible research directions testifies to the untapped potential of the research topic, to which we strove to contribute with the present study.

Funding

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How collocations are represented and taught in selected legal English textbooks

Abstract. The article deals with an issue which continues to draw increasingly more attention in LSP teaching, i.e., collocations, with a particular focus on legal collocations and legal English. The aim of the text is to offer an overview of the treatment given to specialised legal collocations in legal English textbooks used in tertiary level institutions in Poland. The methodology employed for selecting the textbooks is presented in detail in the Aims and Methodology section. The selected textbooks were then reviewed in terms of their collocation focus and the extent to which they follow pedagogical recommendations regarding teaching phraseology. Bearing in mind the importance of familiarizing students with natural and accurate language in order to help them master the legal genre, it appears that there is still a need to place more focus on phraseology and extend the formats and number of exercises centred on collocations.
Keywords: legal English, ELP, collocations, teaching, foreign language acquisition

1. Introduction

The literature on the subject offers numerous definitions of the term *collocation*. What is more, it appears that no universally accepted formal definition of collocations, not even a proposal for the definition, exists (Meľčuk 1998: 23).

Various researchers offer competing definitions in line with the approach they have applied. The three most popular frameworks used by linguists researching collocations are a frequency-based approach (represented by Sinclair 2004; Kjellmer 1994 or Lehecka 2015, for example), a semantic-oriented, or phraseological approach (advocated by Cowie 1994; Meľčuk 1998; Hausmann 1997 or Gonzalez-Ray 2002) and, last but not least, a relatively new, pragmatically-driven view (Siepmann 2005: 410, 2006)[2].

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2 An in-depth discussion of the three approaches has already been offered in linguistic literature on numerous occasions, and, consequently, it is beyond the scope of this study. For details see Sinclair 2004,

As its name suggests, the frequency-based approach invokes frequency, which is used in order to calculate association measures using such corpus information as the number of tokens, followed by the frequency of the node, that of the collocate and the frequency of the collocation itself (i.e., node + collocate) in the collocation window (the span of words), supplemented by the collocation window size. As a result of the analysis of the above mentioned data, a number is assigned to the attraction between co-occurring words (Brezina 2018: 70).

Unlike the frequency-based approach, the phraseological one treats collocations as a category situated on the phraseological continuum which encompasses free combinations, collocations and idiomatic expressions. In line with the view presented in Cowie (1994), one of the advocates of the phraseological approach, collocations are "transparent and usually lexically variable" expressions, "associations of two or more lexemes (roots) recognised in and defined by their occurrence in a specific range of grammatical constructions" with "arbitrary limitations of choice at one or more points" (Cowie 1994: 3169).

Espousing the phraseological view, Hausmann (1989) devised an accessible, though somewhat restrictive, structural classification of collocations based on basic grammatical terms. His classification includes combinations of adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs whose combinations are viewed as potential collocations, but no reference is made to prepositional phrases or collocations consisting of two adverbs (Hausmann 1989: 1010). An alternative, more comprehensive classification is offered by Benson et al. (2009), who divides collocations into lexical ones (seven types, roughly corresponding to Hausmann's proposal) and grammatical ones. The latter encompass cases where a dominant word is accompanied by a preposition or a grammatical structure (e.g., an infinitive or a clause) (Benson 2009: xix).

Despite the visible difference, the two approaches are not very divergent, and have been successfully combined to investigate collocations. Some researchers see them as compatible and complementing each other at various stages of analysis, with the frequency-based approach usually preceding the phraseological one (Gledhill 2000: 17).

 Last but not least, the third approach, a younger relative of the two presented above, makes an attempt at explaining structural irregularities and non-compositionality underlying phrasemes and collocations by referring to pragmatic regularities which provide a link between the situational context and the linguistic form, which brings us back to the cognitively-based contextualisation theory offered by Fillmore (1976) (cf. Siepmann 2005: 410–411).

Kjellmer 1994, Lehecka 2015 (the frequency-based approach), Cowie 1994, Mel'čuk 1998, Hausmann 1997, Gonzalez-Ray 2002, (semantic oriented approach), pragmatically driven-view (Siepmann 2005, 2006), and a concise summary of the key aspects of all three approaches may be found in Michta & Mroczyńska (2022: 8–14).

Although it seems that researchers find it difficult to adopt a uniform, widely-accepted definition of collocation which will cover all the linguistic features of the phenomenon, we may try and make an attempt to compile a list of criteria of collocability based on characteristics appearing across various studies on collocations. These features will allow us to classify a given phraseological unit as collocation:

1. frequency of co-occurrence;
2. combinatory restrictions;
3. degree of compositionality;
4. degree of transparency;
5. span of words between node and collocate, or collocational window (Patiño 2014: 122–124).

None of the three approaches we have mentioned are as divergent as they may appear at first glance. What is more, there are studies which seem to have found some common ground to build a unified view of collocations, and at the same time to point out certain problems linked with each of the individual approaches. We would like to draw attention to research undertaken by Siepmann (2005, 2006) which may be worth a more detailed presentation, because not only does it offer a new, more encompassing definition of *collocation,* but it also argues for a revised classification of the collocational spectrum.

He, in fact, advocates an extension of the semantically-based approach "that will take account of strings of regular syntactic composition which form a sense unit with a relatively stable meaning" (Siepmann 2005: 411) based on a rigorously implemented study of the linguistic corpus. Siepmann suggests incorporating the findings of the cognitivist camp, but he also postulates loosening the definition of collocation so that it encompasses the concepts of usage norm and statistical significance on the one hand, and the holisticity of the collocational unit on the other hand. In light of the fact that native speakers can ascribe meaning to general language collocations even if they lack their context, Siepmann claims that collocations may be considered as self-contained "wholes" (Siepmannn 2005: 438).

Having adopted such a broad definition of collocation as the one presented by Siepmann, we may argue that collocations are an extremely widespread phenomenon in the language, and as such, they seem to dominate language use. Furthermore, being structurally complex units, collocations in this sense, and not just individual words, may be treated as linguistic signs on their own (Siepmann 2005: 438).

Additionally, the legal genre, with its extensive use of formulaic language, has not featured frequently in legal language studies, making this area an interesting and far from comprehensively explored ground for linguistic research. However, with the unprecedented boom in information and communication technology (ICT) and its availability, the situation is changing. The fast development of corpus linguistics and its

computer-based tools allows the harvesting of huge amounts of data, creating customised databases and conducting more in-depth analyses of corpora of a size and on a scale never seen before. According to Góźdź-Roszkowski and Pontrandolfo, current trends in corpus research into legal phraseology go along five main lines: (1) research into collocations, (2) research into routine formulae, (3) terminographically-oriented studies, (4) cross-linguistic studies of phraseology, including translation, and (5) semantics of legal patterns (2015: 133–134).

As research appears to confirm the importance and widespread use of collocations not only in general language, but also in the specialised legal English genre, in this paper we will make an attempt at reviewing the extent to which legal English textbooks incorporate phrase-focused exercises so as to help learners master this key linguistic feature.

2. Aims and methodology

The aim of this paper is to review how legal English textbooks explicitly discuss collocation, provide targeted exercises which specifically focus on them, and whether the format of the exercises follows pedagogical recommendations. These recommendations put emphasis on reduction of error rates (Baddeley & Wilson 1994; Warmington & Hitch 2014) on the one hand, while preserving a sufficient degree of cognitive commitment on the part of the learner (Stengers & Boers 2015) on the other hand. It is worth mentioning at this point that in the case of legal English, we may come across recommendations regarding the approach to error correction that are somewhat contrary to the general English teaching methodologies mentioned above. Specialist ELP writers put a strong emphasis on accuracy, and, consequently, on grammar, term error correction and the student's ability to reflect on their deep-rooted mistakes, advocating the view that a lawyer needs not only to devise documents, but also to correct the text so that it conveys a clear standardised legal message (Mason & Atkins 2007, book cover). Though these recommendations are definitely worthwhile, according to Nesselhauf (2005: 252), "the starting point for teaching collocations is to make learners aware of the phenomenon" as, in the first place, they may not realise that collocations are usually transparent but combinatory-restricted expressions and have to be learned consciously with some cognitive effort so that they can be recalled later. We believe that such an overview of textbooks in terms of their phrase-focus approach may raise ELP teachers' awareness of the importance of teaching collocations, and it may prove useful when deciding on course materials.

The methodology adopted for this study included the following steps: (1) extracting from *Perspektywy Ranking* the top 16 higher education institutions offering law degrees; (2) sending inquiries to the institutions regarding the coursebooks used; (3) analysing received information and selecting the most popular textbooks used in legal English

courses; (4) manually screening the most popular textbooks for collocation-focused exercises; (5) categorising formats of extracted collocation-focused exercises; and (6) evaluating the exercise formats against pedagogical recommendations regarding teaching phraseology. A more detailed presentation of the steps involved in the study may be found below.

The study was based on legal English textbooks used in specialised legal English courses in Polish universities offering law degrees. In order to obtain information regarding specific publications used for legal English courses enquiry emails were sent to the top 16 universities listed in the *Perspektywy* ranking list (*Perspektywy Ranking 2021*). Ten institutions replied providing details of the textbooks used. Based on the received information, we came up with a list of the top four textbooks used, i.e., Lawyer's English Language Coursebook by Catherine Mason, *Introduction to International Legal English* by Amy Krois-Lindner and Matt Firth (used in 4 institutions), *International Legal English (ILE)* by Amy Krois-Linder (used in 3 institutions), and *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika* by Halina Sierocka (used in 3 institutions). While the first three publications target the international markets, the latter one is aimed at Polish students of legal English. Some of the university language centres teaching legal English used several textbooks depending on the level of the class offered.

The next step was to manually screen the textbooks for exercises with a focus on collocations in general. At this point it may be worthwhile to clarify what kinds of phrases are included in the term collocation. As mentioned in section 1, the literature on the subject presents several competing approaches which are used to tackle the problem, and the textbooks under review generally do not provide a formal definition of their own, perhaps except for Mason and Atkins (2007: 23), who make an attempt to clarify the term, arguing that "collocations are words that form natural partnerships in English". The working definition offered by Mason and Atkins (2007) seems to be rather more phraseological than frequency based in its scope, i.e., refers to a type of word combination and not specifically to a co-occurrence of words in a certain span. For the purposes of this study we adopted a relatively broad definition based on Siepmann (2005: 411), who argues that collocations are "strings of regular syntactic composition which form a sense unit with a relatively stable meaning". This definition is broad enough to cover various types of word combinations which are included in foreign language teaching and, consequently, they are expected to appear in textbooks. We did not focus on any specific type of collocations but instead concentrated on exercises dealing with various types of word strings that naturally go together. So as to be included in the inventory of phrase-based exercises, the exercises needed to indicate the focus on multi-word items either by explicitly carrying a label such as "collocations/expressions/ phrases" or the focus could be assumed from the type of expressions students are asked

to provide. The terms *phrase-based* or *collocation-based exercise* are used interchangeably to refer to the type of task which has been described above.

The next step was to categorise phrase-focused exercise formats. This was done based on the type of action required on the part of a student. The gap-filling category subsumes sentence-level or phrase-level exercises, in most cases based on the material provided in previous tasks or collocation and preposition banks. The matching category subsumes exercises where a student is asked either to combine sentence or phrase parts or to indicate their choice in a multiple choice exercise. The dividing line between these two categories, at times, seemed rather blurry as gap filling also included some kind of matching; one clear difference, however, being that matching could be done by just drawing a line in order to join compatible sentence or phrase parts or circling the correct choice, whereas gap-filling required the actual writing in of a correct option (See also Boers et al. 2016: 15). As long as these collocation-focused tasks are integrated in all of the textbooks that we analysed, they may be placed in various unit sections. In some cases, these types of exercises follow the reading comprehension tasks they are based on. Alternatively, they may be placed in a consolidation section at the end of a unit or in collocation banks closing the unit, or a combination of some or all of these approaches is used.

3. Collocations in teaching legal English

According to Sierocka (2012: 5), some researchers advocate the view that Legal English may be looked at from two perspectives (Bloor & Bloor 1986; Pieńkos 1999; Coxhead & Nation 2001), i.e., (1) all languages are learnt in a context, (2) studying specialised languages requires learners to acquire the basic core of the general language (grammar and structures) before they move on to studying a variety of the language, i.e., LSP. When it comes to legal English, we may distinguish a number of features characterising this genre, including accuracy, ambiguity, specialisation, conservatism and complexity (Jopek-Bosiacka 2008). When teaching legal English we do not only need to take these features into account, but we also need to bear in mind the fact that this community discourse is strongly affected by the history, religion or philosophy of a given nation (Sierocka 2012: 6; see also Badger 2003; Wagner 2003). And obviously, these historical, religious or philosophical influences will vary from country to country, making the comparison of the legal systems, their phraseology or finding term equivalents, often a painstaking task.

Based on the growing research in the area of phraseology (e.g., Polio 2012; Sinclair 1991; Wray 2002), we may argue that this dimension of language is of considerable relevance for foreign language learners (e.g., Boers & Lindstromberg 2009; Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992; Wood 2010). The knowledge of strings of words that naturally come together, labelled in literature in many various ways, e.g., as multiword units, lexical

phrases, formulaic expressions, idioms, prefabricated chunks, collocations or colligations, to name just a few, helps learners to achieve a command of language close to that of a native speaker (Boers et al. 2006; Crossley et al. 2015), as well as indicate receptive fluency (Ellis et al. 2008; Sonbul 2015). However, to achieve this mastery one needs to be frequently and intensively exposed to the target language, which is rarely the case in the learning context. Otherwise, the process of students acquiring fixed phrases appears to be somewhat slow (Li & Schmitt 2010)[3].

When it comes to specialised languages, with the dominance of term-based research, specialised phraseology seems to be a relatively unknown area that requires further exploration. This may be due to the fact that phraseology seemed to focus on exploring phraseological phenomena in the general language rather than in Language for Special Purposes (LSP), and in ELP constituting part of it. Another reason hindering research in this area is the fact that the study of collocations in ELP also requires advanced field-knowledge. Thus, studies focused on specialised phraseology are rather rare, with such notable exceptions as Picht (1987), Martin (1992), Meyer & Mackintosh (1994), Glenhill (2000), L'Homme (2000), Heid (2001), Michta (2007), Ward (2007), and Michta & Mroczyńska (2022). When it comes to legal English, research by Kjaer (1990a, 1990b, 2007) and Biel (2012, 2014) deserves particular attention due to its comprehensive character.

Growing interest and subsequent recent developments in the field of legal phraseology helped to establish the theoretical foundations of this subdiscipline. Still, there seem to be a number of competing approaches regarding the definition and classification of legal phrasemes (Wronka 2021: 362; see also Biel 2014, 2018) such as those offered by Kjær (2007) and later extended by Biel (2014b), for example.

While analysing word combinations in legal language, Kjær (1990: 25–26) advocates a theory that they are dependent on the non-linguistic world of law, i.e., the environment in which they are used. Her theory of context-conditioned word combinations in legal language is based on the observation that these combinations are typically reproduced in certain recurrent contexts which make them relatively stable. This is also due to the fact that legal language, i.e., wording, that needs to be used in a given situation may be prescribed by law (e.g., codes, statutes and regulations), and specific formulation may be required by law for a document to be valid. According to Kjær (1990: 28–29), such relatively rare circumstances are situated at the extreme on a scale of non-linguistic conditioning of word combinations and indicate the highest degree of conditioning, precisely because "prefabricated word combinations" that need to be used are the effect of the direct influence of the law on a lawyer's word choices. She also distinguishes three other types of word combinations in legal language, i.e., (1) those which are only

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3 Cf. Nesselhauf 2005: 2004 where she argues that neither an increase of the length of exposure alone, nor the number of years learners were taught English have a positive effect on collocation use.

indirectly prescribed by law, (2) those whose use is recommended to avoid ambiguity, and (3) routine phrases that are reproduced out of habit as opposed to those prescribed by law or recommended indirectly. It seems that the findings of her research may have some implications for legal language teaching, i.e., these word combinations deserve to be the focus of attention because their appropriate use conditions produce effective communication in the field of law, and also it should be stressed that legal language and consequently permitted word combinations are inextricably intertwined with a particular legal system (Kjær 2007: 508)[4].

Having combined the approaches presented by Kjær (1990, 2007) with the functional approach of Góźdź-Roszkowski (2011), Biel (2014: 36) presents the concept of a "phraseological legal continuum" which includes text-structuring patterns, grammatical patterns, term-forming patterns, term-embedding collocations, and, last but not least, lexical collocations. She claims that all of these classes of word combinations, appearing at the macrostructural or microstructural level of the text, provide a kind of stable matrix which may serve as a starting point to be filled with context specific details. In terms of legal language teaching, this view also leads to the conclusion that word combinations are a key component of legal language and, as such, should be the centre of attention in legal textbooks.

Having established the theoretical background both in the area of teaching methodology and in the area of legal phraseology, we can move on to the next stage of our analysis, i.e., the review of selected legal English textbooks.

4. Representation of collocations in selected legal English textbooks

In this section we analyse selected legal English textbooks used in Polish higher educational institutions that offer law studies. The textbooks were screened for various types of phrase-focused exercises. After preliminary screening of the textbooks under review, it appeared that by far the most common type of action required was "gap-filling", closely followed by "matching". Together, gap-filling and matching definitely made up the majority of phrase-focused exercises (94%) in the legal English textbooks. Other task types were far less frequent and involved identifying collocations in a text, dictionary searches for collocates of words given, or error-correction. The detailed results of the screening are presented in Table 1.

The mean number of phrase-focused exercises per textbook is 43; however, the number of such exercises in individual textbooks varied from 19 to 71. We need to bear in mind the fact that the differences shown by these numbers may reflect not only the

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4 Kjær (2007: 509–510) also offers another typology of word combinations used in legal language which distinguishes multi-word terms, collocations with a term, and formulaic expressions and standard phrases.

collocational focus of a given textbook, but also the scope of material covered and the size of the publication. The books will be discussed based on the order of how frequently they are used in the institutions surveyed, i.e., (1) *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook,* (2) *Introduction to International Legal English***,** (3) *International Legal English,* and (4) *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika***.**

Table 1. Collocation-focused exercises in selected legal English textbooks

Textbook	Matching	Gap-fill	Other	Total
The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook (452 pages)	8	60	3	71
Introduction to International Legal English (160 pages)	9	9	1	19
International Legal English (320 pages)	20	24	7	51
Legal English Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika (352 pages)	10	20	0	30
Total	47	113	11	171
%	28%	66%	6%	100%

As shown in Table 1 above, of all the textbooks under review *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook* by Catherine Mason & Rosemary Atkins, comprising 10 units each divided into two parts (A—foundation level and B—higher level), provides students with the largest range of exercises testing collocations and phrases. The book also contains a separate section devoted to explaining the importance of collocations and prepositional phrases, and presenting their types. In this section the authors stress that "the key to learning accurate legal English is to have a good familiarity with collocations" (Mason & Atkins 2007: 23). Moreover, in each unit the authors include both a *"Collocation bank"* and a *"Preposition bank"* accompanied with the symbol "M" (memorise) to indicate items worth noting and remembering, as well as *"Collocation review"* and *"Preposition review"* sections, providing consolidation of the material introduced in a given unit. The review exercises explicitly refer back to the material/phrases students have seen. Out of a total of 71 tasks, the majority of exercises (60) are of the gap-filling type. The exercises are

assisted, i.e., they are either preceded by contextualized examples (e.g., collocations and prepositional phrases may be bolded in reading comprehension tasks) or by collocation and preposition banks containing phrases which need to be completed as part of the gap filling task. Apart from these types of tasks, the textbook also contains a number of matching or error correction exercises. It seems that the book under review offers the most comprehensive coverage of collocations and prepositional phrases. It also emphasises the importance of mastering these structures to achieve language proficiency.

The second textbook reviewed is *Introduction to International Legal English* by Amy Krois-Linder, Matt Firth & Translegis, intended as a course for classroom or self-study use; and, as the title suggests, the aim is to familiarise students with the basic concepts concerning law and justice. Offering an introduction to the legal system, the book is also the smallest in size, containing only 160 pages, presenting 10 units covering different areas of law. The book does not include a collocation or phrase bank to assist students in their acquisition process, though it offers a glossary of terms. Despite its limited content, it seems to provide a relatively large range of practice exercises dealing with collocations and phrases, of which 9 are gap-filling tasks, 9 require matching, and 1 task involves a dictionary search for collocates. Drawing students' attention to collocations present in texts, offering them opportunities to practise, as well as indicating the consulting of a reference source such as a dictionary, instils good learning habits and emphasises the role of collocations. The material tested in practice tasks is based on contextualised examples appearing in reading comprehension texts (where key words and expressions are bolded) or listening comprehension tasks (audio transcripts are provided at the back of the book). Interestingly, the authors do not often use the term collocation in exercise instructions, perhaps to avoid using jargon which may be overwhelming for students.

International Legal English by Amy Krois-Linder, also intended as a course for classroom or self-study use, is a textbook for more advanced users (the author indicates upper intermediate and advanced levels), including law students and practising lawyers alike. In its 15 units, the book covers a wide range of more advanced and specific legal issues. The format of the book resembles the one used in the aforementioned *Introduction to International Legal English,* with reading comprehension texts containing bolded key terms and phrases. Also, at the back of the textbook there is a glossary and an index of terms appearing throughout the publication. The book includes a total of 51 phrase-focused practice exercises. Similarly to the books analysed above, the majority of tasks require gap-filling (24), followed by matching (20), and 7 exercises of other formats, including identifying collocations in a text. The bulk of the exercises are located in the Language Focus section which closes each of the units and is aimed at revision and consolidation of the material introduced.

Last but not least, another textbook which follows a similar pattern of presenting collocations is *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika* by Halina Sierocka, the only publication in the reviewed pool that has been devised with Polish students of legal English in mind. The author claims the book is intended for 1st and 2nd year law students. The content comprises not only general legal issues, but also aspects specific to the Polish legal system. This may be an argument in favour of selecting this textbook for students in faculties of law in the institutions surveyed, because in their future professional career the students will probably need legal English mostly to navigate the meanderings and complexities of Polish legal regulations. The book contains 24 main units (plus Unit 25, English-Polish Glossary of terms), each of them closing with a *"Check Your Progress"* section and a *"Collocation and Preposition Bank"* offering students an opportunity to test and consolidate their knowledge of collocations and prepositional phrases. Practice exercises include gap-filling (20 tasks) and matching (10). Similarly to *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook,* the exercises are assisted, i.e., the phrases tested are previously presented in authentic reading materials, though often not explicitly; only occasionally do they appear among bolded words and phrases in the reading texts.

The first three publications, intended both for classroom use and self-study, contain an *"Answer Key"* which students may refer to for feedback. The Answer key is not included in Halina Sierocka's *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika,* probably because the book is designed specifically for classroom use and the author presumed that it is the teacher's role to provide the necessary explanations as to which answers are right or wrong. Consequently, the answer key or teachers' explanations offered after the exercise stage may be treated as corrective feedback.

However, we should be aware of the fact that in light of the findings of pedagogical research it is still better to design exercises that will provide errorless conditions in order to keep the rate of mistakes minimal rather than simply count on the corrective feedback. According to Boers et al. (2016: 16), pedagogical recommendations regarding the design and implementation of exercises dealing with multiword expressions (including collocations or prepositional phrases) emphasise the need for minimizing the rate of error (See Warmington & Hitch 2014) as well as for presenting these word strings as intact wholes (See Wray 2002). This holistic approach is suggested instead of asking students to re-assemble broken-up phrases or filling in components which are missing. Indeed, this is in keeping with the research findings which show that the acquisition of formulaic language in L1 is quite natural because users are frequently exposed to such phrases, which they encounter, process and then store in the memory as wholes rather than separate parts. The same type of approach may prove effective in the case of L2 learning, though, obviously, learners of L2 may need to deal with the problems created from a lack of massive exposure, which is achievable only in immersion contexts.

Bearing the above in mind, we will try and assess to what extent the types of phrase-focused exercises offered in the textbooks under review accord with these pedagogical recommendations. First, when it comes to minimising the rate of errors, it may be achieved by putting students in a learning context where they have been previously familiarised with the multiword units they need to deal with in exercises, or alternatively they are given a list of exemplars along with the exercise (e.g., in the form of collocation or preposition banks). In such circumstances students can avoid making mistakes which may linger in their memory and cause confusion. It seems to be more appropriate and effective to try and minimise the risk of error at the exercise stage rather than rely on the results from the corrective feedback offered at later stages (Boers et al. 2014).

Interestingly, in their effort to come up with a task format that reduces error rates and at the same time maintains cognitive involvement on the part of the student, Boers et al. (2016: 5, 12), while devising their experiment, in which they compared the effectiveness of phrase-focused exercises, decided to add an alternative format of exercises to the test, i.e., the provision of first-letter cues so as to aid the learners in completing the missing words. While reducing the risk of errors, this format succeeded in stimulating the engagement with the formal makeup of the phrase; however, as the researchers found, it proved to be less effective in stimulating the engagement with the actual meaning of the phrase. Surprisingly, the provision of the first-letter cues was not encountered in any of the legal English textbooks we analysed.

Having reviewed the types of phrase-focused exercises offered by the legal English textbooks, we may notice that in a great majority of cases they are in line with the pedagogical recommendations presented above. The textbook that appears to direct the most attention to phrases is *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook,* offering over 70 exercises which comprehensively deal with this issue. Unlike in other textbooks we analysed, this publication has each unit divided into two sections, i.e., section A at the foundation level and section B being at the higher level. It seems that section B addresses collocations and other fixed phrases more extensively as it includes the largest number of tasks of this type. Most of the tasks are of the gap-filling format, which seems to be stimulating and cognitively challenging enough to keep students interested as they are based on the material introduced in the unit. Successful completion of the exercises will probably require referencing back to the texts where collocations are presented in context. The matching format is used only in 8 analysed cases; it may be argued that students may find this type of task less engaging as it requires simply drawing a line or circling the correct alternative. We see it as an advantage that the book contains collocation and preposition banks that can be used as reference lists, helping students to complete the tasks and avoid making mistakes because the choices will not be based solely on student's language intuition, which may be misleading (due to interference for example). The banks cover a vast range of prepositional phrases (208 items) and collocations

(202 items), totalling 409 items. Moreover, prepositional phrases are accompanied by illustrative examples. The book includes a wide range of types and formats of exercises, which seems to be an advantage as it offers varied and stimulating material for students to deal with. Overall, while generally the format of tasks included in the book is in line with pedagogical recommendations, there are also some error-correction exercises which may be counter-effective as research shows[5] and are better avoided.

The book containing the second-largest number of phrase-focused exercises is *International Legal English* (with over 50 tasks of this type). The majority of tasks requiring students to deal with collocations may be found in the Language Focus section at the end of each unit intended to consolidate the material. Here, there is almost an equal number of gap-filling and matching format exercises. As we mentioned above, gap-filling may be more engaging for students than simple matching, plus it involves an extra processing effort in the form of writing down a phrase or part of it. The book does not contain any collocation banks which students could refer to. Therefore, deciding on the correct alternative or coming up with the right word to complete a gap may require reading texts or audio scripts where the phrases appeared. Some of the other format tasks require students to identify collocations in the reading texts. This seems to be a good method to use because highlighting or underlying key phrases may help make them more visually salient and at the same time easier to acquire. The authors of the book try to minimize the risk of error and they do not include any error-correction format exercises, which is in line with the findings of language acquisition studies.

When it comes to *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika*, the publication contains a total of 30 phrase-focused exercises, of which 20 are gap-filling and the other 10 matching formats, with most of the tasks being introduced in Check Your Progress and Extra Practice Corner sections devoted to revision, consolidation and extension of the material presented in the core of each unit. As compared to the size of the book, the number of exercises is rather modest. On the plus side, there are preposition and collocation banks after units 2–18, containing 175 phrases, which may be used as a reference list by students dealing with the tasks. Moreover, the authors provide learners with both adapted and authentic material abundant in fixed phrases and collocations (though the phrases are not made visually salient in any way which would facilitate memorising them). Thus, we assume that it may be the role of the teacher to explain and emphasise the importance of these word strings that naturally go together, and thereby attempt to form within students the habit of highlighting or underlining these types of expressions in texts as part of their self-study work. As mentioned previously, the number of phrase-focused tasks may not be impressive, but it should be admitted that they follow the

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5 The superiority of the errorless learning approach to trial-and-error is discussed in Baddeley & Wilson (1994), Warmington et al. (2013) as well as in Warmington & Hitch (2014).

recommended pedagogical format. Tasks are generally assisted, i.e., they practice and recycle the expressions which students have come across in previous sections in the unit, and they may refer back in order to avoid making mistakes.

Last but not least, *Introduction to International Legal English,* which as the title suggests is aimed at discussing some basic aspects of law, offers a modest 19 phrase-focused exercises. The authors offer mostly gap-filling and matching formats. 9 tasks of each type are included in the book, plus one task requiring students to search for fixed phrases in a reading text. The analysed exercises are mostly found in the Language Focus section, aimed at consolidation of knowledge introduced in the unit. No phrase bank is provided, so learners need to search through the reading texts or audio transcripts if they want to make sure that the options they want to use are correct. This may actually be beneficial as in such a situation students need to get more involved in the task as compared to simple copying from the list provided. What is more, as the book is intended both for classroom use and self-study, it offers an Answer key which learners may consult to get feedback. However, as Stengers and Boers (2015) argue, corrective feedback may not be as effective as the evidence suggests, and it remains of key importance to provide tasks which are challenging enough and minimise the risk of error.

Some of the textbooks use bold font for key terms and phrases introduced in some of the reading texts. This intervention is probably intended to accelerate phrase learning. It makes the selected phrases more visually prominent and, therefore, easier for students to remember (Boers et al. 2016; Sonbul & Schmitt 2013; Szudarski & Carter 2014). This technique is applied to some extent in all the books under review, with *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook* taking the lead, followed by *Introduction to International Legal English* and *International Legal English.* However, this method is least visible in *Legal English. Niezbędnik przyszłego prawnika*.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

It seems that the importance of teaching collocations, as opposed to individual words, was widely recognised in General English first, and then the concept spread to LSP books, including those focusing on legal language. The view in which phraseology is placed at the centre of the learner's attention is supported by ELP researchers; and it is along these lines that Biel (2014: 42) claims that the conceptual structure and the systemic nature of legal terminology affects legal phraseology. Thus, phraseology, and collocations in particular, may act as a tool to express complex interrelations between legal concepts. Therefore, we believe collocations deserve to be a central part of the process of acquiring the legal English genre. Having reviewed selected legal English textbooks, it appears that their authors are fully aware of the importance of teaching word combinations. However, in each case they have individually decided to put more or less emphasis on this aspect, which is reflected in the varying number of

phrase-focused exercises included in each book. When it comes to following method-ological recommendations, most of the exercise formats used in the textbooks under review follow the recommendations, the exception being the small number of error-correction tasks included in *The Lawyer's English Language Coursebook*.

Phraseology is of key importance in the process of ELP acquisition, and the more conscious the exposure, the better the chance of students acquiring the structures taught. It appears, in the first place, that consciousness-raising followed by explicit teaching of individual collocations, especially guided by a teacher, should be useful enough to ensure progress. Drawing students' attention to the collocation phenomenon in their mother tongue (L1) and juxtaposing these native language expressions with ones learned in a foreign language (L2) may also prove helpful as congruence in L2 and L1 cannot be necessarily assumed. An invaluable learning resource here may be dictio-naries of various types, especially collocation ones, which offer guidelines on meaning and correct employment of phrases. Thus, learners should be taught dictionary skills so that they can make the best use of the resources available (Nesselhauf 2005: 253).

Learning collocations starts with raising awareness of the phenomenon, followed by conscious exposure to this type of vocabulary item, and should involve some repetition so that the phrases are remembered. Recently, in vocabulary learning in general and also in collocation learning, we witness the increasing role of rote learning (involving repetition, practise and memorisation), which has long been out of fashion in language education (See also Li 2004). Here, it may be worth pointing out that teaching a colloca-tion should involve several aspects, such as the form of a collocation, but also its meaning and context for use. What is more, collocations in ELP need to be taught systematically, regarding not only collocations, but teaching vocabulary in general (Nesselhauf 2005: 264–269).

Bearing this fact in mind, it seems that both teachers and students may need more tasks focused directly on collocations, ideally collocations extracted from authentic language material. In trying to enrich their repertoire of materials used, teachers may want to resort to legal English collocation dictionaries or other reference publications of this type. Although reference books based on authentic legal English material may not be abundant, growing interest in legal phraseology also leads to bridging a gap in this area. Ideally, such reference books should come with a concise presentation of the theo-retical framework and methodology used for extraction of terms included in the refer-ence or dictionary section. Then each category of collocations included ought to be supplemented with authentic material, i.e., sample sentences culled from the corpus. Such books may be used for self-study purposes by students as well as by teachers, and as a base for the creation of phrase-focused classroom activities, thus strengthening the effectiveness of learning and teaching efforts.

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'A prompt box': The profile of Polish official audiovisual translators

Abstract. As audiovisual productions are becoming increasingly popular, the need for specialized translators in this field is growing. This study aims to create a profile of a typical Polish audiovisual translator who officially delivers commissioned renditions for clients. The study reports the results of an online survey with 56 questions in seven domains to gather data from the intended research group. The domains covered basic information, educational background, actual translation education, individual ways of mastering audiovisual translation skills, translators' preferences, workspace, and aspects of teamwork. The results of the profile indicate that audiovisual translation is the predominant type of work for an average Polish translator. However, those who graduated in foreign languages had no opportunity to attend ATV courses at university. Most translators had not completed any translation-oriented postgraduate studies or specialized translation courses, but preferred a less institutionalized form of self-education. The average translator delivers target subtitles but also provides other types of AVT, in a majority of renditions from English into Polish. SubtitleEdit is the most commonly used translation tool, while CAT tools and online services like Google Translate are avoided. Translators tend to work alone but cooperate with external proofreaders. This profile can help establish specialized profiles for other domains of translation and compare them in cross-linguistic, national or cultural contexts.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, official translation, translator, translation education, sociology of translation.

1. Introduction

Even though it might sound quite controversial, the COVID-19 pandemic has had one positive consequence: an increase in readership in Poland has been observed, as books and other written 'guilty pleasures' have become mainly more time-accessible due to the

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shift towards remote working (Chymkowski & Zasacka 2021: 2). Still, however, the main sources for establishing contact with cultural achievements are computers and TVs. In 2020 over 90% of all households in Poland had access to the Internet, which has become a new wide window on the world (Wegner 2020: 24). In the modern digital world, the consumption of online services has proliferated even more and they are available to a great majority of users, and their accessibility transcends audiences and language barriers. Thanks to several emerging streaming services (Netflix, Disney+, HBO GO, etc.), consumers are placed at the centre of interest. At the same time, a variety of viewers using distinct source languages, having individual needs and personal preferences towards favoured productions delivered in various modes of audiovisual translation (AVT), dictate the shape of the audiovisual market and other correlated fields, including translation. This unquestionable emphasis on the viewers, their importance and relevance, is also reflected in recent Polish studies focusing on AVT. Łabendowicz (2019) focuses primarily on the viewing styles, preferences and expectations of the Polish audience. Other current publications delivered by Polish scholars cover mainly the theoretical background of AVT and possible research areas within the field (e.g. Tryuk 2009; Bogucki 2013; Tomaszkiewicz 2015), focus on different issues correlated with media accessibility (e.g. Bogucki & Deckert 2020; Szarkowska 2009), discuss various current trends in AVT (see Organ 2019) or investigate various linguistic and cultural aspects of audiovisual productions (e.g. Rębkowska 2016; Garcarz 2007). Far less attention has been paid to the translators and their professional practice in the Polish audiovisual market. One of the studies covering this area of interest was conducted by Jankowska (2014), who investigated the situation of the professional AVT market in Poland in terms of translators' wages, working conditions, etc. However, her study was conducted at the end of 2009 and the beginning of 2010, and since then the Polish audiovisual market has experienced several phases of development and undergone fundamental changes, for instance caused by the emergence of streaming services and the popularization of other translation modes, such as subtitles and dubbing, previously less frequently commissioned by employers. Also, new generations of audiovisual translators have entered the market, new technological advances have allowed them to deliver translations faster and more conveniently, and, finally, the educational, audiovisual and translation markets are now in different places and shape than nearly a decade ago. A slightly different angle of research was undertaken by Szpilman and Hasior (2020), who aimed to practically verify the European Master's in Translation competence framework and the professional practice of audiovisual translators. A short overview of translators' competencies was sketched by Dąmbska-Prokop (2000: 109–10), and more specifically of audiovisual translators' hard and soft skills by Jankowska (2012). Garcarz and Widawski (2009) placed the audiovisual translator at the centre of attention as the authors considered the translator to be a creator and material in the process of translation, whereas

other studies take the translators into consideration within more niche fields like fundubbing.

There is no scarcity of international research into audiovisual translators. For instance, Vulpoiu's (2021) survey concentrated on the competencies of translators in Romania, whereas in Finland Ruokonen and Makisalo (2018) examined the professional status of translators. Outside Europe, a profile of audiovisual translators was, for instance, described by Qanbar (2020), who specifically analysed female audiovisual translators working in the Arabic context (Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and the Emirates), and by Tor-Carroggio and Casas-Tost (2020), who limited their scope to the profile of translators providing audio-descriptions in China. Other niche-based studies focusing on audiovisual translators tend to focus on translations delivered by specific groups of translators, for instance unofficial translators (see Pérez-González 2019), on translators who deliver target texts in a given mode of AVT, for instance subtitlers (see Tuominen 2018), or on translators who provide mediation services for audiences with special needs, for instance professionals preparing audio descriptions for people with impaired vision (see Perego 2022).

A very general outline of the above-mentioned sources suggests a need for further research on audiovisual translators, especially to offer an insight into the work of the professionals "hidden inside the prompt box", who provide the "voices" of the characters presented on the screen. In this study, emphasis is put on the group of specialists whose work allows the audience to enjoy audiovisual productions, regardless of their origin and the language used, namely on the professionals who provide AVT in Poland. It is my purpose to outline the current profile of *Polish official audiovisual translators*, hereinafter: POAVT. The statistical data acquired in the course of the conducted survey allows the profile of a POAVT to be outlined based on the most common responses given by the respondents in each of the covered categories (including their educational background, translation education, translation preferences, the way of mastering audiovisual translation skills, preferred translators' workspace and aspects of team work). The profile, in this particular case, is then a way of depicting an average POAVT, with an approximation of a typical professional translator who officially delivers AVT in Poland. In this sense, the profile can serve as a generalised representation of agents, in this case translators who play a crucial role in the specialized domain of AVT, and, as such, offers an opportunity to 'provide a peek' into the professional career of audiovisual translators. The profile depicted in the study may also be perceived as a summary or a 'shortcut' serving as a guide for those interested in the profession of audiovisual translator (for instance, to seek some advice from professionals who perform work in their desired profession), workers of higher education institutions teaching translation (for example, to adjust their translation curricula to include observations made in the course of the analysis), state and private educational institutions (for instance, to find an educational

niche), any specialists doing translator-oriented research focusing on the market of audiovisual translation (for instance, the role of the translator in the field), etc.

The conducted research follows current trends in translation studies, especially in the sociology of translation, and refers to the need for further investigation of translators themselves and their habitus (see Vorderobermeier 2014). It also stands in line with the observation made by Schögler (2017: 405), who noted that the sociology of translation 'continues to shape translator training and professional self-perception of translators by revealing the complexities of this endeavour'. Taking this into account, the results of the undertaken study may be perceived both as a signal or indication for professionals responsible for shaping and directing translation curricula, especially at the level of the higher-education system and beyond, and for translators themselves, for whom the profile serves as a representation of their 'self-reflection in the mirror' of the translation market. Therefore, the outcome opens possibilities for further research that takes into account issues such as AVT as a profession, professionalization or professional development of audiovisual translators, the place of translators in 'the chain of production', etc. Examining translators 'through a magnifying glass', in this case Polish audiovisual translators, follows Sapiro's (2014: 83) statement that 'the study of translators and interpreters as an occupational group is [...] an emerging research domain which opens up to comparative approaches between countries and between different translational activities'. For that reason, the acquired profile may be used as a tool for further comparison of different groups of translators, for instance the profiles of official and unofficial translators, translators specializing in different fields, etc., and offers the possibility of a contrastive juxtaposition of translators performing analogous tasks in different countries, language groups, cultures, etc. Furthermore, the presented study complies with Zheng's (2017: 31) suggestion to deliver more empirical research on 'what translators actually do and say they do in the widest possible contexts of their professional practice'. This context allows further examination of the profile, especially in terms of capturing the 'self-representation' of the translators at a given point in time and its reassessment in the future or its continuous re-examination to provide data for specialists aiming to take account of the 'shape' of the profession in a larger frame of reference. It also contributes to making translation studies more 'translator aware' by helping audiovisual translators to 'get out of the prompt box' and reveal themselves to a wider public.

Additionally, the presented study complies with my previous analogous research focusing on Polish unofficial audiovisual translators (Organ 2021) and as such, it constitutes an element of a multiphase description of the AVT market in Poland, and especially the profile of translators who specialize in this field, both official and unofficial ones. Therefore, the outcome of the conducted survey might be utilized as reference material for further exploration of the profession, comparison of the specificity of the translators and their profile with corresponding groups of foreign and domestic

specialists, and form a basis for the representatives of the translation and educational market.

2. Purposes and Methodology

The main purpose of the study is to create a POAVT profile based on the 'voices' expressed by the translators themselves. The profile then aims to approximate a typical Polish audiovisual translator who officially provides renditions of audiovisual materials for their clients. The presented 'image' focuses on the translators in question and seeks to represent them by depicting a collective representation summarized in the form of a prototypical 'archetype' of a POAVT. The 'archetypical' profile is formed as a conclusion of the study based on the examination of the research group, which encompasses seven main categories of interest, namely: 1) basic information intended to introduce the research group (for example, to determine the age, sex, place of work, dominant occupation, main source of income, etc.); 2) educational background, aimed at depicting the 'portfolio' of the higher education of translators (for instance, to determine in which fields they have graduated or are studying, where have they studied, what type of higher education institution they have attended, etc.); 3) actual translation education, describing translators participation in institutionalized forms of translator training (for example, to determine the specialization covered within the system of higher education, translation courses included in the curricula of their studies, time devoted to AVT within POAVT's studies, courses and postgraduate studies, participation in postgraduate translation studies and other courses, etc.); 4) individual mastering of AVT skills in non-institutionalized forms of self-education (for example, to determine if the translators individually use any textbooks, coursebooks or other written sources focusing on AVT, how they master their AVT skills, the average duration of professional practice of POAVTs, the number of delivered translations and their productivity, etc.); 5) translators' preferences regarding carrying out AVT to express their own predilections (for instance, to determine translators' inclinations towards the most commonly rendered types of audiovisual productions, their genres and origin, favoured modes of AVT, etc.); 6) translators' workspace, outlining the technicalities of their work (for instance, to determine the types of software applied in the process of AVT, etc.); 7) aspects of team work (for instance, to determine the way in which commissioned audiovisual projects are handled, whether translators cooperate with other agents in this process, if they are members of larger translation teams or groups, how they solve potential difficulties encountered in their translations, etc.). The data collected serve as a basis for the establishment of a profile a POAVT.

As already mentioned, the creation of the profile is based on a survey carried out among POAVTs. The online survey was conducted in 2020 and the first six months of 2021, and was posted on various discussion forums and popular social networking

services gathering Polish audiovisual translators. Within the eighteen months, 47 translators agreed to take part in the study and complete the questionnaire. Although the number of participants could have been higher, the subject matter and specificity of the investigated profession at least partially explain the respondents' involvement in the conducted study (out of 112 participants who entered the online survey, 47 completed it, whereas 65 failed to do so). Audiovisual translators form an inner group within the translation profession; as their work predominantly involves constant use of computers, the Internet and specialized software, they may not be particularly willing to spend additional time working with any extra activities involving the tools that they use to earn their living, as they could spend this time on their actual translation tasks, or taking a break from their duties, etc. As mentioned before, the number of respondents is also limited due to the assumed specialization within the translation profession, as professional audiovisual translators constitute a small minority among Polish translators. Therefore, the data provided by the survey may be treated as an outline approximating the present general profile of POAVTs.

The conducted survey encompassed 56 questions, which concentrated on such issues as the respondents' previous education, particularly correlated with translation and their potential participation in different courses and classes devoted to the field, the source of their translation skills and knowledge and plans for their further broadening, professional career and translation experience, the most frequently rendered types and genres of audiovisual productions, software applied in the translation process, cooperation with employers, translators, proofreaders and other specialists involved in the translation process, etc. The information provided by the translators is grouped into seven fundamental categories discussing basic information about the POAVTs, their educational background, translation training, the way in which they hone their translation skills, favoured types of translations, the tools used in their work, and team work.

3. Basic information

Overall, 47 translators took part in the survey, three-quarters (74.5%) of whom were women and one-quarter (25.5%) men, which reflected the female domination in terms of the AVT market share. Interestingly, the participation of males, namely one-quarter of all respondents, seems to roughly resemble the landscape of gender share present at Polish university departments training translators of foreign languages. The age range is far more diversified; however, certain tendencies are also observable. POAVTs are mostly relatively young adults, as 36.2% and 29.8% of them are, respectively, between 25–30 and 31–40 years old. Additionally, 10.6% of the POAVTs are just beginning their professional career, as they have just entered the market because they qualify for the 18–24 age category. Similarly to the youngest group of translators, two age categories have a similar share of the market, namely 10.6% assigned themselves to the group of

51–60 years old, and 8.5% to the group of 41–50 years old. Only 4.3% declared themselves to be over 60 years old, and none of the translators are underaged (in Poland below 18 years old).

When it comes to the place of work, a general tendency might be observed which places translators mainly in larger cities, as three-quarters (74.5%) work in cities inhabited by more than 200,000 people. A large part of those surveyed tend to work either in cities or smaller towns, 4.3% in cities inhabited by 100,000–200,000 people, 4.3% in places ranging between 50,000–100,000 inhabitants, 4.3% in towns inhabited by 25,000–50,000 dwellers and 2.1% in a town between 5,000–25,000 inhabitants. The remaining group work in smaller towns and other places, as 4.3% have their jobs in places ranging between 1000–5000 dwellers and 6.4% in villages inhabited by less than one thousand people. More than half of them (59.6%) work in central Poland, nearly one-fifth (19.1%) in southern Poland, 6.4% in western Poland, 4.3% in northern Poland, 2.1% in eastern Poland, and 8.5% work abroad. The layout of declared locations seems to reflect the actual demand for AVTs, as this type of work is generally commissioned by larger companies that place their head offices mostly in densely populated cities, offering at the same time easier access to a large group of professional translators.

The POAVTs represent different professional careers. Among them, nearly three-quarters (72.3%) predominantly work as translators, 14.9% declared themselves as white-collar workers, 6.4% as teachers of foreign languages, 6.4% as representatives of other professions, and none of them classified themselves as a blue-collar worker. The observable predominance of professional translators is partially reflected by the main source of income: in this matter, AVT serves as the main source of earnings for nearly half of all respondents (46.8%), 12.8% of the POAVTs found it difficult to estimate the share of AVT in their income, and 40.4% see this type of translation as a minor source of their earnings. Having briefly covered some basic introductory information on the specificity of the group, the analysis will move forward to their educational background.

4. Educational background

The second category of questions investigated the educational background of the translators: in terms of higher education, a great majority of the POAVTs have either graduated or are studying different fields of humanities, predominantly related to foreign languages. Slightly less than one-third of all the translators, namely 30.9%, have graduated in foreign languages other than English or are continuing their education at the university level in this field. One-fourth (25.5%) of the surveyed are studying or have graduated from English studies, and nearly one-fifth (18.2%) applied linguistics. Only 3.6% of the translators chose Polish studies, and 14.5% other fields of humanities. The remaining group of respondents have graduated or are studying different fields, including arts (1.8%), exact or natural sciences (1.8%), social sciences (1.8%), etc. Here,

a general tendency might be observed, as it is no surprise that three-quarters of all translators have some university-level educational background related to studying foreign languages.

Taking into scope the university education and administrative division of Poland, almost half of all the translators (49%) have studied or are studying in the Masovian Voivodeship (province), 5.9% in each of the following voivodeships: Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Lublin. 3.9% of the translators declared for each of the Silesian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian and Lower Silesian Voivodeships, whereas Pomeranian, Subcarpathian, Opole, Łódź and Lubusz were indicated by 2% of the translators each. 11.8% of the POAVTs have graduated or are studying abroad. The data suggest that most audiovisual translators have studied in the region where the capital of Poland is located, namely Warsaw, which offers a variety of different prestigious higher education institutions associated with studying foreign languages.[2]

The declared type of higher education institution which the surveyee has graduated from or is studying at presents an almost standardized path of educational career usually associated with professions focusing on foreign languages, as more than four-fifths (86.3%) of the surveyed selected universities, and only 5.9% academies, 3.9% other higher education colleges, 2% a teacher-training colleges and 2% a technical university.

5. Translation education

Having discussed some basic information concerning educational background in general terms, more emphasis was placed on the respondents' actual translation education and background. Interestingly, the scene of AVT in Poland is divided almost into two in terms of covered specialization within the system of higher education. During the study, almost half of the respondents (51.1%) declared that they have graduated in or are still studying a translation specialization, whereas the rest of the translators (48.9%) selected some other paths in their educational careers. Taking into account that most of the surveyed declared that their higher education studies were or are focused on foreign languages, the respondents were asked if they have completed or are continuing any translation courses included in the curricula of their studies. A vast majority of the surveyed, namely 83%, confirmed having finished or attended such a course, and only 17% had not been taught such subjects within their studies. In terms of AVT courses, nearly one-third (28.9%) had not studied any university courses in this field. The remaining group experienced considerable diversity when it comes to such courses, as many as 18.9% had workshops entirely devoted to subtitling and 17.8% attended

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2 Ranking of Polish universities issued in 2021 by *Perspektywy*: `http://ranking.perspektywy.pl/2021/ranking/ranking-kierunkow-studiow/kierunki-humanistyczne/filologia-angielska`; `http://ranking.perspektywy.pl/2021/ranking/ranking-kierunkow-studiow/kierunki-humanistyczne/filologie-obce`; accessed on 26.01.2022.

lectures in different aspects of AVT. Classes specializing in audio-description and voice-over were declared by equal groups of 12.2% of the translators, whereas courses focusing on dubbing were indicated by 8.9% of the respondents. Additionally, 1.1% reported having studied a different university AVT course. In terms of time devoted to AVT within POAVT's studies, courses and postgraduate studies, most workshops and lectures were typically limited to 30h (21.3%). 3 groups of 8.5% of the respondents indicated either 60h, 180h or more than 240h, whereas 2 groups of 4.3% of the translators covered 90h or 240h. A great majority of the respondents (87.2%) stated that they are familiarized with the elements of translation theory, whereas the remaining POAVTs were uncertain of their knowledge in this field.

The Polish system of higher education offers a supplementary level of improving one's professional qualifications, namely postgraduate studies, usually lasting approximately 2 or 3 semesters. As postgraduate studies are frequently chosen by people who want to update and broaden their knowledge, master their skills or acquire new qualifications, the survey first asked the POAVTs if they had participated in any postgraduate translation studies. Here, most of the surveyed (78.7%) admitted not having completed any such studies, only one-fifth (21.3%) had attended them, and none of the respondents are currently continuing their education as a student of translation postgraduate studies. Interestingly, the previously declared participation in postgraduate translation studies turned out to be greatly focused on AVT, as the same group of 21.3% of the translators specified the subject matter of their studies to be concentrating on this field of translation studies.

Apart from different levels of the system of higher education, translators may also improve their skills thanks to various courses; however, similarly to the postgraduate courses, three-quarters of the POAVTs (74.5%) have not completed any. Only one-fifth of the respondents (21.3%) took part in such training courses, and 4.3% are currently participating in them. The plans for further education are formulated by one-fourth of all translators: 16.3% wish to take part in an AVT training course, and 8.2% in postgraduate studies specializing in this field. The remaining respondents have already completed such courses or studies (20.4%) or have not and are not interested in them (55.1%).

6. Mastering audiovisual translation skills

Studying and mastering AVT may also take a more individual form, especially due to the overall deficiency of specialized courses covering different aspects of this field in Poland, as most of them are organized by just a few Polish higher education institutions (Organ 2017: 110). In this view, gaining experience in actual professional practice and using other specialized sources to broaden one's knowledge may be viewed as the translators' attempts to improve their AVT skills. Therefore, the next group of questions investigated whether they had individually used any textbooks, coursebooks or other

written sources focusing on this field. Interestingly, four-fifths (80.9%) of all the translators had used such materials, only 14.9% had not and were not interested in them, and 4.3% had not studied them but were still looking for some useful sources. Improving one's skills may further be based on other aspects and sources correlated with actual translation practice, so taking this into account, the translators were asked how they mostly master AVT skills. Most commonly, the pieces of advice and comments given by other translators are perceived to be a valuable means of improving one's qualifications, as this option was indicated in 32.8% of the answers. Both the advice given by users of their translations and various translation sourcebooks are also valued by the POAVTs, as these answers were equally selected by two equal groups of respondents, each constituting 16.8% of the surveyed. Marginally fewer answers were given to other online materials related to AVT; this option was selected by 16% of the translators. On the other hand, special online training videos covering different aspects of AVT are considered valid for one's professional development by 8.8% of the translators, whereas some other types of sources are applied by 1.6% of the respondents. Additionally, only 0.8% of the translators have not found such materials but they are looking for them, whereas 6.4% solely focus on their tasks, draw on the experience of previous translations, and do not look for any additional means of improving their translation skills.

As mentioned, experience may be perceived as a valuable asset in the hands of skilful translators, and therefore the next question investigated the average duration of professional practice of POAVTs. Most of them, namely 36.2%, had worked so far from 2 to 5 years, nearly one-third of the translators (29.8%) are truly experienced as they had been providing translations for more than 10 years, and 17% for more than 5 but less than 10 years. The remaining group is less experienced, as 12.8% had worked for up to 2 years, and 4.3% had just started their professional translation career and worked for less than 1 year.

Experience in providing AVTs increases with every subsequent commission, and thus the survey also investigated the number of delivered translations. In this view, the POAVTs are rather experienced translators, as one-third of them (31.9%) had rendered more than 100 movies, slightly less than one-fifth (17%) had provided so far from 20 to 50 AVTs, and 6.4% had delivered 50–100 target versions of such materials. On the other hand, the remaining group have less experience in this field, as 14.9% had rendered from 5 to 10 films, 12.8% from 1 to 5 movies, and 8.5% from 10 to 20 target versions of commissioned movies. In terms of series rendition, the respondents proved to be rather experienced translators, as more than half of them (53.2%) had rendered more than 100 episodes of different series, 8.5% had delivered from 20 to 50 episodes, and 6.4% from 50 to 100 such translations. Less experienced translators of series constitute a minority: 12.8% had rendered so far from 10 to 20 episodes, 6.4% from 1 to 5, and 4.3% from 5 to 10. Similarly to other types of audiovisual productions, slightly more than one-fourth of

all translators (27.7%) had delivered more than 100 target TV programmes and other shows, nearly one-fifth (17%) from 50 to 100 such renditions, and 6.4% from 20 to 50 translations of this type. Less experience in this matter is declared by nearly one-quarter of the POAVTs (21.3%), who had translated from 10 to 20 such audiovisual productions, 6.4% had rendered from 5 to 10, and 12.8% from 1 to 5 TV programmes and other shows. Interestingly, 8.5% of the translators had not translated at all at least one of the mentioned types of productions.

In order to estimate the general productivity of translators, they were asked how many audiovisual renditions they usually provide per month. More than 10 target versions are normally delivered by one-third of the POAVTs (31.9%), from 8 to 10 translations by one-fifth (19.1%), 2.1% translate 7 or 8 audiovisual productions, and 6.4% 5 or 6 such materials. Far fewer commissions are finished by roughly 40% of translators as one-fifth of them (21.3%) usually complete 3 or 4 renditions, and almost the same share of them (19.1%) provide 1 or 2 renditions per month. Time is a valuable asset for each translator, as the majority of commissions are generally accompanied with a deadline that needs to be met, and thus one's experience, skills, pace of work, one's qualifications and professionalism may determine the average time needed to render a given audiovisual production. Translation of a movie usually takes 1 or 2 days, as this option was indicated by more than half of the respondents (55.3%). For one-third of them (34%), 3 to 4 days is a typical time period in which they finalize the rendition of an average movie, and 2.1% need from 5 to 7 days to complete their task. Episodes of different series, typically shorter productions, generally need less effort; this observation is confirmed by the survey, as nearly half of them (46.8%) finalize the rendition of an episode in 1 or 2 working days, and 44.7% need even less time as they complete such translations in approximately 5 hours. Rendition of TV programmes and shows on average requires a similar amount of time as the translation of episodes of different series. Here, half of them (48.9%) complete such tasks in 1 or 2 days and nearly one-fourth (23.4%) in about 5 hours. Only a small part of them need some more time, as 8.5% translate such shows in 3 or 4 days, and 2.1% usually finalize their commissions in 5 or 7 days.

7. Translation preferences

Thanks to their translation experience, personal inclinations, preferred style of working, employers' demands and other factors, translators form their own preferences regarding carrying out AVT. Thus, the survey also investigated such issues as the most commonly rendered types of audiovisual productions, their genres and origin, favoured modes of AVT, etc., and the collected data outline the translation preferences and correlated market demands. Most commonly the POAVTs translate foreign movies and series. The first option was indicated by 37.1% of the respondents, whereas the latter one by nearly one-third of them (31.4%). Additionally, other foreign TV programmes were

rendered by one-fifth of the translators (21%). Interestingly, the podium of most translated types of audiovisual productions went to foreign, non-Polish materials, while domestic ones are far less popular in terms of their translation as Polish movies were indicated by 5.7% of all the translators, Polish series by 2.9% and other Polish TV programmes by 1.9%. Knowing more general translation preferences, it is worth investigating the issue in greater detail. Here, the scene of the most popularly translated genres of audiovisual productions presents a truly diversified portfolio. The following list hierarchically enumerates the most translated genres, from the most to the least popular ones, along with the percentage share of the translators who declared that they render such materials. Therefore, the most popular genres are: documentaries, selected by 12.4% of the translators; comedies of manners (10%); comedies (8.5%); dramas (8.1%); family (6.6%); historical (5.8%); animated (5.4%); suspense (5.4%); adventure (4.6%); biographical (4.6%); action (4.2%); science-fiction (4.2%); thrillers (3.5%); fantasy (3.1%); costume (2.7%); horror (2.3%); disaster (1.9%); musicals (1.9%); war (1.5%); sport (1.5%), and others by 1.5%. Modern audiovisual productions, both TV series and programmes as well as movies, are currently frequently published in the form of larger series or continuations which tend to refer to previous episodes or films, and therefore the POAVTs were asked if they specialize in translating one series, or the subsequent parts of movie series or programmes. It turns out that the vast majority (68.1%) do not specialize in such continual translations, for nearly one-fifth (19.1%) it is difficult to give a clear answer, and only 12.8% tend to perform such renditions. Moreover, the respondents were asked if they had been responsible for providing translations of further instalments of audiovisual productions, and here the answers are diversified. 40.4% of the translators stated that it depends on the agreement with their employers, almost the same number of respondents (38.3%) denied being accountable for such translations, and one-fifth (21.3%) reported having an agreement with their employers obliging them to work on the next parts. Providing prime quality translations may also be correlated with one's preferences and liking for a given title, type of production, etc., and thus the POAVTs were asked if they considered themselves to be true fans of the audiovisual materials they had rendered. Over half of them (61.7%) view themselves as fans but not of all of the productions they translate, one-fifth (21.3%) do not perceive themselves in this fashion, for 14.9% it is difficult to determine, and only 2.1% believe themselves to be a true fan of the series, movies and other programmes which they translate.

Translation preferences may also encompass different modes of AVT. According to the survey, translators most commonly deliver subtitles, as this form was indicated by more than half of respondents (61.7%), nearly one-third (29.8%) mostly produce texts for voice-over versions of source materials, only 2.1% of the translators predominantly provide texts for dubbing, and 6.4% some other forms of AVT. As subtitles were indicated as the most popular mode of translation, the respondents were also asked whether

they had also delivered other forms of AVT apart from subtitling. Here, nearly four-fifths (78.7%) of the POAVTs answered affirmatively, 17% solely translate subtitles, and 4.3% for now only focus on subtitling but also plan to carry out other modes of AVT.

AVT offers various solutions for people struggling with different difficulties and limitations, such as providing some additional information for the hard-of-hearing and hearing-impaired audience, and thus the translators were asked if they had sought to add such supplementary aids. Here, the situation is simple: if the employer demands such solutions, they are applied by the respondents, whereas when such requirements are not directly stated no extra beneficial aspects are proposed for the text of translation.

Being an audiovisual translator does not necessarily mean that one has to deliver only AVT, and therefore it was deemed necessary to investigate the actual share of the most commonly produced forms of translation. As the survey was directed at POAVTs, not surprisingly AVT was placed on the pedestal as this form of translation was indicated to be the basis of one's translation activity by more than half of all respondents (63.8%). Further, nearly one-third of all answers took written translation (31.9%), interpreting (2.1%) and other forms of translations (2.1%).

The direction of delivered translations might be considered from the perspective of market needs, the condition of national cinematography, its central or peripheral status, as well as the "market productivity" index, but also by translators' skills and their inclinations and their own preferences. In this view, most POAVTs translate foreign productions into Polish, rather than render domestic audiovisual materials for the needs of foreign audiences. Here, the first option was indicated by 55.3% of the translators, whereas the latter one was selected by a slightly smaller group of 44.7% of the respondents. To supplement it, an additional question asked whether the surveyed translate into foreign languages other than English. A vast majority of three-quarters (74.5%) negatively answered this question. Additionally, 10.6% also do not translate into other foreign languages but plan to do so. Only 14.9% of the respondents provide translations into other languages, namely Italian, Spanish, French and German. This observation contributes to the perception of the Polish audiovisual market and the flow of foreign productions for the needs of the domestic audience. A vast majority of productions are delivered from English-speaking cinematographic traditions, and the same language also dominates in terms of Polish movies and series rendered for foreign audiences. Only a minor part of Polish translators provide renditions for foreign markets.

8. Translators' workspace

Working with audiovisual materials necessitates the use of special software, depending on the translator, the actual needs of a given task, or requirements imposed by the commissioner of a given translation. One may use various types of computer program,

ranging from free of charge tools to more professional and paid software. The scale of applied programs is diversified; most commonly the POAVTs try to adjust to a given task and use either paid or free tools as this solution is usually applied by nearly one-third of the respondents (30.4%). The same number of translators (30.4%) tend to use solely free programs, whereas one-fourth of them (26.8%) generally work with internal software provided by the companies they work for. Only 12.5% always work with paid AVT tools. In terms of the most frequently used subtitling tools, the respondents ranked their application from the most to the least commonly applied software: *SubtitleEdit* is used by 30.1% of the respondents, *EZTitles* by 16.4%, *Subtitle Workshop* by 6.8%, *Aegisub Advance Subtitle Editor* by 6.8%, *VisualSubSync* by 4.1%, *Open Subtitle Editor* by 4.1%, *Amara* by 2.7%, *Video Subtitle Editor* by 1.4%, *SubtitleCreator* by 1.4%, *Poliscript Create* by 1.4%, *Jubler* by 1.4%, *EasySub* by 1.4%, *CaptionMaker/MacCaption* by 1.4%, *Aura Video Editor* by 1.4%, other programs are used by 12.3%, and 6.8% do not translate subtitles at all.[3]

Apart from special desktop software, translators may also use other Internet tools that facilitate the rendition of audiovisual materials, and therefore the respondents were asked if they had looked for some translation solutions in online tools like *Google Translate*. More than half of the POAVTs (57.4%) do not use such tools at all, one-fourth (27.7%) sporadically resort to them, and 14.9% apply such services in their work on a daily basis. One of the most advanced types of translation programs offered by the market is Computer-Assisted Translation (CAT) tools, many of which offer special plugins allowing them to work more efficiently in the process of rendering audiovisual materials (for instance the *Studio Subtitling* application for *SDL Trados Studio* or *memoQ Video Preview* tool for *memoQ*). Even though such programs are gaining popularity in the eyes of numerous freelance translators and translation agencies, they are still not associated with AVT, as four-fifths (80.9%) of the respondents do not use them at all, 10.6% occasionally apply such tools, and only 8.5% usually employ them in the translation process.

In comparison to most written texts, audiovisual materials tend to be more problematic in terms of their processing, as sending larger files in various formats and filename extensions may require different solutions, and thus the POAVTs were asked how they usually acquired and returned the files to be rendered. Sending a file via an Internet link is the most popular way of exchanging versions of the source and target materials, as this option was indicated by more than half of the translators (62.7%). Other methods

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3   None of the following programs was indicated by the respondents: *Womble EasySub, WinSubMux, Wincaps Q4, VoxscribeCC, Titlevision Submachine, Titlebee, Subtitles Translators, SubMagic, Subbits, POP Subtitle Editor, OmegaT, Ninsight Ayato, MovieCaptioner, iToolSoft Movie Subtitle Editor, InqScribe, Gnome Subtitles, Gaupol, fiveLoadSub, FinalSub, DivXLand Media Subtitler, CaptionHub, Belle Nuit Subtitler, Ayato 3, AHD Subtitles Maker*.

of exchanging files are far less popular. 10.2% of translators access and return files via special online services and webpages, 6.8% are usually given a USB flash drive with a film or series, only 1.7% get the file on a CD or DVD, and nearly one-fifth of respondents (18.6%) tend to receive and send audiovisual materials by some other means.

The types of data given to the translators, employers' requirements and respondents' preferences are some of the factors which affect the way they acquire the actual texts for given audiovisual materials. Nearly half of the POAVTs (47.2%) on the whole create their translations based on source dialogue lists, more than one-third of them (37.5%) use the source subtitles, and 15.3% rely on their listening skills.

9. Team work

Depending on the type of work, employers' guidelines, and their own preferences and limitations, the way in which audiovisual projects are handled differ significantly. They may either be conducted from start to finish just by the translator on his or her own, or be collaborative and involve more participants taking part in different stages, for instance other translators, proofreaders, specialists responsible for the synchronization of the lines with the action presented on the screen, etc. However, according to the collected data, most translators perform all the tasks, as roughly three-quarters of the respondents (72.3%) work alone on their audiovisual projects, depending on the task, one-fifth (21.3%) collaborate with others, and 6.4% generally tend to cooperate with other participants.

When rendering various audiovisual projects, one may encounter numerous elements posing potential difficulties. Then, depending on the weight of the problem, he or she may independently solve the issue or resort to the support offered by external sources, for instance other translators. The majority of the respondents (68.1%) consult other translators, but only in the case of extreme difficulties. One-fifth of the translators (19.1%) do not seek such help, and on the other hand, the 12.8% minority frequently consult their fellow translators on various issues. Cooperation with other specialists in the field may also enhance the quality of the final target versions, and thus one of the most important factors in the subsequent phases of the translation process is the correction stage. In this view, the translator's effort combined with the help of professional proofreading is vital for more than one-third of all respondents (38.3%) as they generally tend to cooperate with proofreaders. Almost the same number of translators (36.2%) only sporadically collaborate with such specialists, and one-fourth (25.5%) do not consider any external help.

Proofreading a translation is a meticulous task that needs precision, perceptiveness and linguistic instinct, and it frequently constitutes a decisive factor that definitely determines the final result. To offer the highest possible quality, translators tend to outsource the correction of their translations: editors revise the text of translations for

one-quarter of POAVTs (26.4%), for one-fifth (22.2%) such a task is performed by other translators, 13.9% ask native speakers to proofread their translations, 4.2% get their renditions checked by reviewers, and 1.4% delegate such tasks to teachers of foreign languages. Additionally, one-fourth of the respondents (20.8%) usually correct their translations on their own, and 11.1% provided other answers. Most popularly, the POAVTs have Q&A sessions with their clients that help them to dissipate various doubts and find optimal translation solutions.

Once the target text is completed, translators may either send it for further revision, correct it on their own, or simply forward the file to the customer. Most frequently, as many as one-third of the respondents (34%) tend to send the text back soon after they have individually briefly checked and corrected the translation. Slightly less, that is one-fourth (25.5%), forward the text on the next day after the correction, and one-fifth (19.1%) only after the text has been professionally proofread by a specialist. However, some translators (10.6%) generally do not find any further corrections necessary for their texts and they send them back just after the actual translation is completed, while 10.6% adjust their strategies depending on the deadline. When a text is proofread, some additional comments and solutions might be proposed for further consideration; here, the translator may apply suggestions and make minor alterations to a text, or simply reject them. Three-quarters of the POAVTs (74.5%) accept the proposed solutions and introduce them to the text of translations if the suggestions are considered suitable and correct, 14.9% only sometimes apply such changes to their texts, whereas the remaining part (10.6%) do not usually work with proofreaders, etc., and as such do not have any comments to ponder.

Apart from linguistic correctness, translation fidelity and other grammatical aspects, AVT necessitates that translators take into account other factors, predominantly non-present in other forms of translation, one of them being the adjustment and synchro-nization of the subtitles, the sound of the voice-over or dubbed dialogue, to the actual utterances presented on the screen. However, the data suggest that POAVTs are gener-ally either not responsible for this task, do not find it sufficiently important, or they synchronize the texts of their translations on their own, as three-quarters (76.6%) do not cooperate with other specialists responsible for the synchronization of target texts with audiovisual productions. Less than one-fifth (17%) occasionally take advantage of this form of technical support, and only 6.4% of the respondents generally cooperate with other specialists dealing with synchronization of their translations.

Depending on the translators' own preferences, employer's requirements and the type of audiovisual productions one is predominantly dealing with, audiovisual transla-tors may either work independently or be members of translation teams. More than half of them (61.7%) prefer to work on their own, 17% translate independently of other translators but wish to become a member of a professional translation team, and one-

fifth (21.3%) cooperate with other translators within a specialist translation team. However, only one-third (37.5%) of the overall number of translators gathered in translations teams have been additionally trained by its members in AVT.

Apart from smaller translation teams, either temporarily formed by employers to deal with particular translation projects, or permanently cooperating within translation agencies, audiovisual translators may function within larger bodies, organizations and societies. For instance, in Poland such a function is performed by the Association of Audiovisual Translators (STAW). The mission of such associations embraces the integration of audiovisual translators, promoting their work, improving translators' qualifications, supporting their members, enhancing the prestige of the profession and representing their agenda outside. As the survey revealed, when asked about membership in associations gathering audiovisual translators the respondents are divided into two larger groups: half of them (51.1%) are not associated with any translation-oriented organizations, whereas the second group, formed by roughly one-third of translators (31.9%), do not belong to such associations but wish to join them, and 17% presently hold the status of members of such specialized organizations.

One of the crucial aspects of the audiovisual translator's professional life is the ability to maintain business contact with their clients, translation bureaus, distributors of audiovisual productions and other companies which may provide them with work. Ensuring permanent cooperation with different employers might also be viewed as a particular style of work that stresses the importance of stability and predictability, and is somehow opposite to the more selective nature of constant freelancing. In this view, the respondents were asked which approach they tended to follow, and the acquired data greatly favour a more organized form of partnerships in which translators and their clients frequently cooperate with each other; this option is declared by 70.2% of the translators. Conversely, a more independent and unrestricted style of work is preferred by a minority, as only one-fifth of all the translators (19.1%) are not officially in partnership with translation agencies specializing in audiovisual materials or distributors of such productions, and 10.6% are actively planning and seeking this form of cooperation, although for now they do not have permanent business partners providing them with new audiovisual projects.

10. Conclusion: the Profile of Polish Official Audiovisual Translators

The data acquired in the course of the survey make it possible to establish a profile of an 'archetypical' model of a POAVT based on the most frequent answers given by the analysed research group. In this view, a POAVT is predominantly a woman below forty who lives in a large city inhabited by more than 200,000 people situated in the central part of Poland. She works as a professional translator, and almost half of her income is earned by delivered AVTs; similarly, this type of translation predominates in her work.

In terms of higher education, an average translator is studying or has graduated in a field specializing in foreign languages or directly in English studies, at a university located in the Masovian Voivodeship. During education, this translator has either attended a translation specialization or selected other educational paths. Regardless of the specialization, a POAVT is familiar with some translation theories and has also taken some translation courses included in the curricula of studies covered, but most typically they were not focused on AVT. Apart from typical higher education studies, an average POAVT has not completed any translation-oriented postgraduate studies or specialized translation courses, nor is she interested in attending them in the future. A translator prefers a less institutionalized form of self-education, as she has individually used some textbooks and other sources covering different aspects of AVT. In most cases, she masters her skills by taking into consideration pieces of advice and comments expressed by other translators. On average, a POAVT is an experienced translator, and the duration of professional practice oscillated in the range from 2 to 5 years. In this period of time a translator has likely delivered more than 100 renditions belonging to each of the following categories: movies, series, TV programmes and other shows. During one month, a POAVT tends to translate at least 8 audiovisual productions. Most commonly, a typical movie, episode of a series and other TV programmes are rendered in 1 or 2 days. The most frequently rendered audiovisual productions include foreign movies and series, primarily documentaries, comedies of manners, comedies and dramas. A POAVT is also not responsible for the translation of subsequent episodes belonging to a series she has rendered, nor for the next parts of movie series or other TV programmes. Generally, she considers herself a fan of the productions she is rendering but this is not a rule, and she adds additional information to supplement different needs of audiences only if it is directly requested by the commissioner. Most commonly, she delivers target subtitles, but also provides other types of AVT, in a great majority from English into Polish. Similarly, if the translation involves the rendition of a Polish production, it is mostly delivered for English-speaking audiences. A POAVT applies various translation tools that are adjusted to actual needs, and therefore she uses both paid and free of charge software, or programs required and provided by her employers. One of the most popular translation tools used is *SubtitleEdit*, whereas more specialized pieces of software, such as CAT tools, or other online services like *Google Translate*, are avoided. Nevertheless, the Internet is frequently applied as it is the most popularly used method for receiving and sending files to be translated, and usually such files are source dialogue lists or subtitles. In most cases, a POAVT works alone and conveys most aspects of AVT on her own, and only when encountering truly demanding translation challenges does she consult other translators to find a suitable solution. Furthermore, she tends to cooperate with external proofreaders to enhance the quality and correctness of target versions; most popularly this task is performed by editors and other translators.

The final version of a given translation is mostly sent back to the employer just after the POAVT briefly checks and corrects their rendition, or the next day after the correction. When a text is returned from a proofreader to the translator, a POAVT predominantly introduces proposed solutions if the suggestion is perceived as suitable and correct. Synchronization of the delivered translations is not seen as being as important as their linguistic correctness, and an average translator does not cooperate with other technical specialists who adjust the timing of the translated dialogues to the actual utterances presented on the screen. In terms of professional preferences, a translator generally favours working alone instead of being a member of a larger team. This approach is also reflected in the lack of membership in any translation-oriented organizations or associations. However, this freelancing style of work is contrasted with the need for stability, as a POAVT opts for a more organized form of partnership with regular employers.

11. Discussion

As a result of the study, the profile of a POAVT has been established, and the proposed model highlights further possibilities of research and offers an insight into the sphere of translators' background, education, preferences and work.

Having created a POAVT profile, the results may be situated in a larger context. The first issue to be discussed is the number of respondents who took part in the survey. As the number is limited to 47 audiovisual translators it would be advisable to repeat the study and include a larger group of translators to compare and validate the obtained results, namely to juxtapose both profiles to find similarities and divergences between them. An additional limitation is imposed by the method of collecting information. Although the survey was posted on special discussion forums and popular social networking services gathering Polish audiovisual translators with an extra introductory note specifying the purpose of the survey and determining the intended research group, just like in any anonymous and free-access survey it can not be absolutely certain that the information provided by the translators is true, and that the respondents have respected and rigorously adhered to the introductory note. Repetition of the study would also be beneficial in terms of changes taking place in the audiovisual market, especially if the study were to be of a continuous nature, and further studies would re-evaluate the profile to form a larger historical and sociological view of the profession (see Perego and Pacinotti 2020). In terms of the Polish translation market, the acquired profile could also be compared with other profiles created for translators specializing in delivering different types of texts and forms of translation, for instance, to set side-by-side profiles of audiovisual translators and literary translators, interpreters, sworn translators, etc. (see Kubacki 2012, Guttfeld and Linke-Ratuszny 2019). Furthermore, the comparison between the profiles could also be extended to the status of the translators in question, for example, to collate official translators with their unofficial counterparts

(see Antonini et al. 2017). Having that in mind, the profile of POAVTs may be compared with the prototypical profile of an audiovisual translator who specializes in delivering unofficial or unauthorized audiovisual translations in Poland (see Organ 2021). Covering similar studies could contribute to the depiction of the Polish AVT market, and especially to the image and self-representation of the translators, and be of great value for various studies concentrating on translators' training (see Merchán 2018), for instance, to equip members of academia with the knowledge to be applied in the translation curricula (such as the most popular software used in the process of AVT in Poland, in order to include it and make it available during translation courses). Further implications in terms of translation training noted in the study include several observations or key findings that may be considered valuable for Polish institutions specializing in teaching translation skills. As the survey revealed, most of the translators have not covered AVT during their studies, and thus it opens possibilities for including its elements in curricula, especially in the form of practical workshops focusing on rendering English subtitles into Polish and vice versa, the use of various paid and free translation programs, as well as elements of proofreading. The inclusion of such subjects in translator training plans might be the last opportunity for institutionalized education in this field, as respondents generally tend to shy away from any further plans for attending any additional translation AVT courses or postgraduate studies. The potential improvement of their AVT skills is usually achieved individually by studying different sources or by cooperating with other translators. This suggests a further need for AVT coursebooks, especially since the Polish market offers only a few such publications (e.g. Belczyk 2007, Adamowicz-Grzyb 2010, and Adamowicz-Grzyb 2013). The crossing of linguistic, national, or cultural barriers opens further vistas of the profile's application, as it may be compared with its counterparts created for translators working in different countries, and in this sense the profile might be compared with an analogue or analogues established in Germany, France, the UK, etc., to propose a larger study of European translators (see Pym et al. 2013), and then even further by juxtaposing the acquired results with non-European contexts. Such studies conducted on a larger scale might be beneficial for a better understanding of the profession, especially in terms of translators' professionalization. However, in order to do so, the questions included in the survey would need to be at least partially standardized to reveal the possible divergencies observable among the respondents representing different research groups.

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Domestication in song translations

Abstract. The presented article examines the notion of domestication as applied in the translation of song lyrics. Since the famous essay *Translation, Community, Utopia* by Lawrence Venuti, who condemned domestication as a form of cultural appropriation, this technique has generally been under attack despite some mitigating voices, such as that of Krzysztof Hejwowski. And this situation did not change when the new idea of translator's authorship appeared. This article takes the stance of Hejwowski's arguments and tries to apply them in the realm of (mostly melic) song translations, presenting positive and negative features of domestications there. It is meant to show that domestication can be used not only for informative purposes for the reader (as is usually assumed), but also as a creative tool in its own right.

Keywords: Hejwowski, domestication, foreignization, song translation, melic translation, lyrics.

1. Domestication: introductory remarks

It would be difficult to find terms more recognisable in contemporary translation studies than foreignization and domestication, used in precisely this form by Lawrence Venuti. In Poland, his classic text *Translation, Community, Utopia* has been translated twice: first by Jolanta Kozak (Venuti 2001: 9–42) and then by Magda Heydel (Bukowski & Heydel 2009: 267–293). In the first translation we may retranslate Venuti's keywords as alienation-domestication/familiarization (*wyobcowanie-oswojenie*), and in the second as exoticisation and domestication (*egzotyzacja-udomowienie*), the terms that are currently used in Poland. This dual concept has been widely discussed and resulted in some changes in our approach to translation.

However, translation theorists and practitioners had already encountered these two phenomena earlier, although they often called them by different names (and Venuti himself referred in his work to the translation methods described by Friedrich Schleiermacher in the early 19th century). Stanisław Barańczak, for example, wrote about domestication, using terms such as "free translation" and "adaptation procedures" (przekład wolny/zabiegi adaptacyjne) (Barańczak 1992: 67–68).

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What made Venuti's essay stand out was the wholesale attack on domestication, which, according to him "serves an appropriation of the foreign cultures for domestic agendas" (Venuti 1995: 18–19). And there was also holistic praise of the foreignization of the text, including even the grammar of the target language, which should not result in the "invisibility" of the translator. If the latter, extreme approach has met with some objections, for example Venuti's statement on Thomas Mann's English translations, cited by Hejwowski (Hejwowski 2015: 287–288), the former proposal of the supremacy of foreignization over domestication has received considerable acclaim, and "after Venuti" more informed translators usually have guilty conscience when they decide to domesticate their translations.

This is in spite of the emergence of an important new idea, promoted in Poland mainly by Jerzy Jarniewicz, which speaks of translation as a fact of the target culture, and makes us recognise translators as authors of the texts they translate, which, according to the acclaimed scholar and translator, would be visibly evidenced by placing their names on book covers (Jarniewicz 2012: 7–22). With such an assumption, it is difficult to say that any domestication is inappropriate. Yet Jarniewicz criticises Jacek Dukaj's interpolation of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (Jarniewicz 2018: 237–252), although on the other hand he likes the completely unfaithful—as the translator of the book himself points out—interpretation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, which Grzegorz Wasowski renders as *Perypetie Alicji na Czarytorium* (Jarniewicz 2018: 253–265). It may be that the nature of both works is relevant here (to which we shall return), but regardless of that we get the impression that the distinction between good and bad domestication may be purely arbitrary here, depending on the taste of the assessor.

A much more balanced, but definitely less spectacular view on domestication, is presented by Krzysztof Hejwowski:

The harsh criticism of domestication in translation and the promotion of foreignization were to some extent a reaction to the influential theory of dynamic equivalence formulated by Eugene Nida in the 1960s. A reaction that was, in a way, justified, since such "dynamic" translations often involved the impoverishment of the originals and, in particular, the elimination of what the translator considered to be the more difficult cultural elements. Lamenting the "invisibility" of the translator, Venuti suggested that translators use "marginal discourses" such as non-standard language, archaisms, and generally adhere to the principle of "aggressive fidelity" (…) If this advice were to be taken seriously, it would obviously lead to a different kind of deformation of the original texts. As I will try to show in the following chapters, translations are harmed by both unwarranted domestication and unwarranted foreignization[2] (Hejwowski 2015:13).

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2 Translated by Krzysztof Puławski

According to Hejwowski, we should examine individual phenomena without reference to one theory or another, and only then can we be tempted to draw broader conclusions. He accomplished this task perfectly in the cited book, giving examples of justified and unjustified domestication. But obviously, Hejwowski was not able to describe all translation phenomena. One of those omitted—probably consciously, as it would require a separate study—is the issue of domestication and foreignization in the translation of song lyrics. I therefore propose to analyse them using the critical approach that we can find in professor Hejwowski's two main books, namely *Kognitywno-komunikacyjna teoria przekładu* and *Iluzja przekładu*.

2. Song translations and melic translations

Before we get to that, it is also worth looking at song translations in general. It is not a very popular subject with traductologists, mostly due to the fact that translating songs in many cases involves non-linguistic elements which "are seen as obstacles for the translator and his/her actual—linguistic—work" (Millán & Bartina 2013: 260), but we still have a few important works on this subject.

First of all, two articles by Peter Low, who in his approach to singable song translations used sporting metaphor and talked about the "Pentathlon Principle" (Low 2003: 92). Low distinguished five criteria in the process, namely:

- singability;
- sense;
- naturalness;
- rhythm;
- rhyme.

All of them form a hierarchy, with singability and sense being the most important. For Low, "singability" means that song translation "must function effectively as an oral text delivered at performance speed" (Low 2003: 93). Low can see that this may change the semantic layer of the song and is willing to make small concessions here, but generally is in favour of retaining the original sense. Then come naturalness of the translated text and its rhythm and rhymes.

Low repeated and reinforced those views in his article "The Penthatlon Approach to translating songs" from 2005, in which he stressed the unity of text and music and the "effectiveness on stage" (Low 2005: 192) of any singable song translation.

Johan Franzon treated song translations in broader terms. He noted that not all of them are singable or melic, and thus offered translators five different choices (Franzon 2008: 376):

- leaving the song untranslated (when it is a part of a longer text);
- translating the lyrics but not taking the music into account;

- writing new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics;
- translating the lyrics and adapting the music accordingly—sometimes to the extent that a brand new composition is deemed necessary;
- adapting the translation to the original music.

Despite the fact that it is not our main subject, we should add here that although the above list may refer to translators' choices, it does not consist of translation techniques, because "non-translation" or "writing new lyrics" can hardly be considered translation. And by no means is this list complete: we have, for instance, good examples of translations in which only some parts are not translated, like in the famous Polish version of Leonard Cohen's "Lover, Lover, Lover", in which Maciej Zembaty left the original chorus.

Then we have very practical distinctions by Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman, who discuss four techniques of translating songs (Apter & Herman 2016: 31–32), namely:

- foreignization;
- domestication;
- adaptation;
- re-translation.

It should be added here that the authors define "re-translation" not in its original sense (as a back translation into language A via its translation in language B), but as another translation, a "re-creation of different aspects of the original by means of different translations" (Apter & Herman 2016: 65).

Works by Polish scholars on the subject are rarer, and for a long time they concerned musical adaptations of literary works, mainly operas, which are usually different from song translations and involve work with the singers during rehearsals. The classic text on the subject, titled "Tłumaczenie oper i sztuk pisanych wierszem", was written by Jerzy Zagórski, who listed five rules of such translations (Zagórski 1955: 408–412):

- fidelity to ideas;
- fidelity to style;
- fidelity to the original text;
- fidelity to the musical "sketch" (which gave some room for changing the musical scheme);
- rule of dramatizing the phrases.

This topic was taken up by Maria Krzysztofiak, who devoted one subchapter of her monograph "Przekład literacki a translatologia" (1996) to musical adaptations of literary works (Krzysztofiak 1996: 120–132). The scholar analysed the existing translations of such works as "Ode to Joy" by Friedrich Schiller, Bertold Brecht's songs from "The Threepenny Opera" and others, noting that most musical translations by Gałczyński and

Broniewski do not always follow the fidelity-to-the-original-text rule. However, Krzysztofiak is of the opinion that the acoustic properties of translation are of paramount importance (mają kapitalne znaczenie) not only in song, but also in literary translations (see Krzysztofiak 1996: 132).

The researcher, who dealt primarily with songs as such, was Anna Bednarczyk. She started with expanding the notion of Barańczak's "semantic dominant" into translation dominant (dominanta translatorska), which is "an element of a source text that must be translated (reconstructed) in order to preserve the totality of its subjectively significant meanings" (Bednarczyk 2008: 19). Bednarczyk also stated that there may be more than one translation dominant (Bednarczyk 2012: 45) and used this tool to analyse singable translations of chosen Russian songs.

But as has already been stated, there is a certain misunderstanding in the notion that all song translations are melic. Some are purely informative and relate directly to the content of the lyrics. Others may have quasi-poetic ambitions but with no connection to the music, or in any case not the original music of the translated song.

The popularity of "informative" translations can be testified to by the website `tekstowo.pl`, where we can find not only the original lyrics, but also many of their translations. Usually, translations from `tekstowo.pl` are thought to be unprofessional, although in a formal sense it is difficult to establish what their professionalism should depend on. Obviously, there are no regular courses on song translations at Polish universities. From time to time, there are workshops or courses in song translation—and I have had the pleasure of running a few—but these are occasional and short. And we must remember that professional literary translators with academic training very often stipulate that they do not translate poems and, even less so, songs.

So let us assume that the "professional" song translation is the one printed in a serious source and made by people with good knowledge of both source and target language, and preferably some literary authority.

Then we can assume that Wojciech Mann's translations in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, for example, belong to this category. Mann produced informative translations, but over time his texts began to develop into more poetic pieces, in which he incorporated rhyme and rhythm.

However, even on a purely informative level, Mann's translations showed deficiencies and demonstrated that the translator did not fully understand the idiosyncratic nature of English songs. And this did not at all apply to songs that were difficult to understand, based on some hidden meanings. Let us have a look, for example, at John Denver's song "Take Me Home, Country Roads":

Almost Heaven, West Virginia
Blue Ridge Mountains, Shenandoah River

Life is old there, older than the trees
Younger than the mountains, growin' like a breeze.
(Denver 2002: 22)

Mann translated this fragment as follows:

Prawie niebo, zachodnia Wirginia
Blu Ridge Mountains, rzeka Shenandoah.
Życie jest tu stare, starsze niż drzewa,
Młodsze niż góry, rosnące jak wietrzyk.
(Denver 2002: 22)

We can see that the translator has adapted most of the geographical names to the requirements of Polish, omitting the Blue Ridge Mountains, which is a macrotoponym and has a Polish equivalent (Pasmo Błękitne, Góry Błękitne). The strangest thing here is the translation of the last two lines, which could probably be seen as some monstrous attempt at foregnization to confuse the reader. We have to assume, however, that this is rather due to a misunderstanding of the text. After all, it is not that life (what life? where from?) is old here, but that people have been here a long time, longer than the trees and shorter than the mountains. "Like a breeze" means very fast in English, which would make sense if the translator looked at the song as a whole and noticed that the lyrical subject is driving a car, and that the mountains do not so much grow as grow in his eyes/ grow up in front of him.

This is not the only awkwardness in the lyrics, but the point here is rather to highlight the fact that English songs have a very specific character, and that you have to "think into" them to understand their stories.

Sometimes this is very difficult, and instead of a coherent picture you get a text that is unclear, sometimes even meaningless. Such an example is the translation of Patti Smith's song "Rock N Roll Nigger", by well-known journalist and translator Filip Łobodzinski (Smith, 2019: 72–73), which can be found in his volume of translations of Smith's songs, titled *Nie gódź się.*

But before we look at his translation, we should mention two things. Firstly, Łobodzinski's translation is already of a different nature, as it is intended to be sung. Secondly, Patti Smith often writes symbolic, difficult, sometimes very personal lyrics, such as in her song "Horses". However, the lyrics of "Rock N Roll Nigger" are not one of these and seem understandable enough. They tell the story of an artist (described as a "baby") who becomes successful, but because of her non-conformism, she has to stand outside society, on the side of all those who do not fit in, and although she feels lost, it is only there she can find love in her heart. At the same time, it should also be noted that the

central parlando and the following text refer to the poem "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" by one of literature's greatest outsiders, William Blake.

ROCK'N'ROLLOWY MURZAJ
Lala była czarna owca lala była kurwa
lala rosła lala była coraz bardziej duża
lala coś wyhaczy lala więcej urwie
lala lala była rock'n'rollowy murzaj

Popatrz wokół rozejrzyj się wokół
po miedziaków fali gnasz
podoba ci się wszystko wokół
no i czy zasady znasz

Peryferyjny świat, o dają mi znak
peryferyjny świat chcę być właśnie tam

Lala była czarna owca lala była kurwa
lala rośnie lala będzie coraz bardziej duża
lala chwyta lala mierzy strzela bo się wkurza
lala lala jest rock'n'rollowy murzaj

Peryferyjny świat chcę być właśnie tam
peryferyjny świat o dają mi znak

Którzy cierpieli wiedzą co to cierpieć
wyciągają przeto dłoń
burza niesie ból
i wodę życia na chwałę traw
i kolców i ziół
i światła

Zabłądziłam w błogą arkadię
zabłądziłam w bezmiar mórz
zabłądziłam lecz miarka za miarkę
miłość w sercu mi brysznęła już
Zabłądziłam zapłaciłam
zapłaciłam a co mi tam
zabłądziłam zapłaciłam

weszłam w peryferyjny świat

Jimi Hendrix to był murzaj
Jezus Chrystus i babcia też
Jackson Pollock to był murzaj
murzaj murzaj murzaj murzaj
murzaj murzaj murzaj

Peryferyjny świat o dają mi znak
peryferyjny świat poszukaj znajdziesz mnie właśnie tam
peryferyjny świat
peryferyjny świat
peryferyjny świat...
(Smith 2019: 72–73)

It is quite difficult to find all those pieces of information in Łobodziński's translation and combine them into a coherent story. Besides, if we compare this text with the original, it is really difficult to justify its non-standard Polish grammar, as Smith uses regular English. What is more, we have here the word "murzaj", probably resulting from political correctness, which is not to be found in dictionaries nowadays, but which meant in archaic, colloquial Polish a big black man and was used mostly with reference to athletes.

This is another example of inappropriate domestication, and the translation itself does not so much take the reader/listener into a foreign world as into a (slightly domesticated) world that lacks meaningful rules and connections. The author's name leads us to expect that we will encounter an important text, and we are confronted with meaninglessness. What's more, not every reader will be brave enough to see this.

Obviously, we can translate Patti Smith's song in a different way and retain its melic function:

CZARNUCH ROCKA
Lala czarną owcą, lala kurwą jest,
Lala była mała, a większa się stała,
Lala miała trochę, lala miała coś,
Lala, lala, lala jest czarnuchem rocka.
Popatrz wkoło, popatrz no,
Jak ci się ten świat podoba?
Wszędzie szmal i wszędzie zło,
Chcesz być taki? Pomyśl, zobacz.

Społeczeństwo mierzi mnie, społeczeństwo chcę zapomnieć,
Społeczeństwo jest passé, społeczeństwo nie jest moje.

Lala czarną owcą, lala kurwą jest,
Lala była mała, a większa się stała,
Lala ma palec, lala ma broń,
Lala, lala, lala jest czarnuchem rocka

Społeczeństwo mierzi mnie, społeczeństwo chcę zapomnieć,
Społeczeństwo jest passé, gdzieś poza nim miejsce moje.

Ci, którzy cierpieli, rozumieją cierpienie
I dlatego wyciągają pomocną dłoń.
Burza, która niszczy, nawadnia ziemie.
Błogosławiona trawa, rośliny,
Ostry cierń i światło.

Zagubiłam się w rozkoszy dolinie,
Zagubiłam się w bezmiarze wód,
Zagubiłam się w miarce za miarkę
I miłości w sercu stał się cud.

Zagubiłam się, zagubiłam,
Choć koszt taki musiał być,
Zagubiłam się, zagubiłam
Poza społeczeństwem żyć.

Jimi Hendrix był czarnuchem,
Jezus Chrystus, babcia też,
Jackson Pollock był czarnuchem,
Czarny, czarny, czarny
Czarny był, czarny był.

Społeczeństwo mierzi mnie, społeczeństwo chcę zapomnieć,
Społeczeństwo jest passé, poza społeczeństwem stoję.
(Unpublished)

Both translators use domestications that, in line with Hejwowski's postulate of restoring the text to its uniqueness, could be replaced by foreignized terms. Mann translates

"the misty taste of moonshine" as "mglisty smak samogonu", although it would have been better to give "the taste of homemade whiskey"/"smak domowej whiskey" (retaining the Irish-American spelling of this alcohol). Łobodzinski, on the other hand, sees no archaisation in the lyrics of the song "Dancing Barefoot", and uses contemporary Polish.

Those two examples also prove that in the case of song translation, professionalism depends on something more than the obvious requirement of a very good knowledge of SL and TL, and some experience in translation in general. Since it is not the main subject of our investigations, we will leave it at this point, just adding that like in other more artistic activities song translation may require some talent.

3. Translations on stage

We must remember that after Venuti, domestications themselves became infamous and, at least in theory, the legitimacy of their use was increasingly restricted. Fewer and fewer domestications appear in serious adult literature, but there are also calls to foreignize children's literature to a greater extent, which can be exemplified by the latest Polish translation of *Anne of Green Gables* by Anna Bańkowska. But theorists are much more likely to approve domestication wherever there is humour of various kinds (which may explain why Jarniewicz is willing to accept the domestication of *Alice*, but not of *Heart of Darkness*), and also in such translations which the viewer (and the reader of, e.g. subtitles) encounters directly and finds it more difficult to check any references immediately, because he/she happens to be watching a play, a film or listening to a song. This is why, in principle, no one doubts that *Monty Python's Flying Circus* should have been domesticated, which was first done on a large scale by Tomasz Beksiński, and then, in a similar way, by Elżbieta Gałązka-Salamon. The same is true of Bartosz Wierzbięta, who, starting with *Shrek*, not only replaced foreign cultural references with native ones where they existed in the text, but even created native references where there were no foreign ones.

As far as song translations are concerned, the most "direct" are of course the melic ones, intended to be performed on stage. (Others, such as informational ones, appear in books/newspapers/the Internet, and the readers can check most foreign references on their own.) This probably means that melic translations will contain the biggest number of domestications, dealing especially with cultural references and humour.

I propose, then, that we look at a few such translations and see how domestications "work" there. Firstly, we will focus on the very popular song by Dick Scanlan and Jeanine Tesori "Girl in 14G":

When I first moved to New York I couldn't sleep. I couldn't sleep and I couldn't figure it out.
And then I realized: It's LOUD! People honking, and people yelling at each other on the streets.
And of course there's the apartment I live in with the neighbors.

Just moved in to 14G

So cozy, calm, and peaceful

Heaven for a mouse like me

With quiet by the lease-full

Pets are banned, parties too

And no solicitations

Window seat with garden view

A perfect nook to read a book

I'm lost in my Jane Austen when I hear

Say it isn't so

Not the flat below

From an opera wanna be

In 13G

A matinee of some cantata

Wagners Ring

And Traviata

My first night in 14G

I'll put up with Pouccini

Brew myself a cup of tea

Crochet until she's fini

Half past eight

Not a peep

Except the clock tick-tockin

Now I lay me down to sleep

A comfy bed to rest my head

A stretch, a yawn, I'm almost gone when

Now the girl upstairs

Wakes me unawares

Blowing down from 15GHer revelly

She's scattin like her name is Ella

Guess who answers a cappella

I'm not one to

Raise my voice

Make a fuss

Or speak my mind

But might I query

Would you mind if

Could you kindly

Stop!

That felt good
Stop!
13, 15, 14G
A most unlikely trio
No quite three part harmony
All day and night we're singing
I've had my fill of peace and quiet
Shout out loud, "I've changed my diet!"
All because of
14G

This song has become so popular on the Polish music scene that it has lived to see at least five translations—and we will look at four of them. The first one was done by Jakub Kornacki and had the slightly awkward Polish title "Wprowadziłam się":

W zamku klik, otwieram drzwi, nowością pachnie wszystko
Nieba skrawek jak w sam raz dla takiej cichej myszki
Pies i kot nie wślizgną się, imprezy mi nie w głowie
Za oknem ogród jak we śnie
Do pełni szczęścia jeszcze to—Jane Austen rozdział już w połowie, gdy…
Cóż za szczęścia łut, że poniżej ciut
Operowy sopran drze, wciąż śpiewać chce
Wagnera ćwiczy, ostinata, Sakentata i Traviata

Pierwsza noc w mym gniazdku, więc niech będzie ten Puccini
W herbaty woń już wtulam się, nie będzie tak do zimy
Blisko świt, tik-tak, tik-tak, odmierza zegar ciszę
Czuję jak nadchodzi sen
Kołderka czule wita mnie, z rozkoszą już przeciągam się, gdy…
A więc wyżej też mieszka jakaś wesz
I jej nie przeszkadza, że ja tutaj śpię
Scatuje niby jakaś Ella, a od dołu a capella
Ja nie z tych, co koty drą, takt i umiar cnotą mą, lecz…
Czy bym mogła… prosić byś… zamknęła wreszcie…
DZIÓB
hmm.. nieźle!
DZIÓB

Oto jak usłyszał świat niezwykłe nasze trio
Ballada, szanta, jaką chcesz, Trzy głosy dadzą ci ją

I nagle gdzie to ciche dziewczę
Gdy ja śpiewam—milczeć, leszcze
Wprowadziłam się!

This text was successfully sung by Paulina Grochowska. However, the translator has rendered it featureless: we don't know where the song's heroine has moved to or where she comes from. We can therefore speak of a neutralisation of the text. In addition, the Polish language of this translation is also questionable, which, however, is not the subject of our inquiries.

Two other, much more interesting and linguistically correct translations come from Daniel Wyszogrodzki. Here is the first one, entitled "Czwarte piętro, numer pięć":

Kiedy przeprowadziłam się do Nowego Jorku nie mogłam spać.
Zastanawiałam się dlaczego, aż doznałam olśnienia: to przez ten hałas!
Kierowcy trąbią, ludzie krzyczą, gra muzyka.
Ale znalazłam sobie ciche mieszkanko…

Na czwartym piętrze numer pięć
W uroczej kawalerce
Ta myszka spokój będzie mieć
I książki w biblioteczce

Żadnych imprez, żadnych psów
I żadnych domokrążców
Za oknem widok, że ho-ho
W lekturę więc, zagłębię się
Już czeka tom Steinbecka, a to co…

Boże, co za cios
Pod podłogą—głos!
Piątka, trzecie piętro i
Tam aria brzmi
A zaraz zacznie się kantata
Coś z Mozarta lub
Traviata

Czwarte piętro, pierwsza noc
Puccini był przede mną
Herbata, książka, no i koc
Głos padnie jej na pewno

Ósma trzy
Nie słychać nic
Zegarek tylko tyka
Zaraz się położę spać
Kołderka i poduszki trzy
Przeciągam się i ziewam, gdy...

Tu jest pięter pięć
Pecha trzeba mieć!
Nad sufitem nagły zgiełk
Ktoś woli jazz
I śpiewa scatem niczym Ella
A pode mną a cappella

Zbyt nieśmiała
Jestem by
Kłócić się
Lub stukać w drzwi
Lecz mimo wszystko
Skromna myszka
Prosi tylko...

Stop!
Ale fajnie
S-T-O-P-!

Na trzech piętrach, numer pięć
Od dzisiaj mamy trio
Trafi się dysonans lecz
Praktyka czyni mistrza

(I) tyle miałam życia w ciszy
Zmieniam dietę, zacznę krzyczeć

Wszystko przez ten
Numer pięć
(Unpublished)

In this text, Wyszogrodzki left the heroine of the song in New York (foreignization), and translated her poken remarks, making the whole more playful and fuller. But he decided that these lyrics can be translated in a different way and domesticated them:

Kiedy przeprowadziłam się do Warszawy nie mogłam spać.
Zastanawiałam się dlaczego, aż doznałam olśnienia: to przez ten hałas!
Kierowcy trąbią, ludzie krzyczą, dzwonią tramwaje.
Ale znalazłam sobie ciche mieszkanko…

Na czwartym piętrze, klatka sześć
W uroczej kawalerce
Ta myszka spokój będzie mieć
I książki w biblioteczce
(Unpublished)

As we can see from this excerpt, we have here Warsaw, trams and a staircase, which makes the heroine of the song definitely closer to Polish culture. And perhaps it is only a pity that, after Jane Austin and Steinbeck, she is simply reading some 'book' in this translation.

These two examples point to another interesting phenomenon. They put into question the fairly common view that we can use domestication only to make the text more understandable for the public. However, the two versions of the song "Girl in 14G" by Daniel Wyszogrodzki[3] indicate otherwise. Foreignization and domestication simply become elements of cultural play. Wyszogrodzki gives the performers a choice and shows that the song will sound slightly different when its protagonist finds herself in "foreign" New York and different when in familiar Warsaw.

Is this the end of the possibilities of domesticating this text? Certainly not. In the early spring of 2017, the preliminaries of the 38th PPA in Wrocław featured two candidates who were to perform the same version of "Girl in 14G". Of course, this was perfectly acceptable, but one of the performers approached a new translator with a request for a new translation. This person decided to domesticate the text even further:

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3 And obviously Bartosz Wierzbięta's attempts at domesticating neutral elements of different films.

CICHE MIESZKANKO

Kiedy po raz pierwszy przyjechałam do Białegostoku, zrozumiałam, że jest tu głośno. Białystok
to duże miasto. Teatry, kina, kawiarnie... Mamy tu nawet od niedawna operę! Samochody
jeżdżą, trąbią, ludzie krzyczą... A ja szukałam czegoś dla siebie. Jakiegoś spokojnego miejsca.

Nareszcie mam mieszkanko swe,
W którym nie puchną uszy,
Tu pragnę spędzać noce dnie,
Bo jestem jak Kopciuszek.
Zwierzątek tu nie wolno mieć
I imprez głośnych robić,
Cóż jeszcze więcej mogę chcieć?
Na stole czeka—Musierowicz,
Więc zbliżam się do niego, a tuuu...
A więc jednak nie,
Obok tuż się drze
Jakaś diwa, która chce
Pognębić mnie,
Więc powiedzcie, po cholerę
Było robić tu operę?

Ten pierwszy wieczór w gniazdku mym
"Umila" mi Puccini,
Toczę wokół wzrokiem złym,
O ósmej jest już finisz.
Potem, cóż, nie słyszę nic
I cisza dźwięczy w uszach,
Zaraz do łóżeczka hyc
Sen wciąga mnie, przeciągam się,
Jak miło wabi mnie poduszka

Teraz z prawej ta
Koncert chce mi dać
Drze się przy tym głośno tak,
Że tchu jej brak
A zgadnijcie jaka zgaga
Na te scaty odpowiada?

Ja nie lubię mówić wprost,

Rzadko też podnoszę głos,

Ale pytam tylko

Czy możecie zamknąć wreszcie

RYJ

Nasze głosy tworzą ten

Niespotykany tercet,

Wieczorem, nocą albo w dzień

Rytm nam dyktuje serce

Solo wam zaśpiewam wreszcie,

Cicho, kurwa, proszę grzecznie,

Zmieniło mnie mieszkanko ciche me!

The domestications start already with the title, as the quiet flat is a conscious reference to a Polish song called "Małe mieszkanko na Mariensztacie". However, in the song itself, we change location and move to Białystok, where a quiet girl from Hajnówka[4] arrives. There are very specific local allusions to the opera, as well as a reference to a book by a very popular teen author, Małgorzata Musierowicz. It is also worth mentioning that the vulgarisations, which appear a little later, are intended to show the inner transformation of the "silent mouse" and are most intentional.

Do these domestications exhaust the possibilities offered to us by the original text? And here, too, we must answer in the negative. After all, we can imagine a song about a highlander called Halka who arrives in Pcim and is surprised at how bustling the town is, that an Orlen station can be found on every corner, cars are constantly running, tourists are shouting and singing "Góralu, czy ci nie żal". This kind of domestication would go even further and refer to the present political situation in Poland.

So, domestication can also result from the current political or social situation in the country of the target language. At the same time, interestingly enough, we can either adapt the text to it, or the situation itself will adapt to the text. This is exactly what happened with a song that Colum Sands wrote many years ago. It is entitled "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing", and refers to a saying used by the Irish (meaning: you have to be careful and not say too much to the English). It is also worth mentioning that a poem with this title was written by Seamus Heaney. We, however, are interested in the song, which reads in the first two passages:

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4 As this was the home town of Julita Wawreszuk, who sang this song.

Whatever you say, say nothing, when you talk about you know what

For if you know who should hear you, you know what you'll get

They'll take you off to you know where for you wouldn't know how long

So for you know who's sake don't let anyone hear you singing this song

You all know what I'm speaking of when I mention you know what

And I fear it's very dangerous to even mention that

For the other ones are always there, although you may not see

And if anyone asks who told you that, please don't mention me

I heard it in the 1990s and very much regretted that translating it had become pointless. Sands's song suited the communist era but lost its relevance in democratic Poland. However, it was enough to wait about twenty years and it became more relevant again—one could say that it "domesticated itself" in Poland's political situation:

Cokolwiek mówisz, nie mów nic,

Jak mówisz to, co wiesz,

Bo jak usłyszy ten, co wiesz,

To trafisz sam wiesz gdzie,

A na jak długo—nie wie nikt,

Lecz wiesz, co zrobią znów,

Więc ucz się śpiewać piosnkę tę,

Bez wymawiania słów.

I wiecie, o co chodzi mi,

Gdy mówię o tym czymś,

To jednak niebezpiecznie brzmi,

A zwłaszcza przy tym kimś,

Tym, co nie zawsze widać go,

Ale on wszystkich zna,

Więc gdy spytają, rzekł tak kto,

Nie mówcie, że to ja.

This example allows a broader view on domestication which can also be treated in political terms. The best known domestications (or adaptations) of this kind are two songs by Jacek Kaczmarski: "Obława" (Vladimir Vysotsky) and "Mury" (Lluís Llach). But usually domestications are applied to less serious works.

This view is confirmed by other Polish translations. We can find domestications in some translations of Jaromir Nohavica's more humorous songs, such as "Milionař", in

which "łebski Franek" takes part in the Polish version of a popular quiz programme, or "Mně snad jebne", in which the hero of the song is magically transported to Warsaw with its all idiosyncrasies, and the only Czech element in the translation is a Škoda car, although we have an Opel in the original version. But in other, more serious works by the singer, such as "Stanice Jiřího z Poděbrad" or "Těšínská", all the cultural elements remain intact.

This means that we usually deal with standard domestications and, according to the accepted criteria (lyrics reach the audience directly and are most likely to be humorous), we will most often encounter domestication in songs by artists such as the double act Michael Flanders and Donald Swann or Tom Lehrer. The latter in particular encourages domestication in songs such as "I Got It from Agnes", "We Will All Go Together When We Go" and "National Brotherhood Week". I translated the first two songs by Lehrer for local performers, and in the first one in particular I felt I had to appeal to Polish criteria:

JA MAM TO OD RYSIA
Przyjaciół mam,
A oni mnie
I wszyscy tak
Dzielimy się,
By każdy był
Szczęśliwy, cóż
Tak to z nami jest
I już!

Ja mam to od Rysia,
Od Kasi ma to Ryś,
A Kasia zwierzyła mi się dzisiaj,
Że mógł to dać jej Krzyś,
Krzyś ma to od Oli,
Od Bola Ola ma,
A wszyscy wiedzą: jemu
Dałam to ja.

Staś ma to od Basi,
A Basi dał to Ray,
Który przypadkiem złapał to,
Gdy zwiedzał polski Sejm,
Jacques dał to Cecylii,

Gdy przywiózł z Francji ser,

Cecylii wszystko się już myli,

Lecz... ucieszy się Pierre.

Kasia ma to od Busia,

Który na banjo gra,

A Stasia od tatusia,

Który jej wszystko da,

Przejął to od niej Daniel

A także jego psiak,

Nasz dentysta też skorzystał,

A my wciąż... nie wiemy jak.

Ale ja mam to od Rysia,

A może to był Zdziś

Czy Bronek, czy Romek, czy może Atomek

Trudno powiedzieć dziś,

To mógł być jakiś klub

Czy klop, czy sklep, czy jakiś bar,

Więc możesz też otrzymać ten...

Ale tylko możesz ten... przyjaźni dar.

The basic domestication here is, of course, the replacement of English names with Polish ones. But apart from that, we still have the swap of the Blarney Stone for the Polish Sejm and a local surplus in the form of Romek and Atomek (the heroes of a popular comic book), but of course the foreign names (Ray, Pierre) play exactly the same role in the translation as the other foreign names in the original.

The third song mentioned is still awaiting a Polish translation, but if we look at the English lyrics, we can certainly see the adaptability in them:

Oh, the white folks hate the black folks,And the black folks hate the white folks.

To hate all but the right folks

Is an old established rule.

But during National Brotherhood Week, National Brotherhood Week,

Lena Horne and Sheriff Clarke are dancing cheek to cheek.

It's fun to eulogize

The people you despise,

As long as you don't let 'em in your school.

Oh, the poor folks hate the rich folks,
And the rich folks hate the poor folks.
All of my folks hate all of your folks,
It's American as apple pie.

But during National Brotherhood Week, National Brotherhood Week,New Yorkers love the Puerto Ricans 'cause it's very chic.Step up and shake the handOf someone you can't stand.You can tolerate him if you try.

Oh, the Protestants hate the Catholics,And the Catholics hate the Protestants,And the Hindus hate the Muslims,And everybody hates the Jews.

But during National Brotherhood Week, National Brotherhood Week,It's National Everyone-smile-at-one-another-hood Week.Be nice to people whoAre inferior to you.It's only for a week, so have no fear.Be grateful that it doesn't last all year!

It is interesting to note that many of the original oppositions can be retained in translation (especially the religious references and the fact that everyone hates the Jews), but it is also imperative to replace Lena Horn and Sheriff Clarke, e.g., with the pair Borys Budka, Beata Szydło. Lehrer's text certainly provides opportunities for multi-storey domestications:

- the replacement of certain cultural elements with others (the aforementioned Budka and Szydło);
- the addition of certain topical pieces of information to the text (Podlachians hate refugees);
- and the general adaptation of a text that Lehrer wrote in the 1960s to the contemporary situation in Poland (with the sad reflection of how little has changed).

Such domestication does not stem from the need to explain the source text to a native audience; rather, it is an invitation to Polish audiences to the kind of semantic playfulness that the now aged Tom Lehrer once infused his audience with. It is also a domestication combined with modernisation, which becomes possible if we—as Jarniewicz postulated—treat the translator as the creator of a given work.

4. Final remarks

Domestication has been in decline at least since two famous publications by Venuti: *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation* (1995) and "Translation, Community Utopia" (2000). But even before that it was treated more as a possible tool than a wholesale technique, and most scholars described (and sometimes evaluated) it using

separate examples from different translations, which was also true in the case of song translations.

The exception here is a relatively new book by Apter and Herman, in which the authors devote a separate section to domestication, and their conclusion is that the choice between foreignization and domestication depends on "the particular work being translated, the specific source and target languages, the audience for which the translation is made, and the abilities and proclivities of the translators" (Apter & Herman 2016: 56), which makes their ideas very close to those of Hejwowski.

Otherwise, most authors simply note this phenomenon or sometimes do not see its manifestations. In a new book by Franzon (2021) the author writes, for instance:

> Monetary currency is clearly culture-bound. Though one element, *a greenback* dollar, uniquely current in the SL culture is exchanged for domestic equivalents, en tia and ören, all of them serve well to prove the big point the singer makes (Franzon 2021: 95).

Franzon not only notes domestication here, but also evaluates it but does not try (neither here, nor later in the article) to give it a theoretical frame. This is somehow understandable because this is not his main task here, but this example illustrates a general trend.

On the other hand, in the same volume we have an article under the meaningful title "Forming a new song within the shell of the old: Process of transformation, recontextualization, and prefiguration in the lyrics of Joe Hill's «The Preacher and the Slave»", which is an excellent example of intralingual transcreation. But Daniel Lees Fryer says that the text of the original song was here "transformed, repurposed, or adapted" (Lees Fryer 2021: 353), although we can find there new and very interesting examples of domestication. Another article by a Greek scholar discusses very vividly in one of the subchapters (Kelandrias 2021: 53–57) creativity in song translations, but the author in most cases uses here the word "adaptation" instead of "domestication".

However, it must be acknowledged that the introductory article by four writers acknowledges that domestication is one of the macrolevel strategies in song translations (Greenall et al. 2021: 29).

The same approach (if any) is also characteristic of Polish scholarly works on song translations. What is more, we can find there a certain view which I quote here from an unpublished Master's thesis by Anna Mach, who wrote about a possible translation of the song "Gin" by the The Tiger Lillies:

> The main argument for domestication would be an assumed lack of comprehension of cultural references of the source text by the target audience. Nevertheless, British culture is well known worldwide and the images of an English gentleman drinking gin in the

tropics are not incomprehensible to Polish audiences. Therefore, there are no reasons to adapt the original cultural reality of the universe presented in the song to any specific needs of the target audience (Mach 2020:64).

In the light of the preceding considerations, especially on the five Polish translations of "Girl in 14G", it seems to be a misunderstanding which obviously comes from Venuti.

It is worth mentioning that although these reflections are a polemic against both Venuti's theory and Jarniewicz's postulate, they do not in the least detract from them. Translators indeed use domestication and foreignization in their work, and in many cases the emphasis should be on the latter. The translator is indeed the creator (though I would insist that he or she is a co-author) of the work being translated and fully deserves to have his or her name appear on the cover of the book. However, with such general formulations, we are dealing with a multiplicity of very subtle phenomena, and we must emphasise that a translator can be a creator to a greater or lesser degree, and that not all domestications are bad. This was perfectly understood by Hejwowski, who provided us with the tools for such a subtle analysis in different types of translations.

It also seems that domestication in general is a way of understanding some exotic ideas or facts. Referring to what we know seems natural when learning about new things. Referring to our own culture seems natural when learning about other cultures. Only after the similarities have been established can one move on to the differences and see what is unique about a culture.

The question still remains: what happens if we get it wrong? If we distort an element of a foreign culture by domestication to a very large extent? In the famous short story "Averroes's Search", Jorge Luis Borges describes a real-life situation where an Arabic philosopher translating Aristotle is unable to understand the key concepts of tragedy and comedy as described by "Aristu". Averroes concludes erroneously:

With firm, painstaking calligraphy he added these lines to the manuscript: *Aristu* [Aristotle] *gives the name "tragedy" to panegyrics and the name "comedy" to satires and anathemas. There are many admirable tragedies and comedies in the Qur'ān and the* `mu'allaquat` *of the mosque* (Borges 1954: 561).

The story is ambiguous, and Borges does not draw conclusions from what happened, leaving this task to his readers. Moreover, Averroes, who is so misguided when it comes to theatre (even though the theatre is literally displayed under his nose), is remarkably perspicacious when it comes to philosophical and religious questions concerning future ages. However, we can probably read the story as praise of human inquisitiveness, which, although misguided, seeks to understand. It may not be praise of domestication

(which Averroes does), but it also shows that anyone who thinks and draws conclusions exposes themselves to error.

However, I am far from considering domestications as errors or mistakes. Rather, they are a tool that translators—including song translators—should use consciously and carefully. There are situations that allow for their wider use (songs, films, theatrical plays, translating humour), and there are others when they are not so welcome. Finally, there are certain domestications which spring from pure misunderstanding of the source texts and are, as Venuti claimed blatant abuses. But we must still remember that all of them are marked by the human effort to understand and explain.

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BOOK REVIEW

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Review of *Visual and Multimodal Communication: Applying the Relevance Principle* by Charles Forceville, Oxford: Oxford University 2020, pp. 320. ISBN: 978 0 190 84523 0

Relevance Theory (henceforth RT) is a theoretical cognitive model which expands upon effective human communication. RT examines how people produce and interpret language (Yus 2011: 3). RT theorists claim that successful communication rests on mutual comprehension and optimal communicative relevance to an envisaged addressee. So far, RT has been restricted to include instances of verbal face-to-face communication between 2 familiarised people (Forceville 2014: 59–60). Forceville's seminal and pioneering book *Visual and Multimodal Communication: Applying the Relevance Principle* challenges this traditional theory. Forceville intends to show how RT can be accommodated to visual communication and multimodal discourses. The book emerges as a ground-breaking contribution to the study of RT.

The volume consists of 11 chapters, preceded by an *Introduction* and followed by *Concluding Remarks.* In the Introduction, the author stresses that modern communication involves multimodal elements. It is emphasised that conveying and

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exchanging information is of a multimodal nature. Forceville remarks that nowadays there is no overall theory which bridges all forms of communication, accounts for a variety of media, modes and genres, and takes into account circumstances and contextual information. The author believes that RT can fill this research gap and can develop into an inclusive communication theory accounting for various acts of communication, including visual, multimodal and mass-communication discourses.

Chapter 1, entitled *Preliminaries*, offers a detailed overview of general cognitive-oriented approaches/theories. Against these background assumptions, Relevance Theory is to be discussed. The author uses Darwin's Evolution theory to explain the peculiarities of human communication. It is stated that all humans are goal-oriented creatures who share the desire to survive and procreate. Besides, language users cooperate and read other people's intentions to realise their goals. Attention is drawn to the fact that intention and cooperation are the most important features of human communication.

The second chapter, *Relevance Theory. Basics*, provides a summary of the basic principles of RT. The chapter opens with a discussion on communicative and cognitive principles of relevance, according to which each and every act of ostensive communication is relevant (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260). As Yus (2021: 1) notes, Forceville links this principle with the urge of cooperation, which is biologically conditioned. That being said, there is the cognitive principle of relevance, which assumes that people are biologically predisposed to look for relevant input, making up information pertinent for human survival and well-being. Again, it is recapitulated that both communicative and informative intentions are mutually recognisable in a typical act of communication. The chapter also addresses the derivation of messages, paying special attention to cognitive effects (benefits) and mental effort. It is concluded that the relevance of a message increases when the retrieval of information requires the least mental cost.

The following chapter, *Adapting Relevance Theory to Accommodate Visual Communication,* is devoted to the applicability of RT to visual discourses. The author lists reasons why RT can be extended beyond the verbal form of communication. Forceville explains the reasons for which RT can be accommodated to a wider range of discourses combining different modes and media. The author revisits the central tenets of RT to prove his point. Verbal messages come with the presumption of relevance and, in a similar fashion, other modes (including visuals) carry potentially relevant content. A successful derivation of verbal messages depends on a balance between cognitive effects and mental effort. It also applies to the derivation of information visually conveyed. All verbal sentences are decoded and can be enriched into contextualised explicit interpretations (explicatures). The chapter contends that visuals have parts which are decoded as visuals require reference assignment. Enrichment is also applied to visuals.

Nevertheless, they tend to need additional information mediated by texts. Forceville, similarly to Yus, assumes that some visuals can trigger visual explicatures.

Chapter 4, *Relevance Theory and Mediated Mass-Communication*, discusses RT against a host of dimensions of mass-communication. It is shown that mass communication, in comparison to one-on-one communication, poses a challenge as it is difficult to establish relevance for a myriad of addressees of different cognitive environments sharing a set of various assumptions, beliefs, etc. Consequently, a message mediated in mass-communication may trigger a whole range of different explicatures and implications. Additionally, the chapter offers some insight into the notion of medium and its meaning potential, affordances and constraints.

Chapter 5 revolves around the topic of genre, which is considered to be one of the most important pragmatic factors steering people's interpretations of multimodal discourses. Genre attribution entails genre convention, which encourages certain interpretations, behaviour or responses that the communicator hopes for. Thus, genre attribution and genre convention account for similar interpretations of a message among dozens of addressees. For example, a billboard of a political party is to recruit the interpretation of democratic elections, which involves a voting scenario.

Chapters 6–10 present case studies analyses featuring a great number of specific exemplifications of visuals and multimodal discourses organised per genre. The chapters provide an application of RT to specific examples of visuals in mass-communication. Chapter 6 elaborates on pictograms, traffic signs and logos, which are types of signs of highly stable and fixed meaning. In this respect, they resemble words whose meaning can be searched for in dictionaries. In turn, Chapter 7 looks at advertisements, showing how visual explicatures are processed in the context of genre conventions, intertextual references and situational context and encyclopaedic knowledge. Chapter 8 studies cartoons of a political and non-political nature, also addressing the issue of visual argumentation. And Chapter 9 goes beyond stand alone visuals, focusing on sequences of visuals, namely comics. Chapter 10 investigates instances of controversial communication, paying special attention to misleading and manipulated multimodal discourses, which also come with the presumption of optimal relevance. Chapter 11, *Concluding Remarks*, summarises the most important information on RT and its application to other forms of discourses. Suggestions for further applications of RT to research on other genres and media add true value to this volume.

All in all, *Visual and Multimodal Communication: Applying the Relevance Principle* is a ground-breaking proposal which will be of interest to a wide readership. It offers a plethora of inspiration for mass communication, multimodality RT researchers and scholars in cognitive pragmatics. Additionally, it is a highly recommended book for non-experts in RT and postgraduate students of philology or communication studies. Indeed, the book presents theories in a clear way, and no prior knowledge of RT is needed. The

main value of the book is the fact that it goes beyond a traditional approach to RT, accommodating it to modern multimodal communication. It is innovative, so it can be said that the reviewed monograph is an important contribution to studies on RT. The strength of the book is that it combines the theoretical framework with case studies featuring some multimodal excerpts of mass-communication. It shows the ways in which RT can be applied to multimodal discourses.

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