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Methodological Aspects for Applied Linguistic Research – Mixed Methods, Triangulation

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Abstract. Discovering human reality requires a complex methodological culture. Besides the quantitative and qualitative paradigms, this accentuates the role of mixed methods, which is a way of generating complex meanings. This paper addresses the issues of using mixed methods from a theoretical and practical perspective, delineates the development of the theory of mixed methods, and speaks for the necessity of theoretical multilingualism and the use of mixed models. It also details the triangulation typologies that give overall information about the object, subject, process, and structure of the research, and then it presents the links between mixed methods and methodological triangulation. The paper is recommended to anyone who ventures to conduct empirical studies with methodological awareness.

Keywords: mixed methods research, multi-method research, triangulation, systematization

Introduction

Exploring human reality in literature, linguistics, or social sciences can be done using the tools of either the quantitative or the qualitative paradigms. It is worth keeping in mind that the human world is complex; hence, it is full of subjective elements. This complexity shows in the complexity of variables too, so when studying human reality, it is worth using a multi-faceted battery of methodological apparatus, in which multi-variable relationships or case- or person-oriented analyses are not used on their own to find the characteristic patterns of variables.

Besides the quantitative and qualitative paradigms, this paper accentuates the role of mixed methods, which is a way of generating complex meanings.

The use of mixed methods means the combination and integration of qualitative and quantitative methods in the same research project. Mixed methods suppose a research study in which a single- or multi-stage research construction accumulates both qualitative and quantitative data (Kuckartz 2014). Singleton and Pfenninger (2015) offer a good overview of the theoretical and practical elements of mixed methods for linguistic research, which is based on previous work on linguistics and pedagogy (Dörnyei 2010; Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011), as well as research methodology (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010).

In this paper, the emphasis is laid on the use of mixed methods in linguistic studies. The aim of the paper is to illustrate issues concerning mixed methods in everyday research and to connect mixed methods and triangulation for future research. To the best of our knowledge, triangulation is a less highlighted area in linguistic studies. One aim of the paper, therefore, is to expand the terminology of research methodology in linguistic research. Furthermore, we are not only looking for similarities and differences between mixed methods and triangulation but also trying to answer the question whether a clear borderline between mixed methods and triangulation can be determined. In an interdisciplinary perspective, the issue might be of importance for those who are about to conduct mixed methodological analyses in different disciplines. To be able to answer the research questions posed, it is essential to have a look at the basic principles of mixed methodology and triangulation.

Theoretical background

Mixed methods

Parallelly or sequentially designed research studies based on mixed methods apply qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis techniques, which means that during research, qualitative and quantitative data is collected and analysed in one or multiple phases. This way the method promotes the formulation of more specific answers to research questions and that of conclusions as well (Creswell 2012, Kuckartz 2014, Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010). Computer-assisted background to the application of mixed methods is also well known. Kuckartz and Rädiker (2022) elaborate on the relationship of MAXQDA and mixed methods, focusing on the integration of methods.

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) called attention to the problems around defining what "mixed methods" means. In their study, they asked 21 researchers who provided 19 different definitions concerning mixed methodology.

Responses differed to a great extent in terms of their conceptual framework and the phases involved. The focus of all answers was on aspects of practical realization, integration of data, the philosophical background of the research, or the methods of presenting the results. In 2007, the first volume of the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* (JMMR) published articles focusing on the application of mixed methods and the related theoretical background, in which mixed methodology was defined as a process that involves the collection, analysis, and combination of both quantitative and qualitative data and draws conclusions within the same project (Cameron 2011). Furthermore, in 2013, an international scientific association was established to discuss issues on the mixed paradigm (MMIRA – Mixed Methods International Research Association) (Sántha 2015).

To be able to understand mixed methods and explore its relationship to triangulation, it is worth reviewing its stages of development (*Table 1*) (Kuckartz 2014, Sántha 2015).

Table 1. *The stages of development of mixed methods*

Phases	Characteristics, directions, trends in development
From the 60s until about the 80s	Initial stage, during which social research adopted the idea of mixed methods and triangulation. Psychologists and sociologists collected quantitative and qualitative data, but treated them separately during the research process, hence integration or combination was not used (see the works of Campbell, D. T., Cronbach, L. J., Denzin, N. K.).
1970–1980 (and even today)	This period was characterized by the discussion of the philosophical foundation (pragmatism) and problems of mixed methods; the main question was how mixed methods can reflect the perspectives of different world views and methodological cultures (see the works of Smith, J. K., Denzin, N. K., Lincoln Y. S.).
From about 1989 to the 90s	This period was characterized by the development of techniques focusing on mixed methods. An increasing number of scientists were interested in the combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. Models resembling the structure of mixed methods developed (see the works of Fielding, N. G., Greene, J. C., Bryman, A., Morse J. M., Creswell, J. W., Tashakkori, A., Teddlie, C., Plano Clark V. L.).
From 2000 to 2010	The period of reflections and feedback: the need for creating methodological descriptions (“standards”) emerged. Books about methodology appeared that contained relevant information for all disciplines; conferences on mixed methods were organized, journals were published, associations were formed (see the works of Tashakkori, A., Teddlie, C., Creswell, J. W., Plano Clark, V. L., Morse, J. M.).
From the 2010s to the present day	The period of expansion: mixed methods appear in a number of disciplines and countries. There is a focus on studying mixed methods and computer-assisted data analysis (e.g. MAXQDA). (See the works of Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Kuckartz, U., Rädiker, S.).

Methodological multilingualism and the mixed paradigm

In the following sections, attention will be given to a problem that often arises; researchers are not equally adept at using quantitative and qualitative methods, nor do they have the same understanding of the mechanisms for processing different types of data. This diversity from application to interpretation can lead to a number of problems (Sántha 2015). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003: 45) might have had a similar idea when they used the term "methodological bilingualism", as the methodological background and data of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms require different analytical mechanisms. Cameron (2011: 263) also addresses this issue when he calls for a "methodological trilingualism" for researchers, highlighting the importance of proficiency in quantitative, qualitative, and mixed paradigm. When referring to the complexity of mixed methods, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010: 29) state that a researcher using the mixed paradigm is a "connoisseur of methods".

The recommendations on the application of mixed method approach the basic content nodes in many different ways, using several types of logics and models. Referring to Creswell's concept, Király, Dén-Nagy, Géring, and Nagy (2014) argue that the interpretations are based on researchers' different philosophical and methodological orientations. Those approaching the problem on the basis of the philosophy of science interpret the quantitative paradigm in terms of positivism, the qualitative paradigm in terms of constructivism, and mixed methodology in terms of pragmatism. Methodologically-minded researchers focus on models; hence, they are engaged in interpreting and typologizing different research structures and processes (today, more than 50 types of mixed-method research structures are known – Creswell and Plano 2011, Kuckartz 2014, Sántha 2015).

Here the presentation of the different models of the mixed paradigm is not among our objectives – as it has been mentioned in the introduction, Singleton and Pfenninger's (2015) paper gives an outstanding overview of the issue –, the focus is on connecting the mixed paradigm and triangulation within empirical studies.

The common idea of all these models – see, among others, Creswell (2012), Lieberman (2005), Mayring (2012), Morse (2010), Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) – is that they are all based on the axes of decision, design, and implementation. The focus is on deciding whether mixed methods can be used under certain conditions and objectives and how quantitative and qualitative results can be complemented.

Triangulation typologies and mixed methods

A prominent feature of qualitative research is triangulation, which, in addition to Denzin's typology of theoretical, methodological, investigator, and data triangulation, is also used in a number of contexts, including mixed methods (Denzin 1989, Flick 2008, 2014, Sántha 2015). This is the reason why it is crucial to discuss the similarities and differences of mixed methods and triangulation (especially methodological triangulation).

The idea and name of triangulation can be traced back to early land surveys. The technique appeared in the work of the great mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauss, who was given the task from the magistrates of Hanover of making an accurate survey of the land in 1816. He carried out his measurements using three summits (a triangulation technique). The name “triangulation” can also be traced back to a triangle-shaped instrument. Farmers of old times used such instruments made of wood to survey their lands as accurately as possible. The technique of triangulation also helped navigation on seas and oceans, and it was also used during the geodetic explorations of the 1950s. In our days, it is used by reporters and military strategists to create a trigonometric process that can accurately give a position by calculating the coordinates of a point (Sántha 2019).

Qualitative research methodology uses triangulation metaphorically to use complex strategies to study the same phenomenon. In a classical sense, triangulation can be seen as a validating factor for qualitative research, but its role is not so clear. Flick (2008) says that triangulation is only an alternative to validity, as it offers an approach to variations of the phenomena studied. In recent literature, the concept of “crystallization” has been introduced as an alternative to triangulation (Richardson 2000, Verd and Porcel 2012).

With the appearance of the grounded theory in social sciences (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and the work of Denzin (1989), triangulation has received increasing attention, and new methodological problems to be solved have emerged. In the 1970s, there was no clear distinction between the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and triangulation (Ackel-Eisnach and Müller 2012). Subsequently, Lamnek (2005) and Flick (2008, 2014) claimed that triangulation is more than the mere combination of different methods.

This paper uses triangulation typologies according to Denzin’s interpretation (Denzin 1989, Flick 2008), making a distinction between theoretical, investigator, data, and methodological triangulation. The paper then discusses the links between mixed methods and methodological triangulation.

Theoretical triangulation advocates the use of many theoretical concepts within a research project. Projects might have different underlying theories; contrasting theses, finding the links between them, or even rethinking them may motivate further research. Theoretical triangulation is exemplified when students’ openness to new-generation teaching methods (e.g. cooperative techniques, project method) is studied on the basis of different theoretical learning concepts. This way, it is possible to gain information about the links between learning, efficiency, and student engagement in the classroom (Sántha 2015, 2019). When applying theoretical triangulation, it is important to consider the extent to which the object of investigation can be precisely explained by the theoretical base used, if it is being researched on the basis of different theories.

Investigator triangulation implies the involvement of several researchers and analysts in the research process (mainly in data collection, analysis, and coding) in order to minimize the biasing effects of qualitative research. In other words, it advocates the study of the same phenomenon by different people since discussing the data and results with fellow researchers can contribute to the correction of theory, data interpretation, or even the whole analytical process, thus encouraging the generation of theories. A central issue regarding investigator triangulation is whether a research method can generate comparable data when applied by different researchers since problems of subjectivity may arise (e.g. free classroom observation with the involvement of different observers).

According to a general approach, triangulation means work with data collected at different times and places, from different sources and different people, with different techniques. Thus, spatial, temporal, and personal dimensions can be distinguished. The temporal dimension of data triangulation raises the question whether the object of analysis at two different points in time shows the same characteristics. The spatial dimension is somewhat similar to this: data coming from two different places about the same object of study may or may not display the same attributes. This is not even required when triangulation is seen as a tool for presenting data from a number of different perspectives. When using the investigator perspective, the question of feasibility in terms of data collection from different persons might arise in all cases (Sántha 2015, 2019).

Methodological triangulation is the central concept of triangulation typologies and as such deserves special attention. Its use is based on the principle that the research methods themselves can limit the research; there is no ultimate suitable method that can be used in all cases, so the qualitative study must be based on multiple methodologies. In the case of methodological triangulation, a distinction between *within method* and *between methods* (also called as across method) can be made. Triangulation between methods means a combination of two or more methods during the research (e.g. a questionnaire and an interview, a cognitive map and a stimulated recall), which can generate congruent or comparable data. Within-method triangulation means the use of different techniques in one method (e.g. multiple types of interviews within the same project). Its use is justified if the approaches within one method can be used systematically and are theoretically well founded (Sántha 2015, 2019).

Links between mixed methods and methodological triangulation

When discussing the subtypes of methodological triangulation, it is important to study the links between mixed methods and methodological triangulation. In the following sections, the links as well as the similarities and differences between mixed methods and methodological triangulation will be discussed. Research methodology makes a distinction between research using multiple methodologies (multi-method research) and research using mixed methods (Mixed Methods Research) (Király, Dén-Nagy, Géring, and Nagy 2014; Kuckartz 2014). The concept of Multimethod Research can be traced back to the 1950s when the MTMM matrix was construed by Campbell and Fiske (1959). In this context, "multimethod" means the use of several methods that belong to the same family of quantitative or qualitative methods. Using multiple methods can also be implemented by the application of several qualitative (e.g. stimulated recall and cognitive map) or quantitative methods (e.g. two standardized tests) within the same project. The combined paradigm (Mixed Methods) focuses on the harmonization and planned combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, a mixed-methods study is not equivalent to a study using multiple methods, but methodological triangulation plays an important role in both.

When the mixed methods strategy is used, data collection methods differ, while triangulation is seen as a tool for presenting data from a number of different perspectives. Therefore, triangulation is more complex than the mixed-method strategy, as it focuses both on the structure and implementation of the research. Another different feature is that triangulation may mean the use of one single typology (e.g. the use of theoretical or investigator triangulation), so it cannot be equivalent to mixed methods in which the focus is on combining methods in a planned order (Kuckartz 2014, Sántha 2015).

Mixed methods and triangulation in linguistic research: An example

This chapter discusses the use of mixed methods and triangulation in an empirical study on the basis of a Ph.D. dissertation written by Sántha-Malomsoki (2021). The results are not discussed here, as they are presented in detail in the dissertation.

In this section – as in the entire study –, we do not uncover the differences and similarities between quantitative, qualitative, and mixed paradigms, nor do we discuss the advantages or disadvantages of the methods used in different paradigms. Instead, we highlight the integrated approach present in mixed methodology, enabling linguistic researchers working with the appropriate model to concentrate on comprehending emerging patterns. Moreover, researchers can utilize mixed paradigm models to reveal causal relationships and latent content or strive to draw generalizable conclusions. In doing so, we also support the idea that mixed methodology goes beyond the data-driven or theory-driven dichotomy, as it requires a more complex perspective from the analyst.

The elements of the example presented in this section (research logic, mixed methodology model, triangulation, research methods, data analysis methods) are strongly related to the theoretical background disclosed in the study, and, as we indicated at the beginning of the section, the empirical context of all these can be found in the dissertation (http://real-phd.mtak.hu/1063/). Due to limitations in length, we are currently outlining the major content nodes of the empirical investigation, also pointing out how we can think, plan, and execute similar studies.

The doctoral thesis focuses on the study of competences related to executive functions, such as flexible thinking, adaptability, and the functional use of foreign languages, which are highly appreciated by the labour market. These competences cannot be acquired through simple information transfer; however, there have been educational programmes (e.g. content-based language learning) in which the different teaching-learning practices and environments can lead to a qualitatively different language output. Most of the studies on the topic approach the issue from the perspective of language pedagogy and focus on linguistic outcomes; however, their findings do not always agree (Pérez-Cañado 2012; Dallinger, Jonkmann, Hollm, and Fiege, 2016; Goris 2019). Research studies carried out on bilingual people focus mainly on cognitive abilities and result in very diverse outcomes, too (Abutalebi and Green 2007; Bialystok 2010; Bialystok and Poarch 2014; Sullivan, Poarch, and Bialystok 2017; de Groot and Dukes 2011; Escobar 2018). Bilingual students' cognitive superiority is often attributed to their more advanced executive functions although the degree of maturity and the interdependence of these functions in task performance is not clearly demonstrated, which fact may raise further research methodological issues. With the use of mixed methods, the aim of the dissertation was to discover whether systematic and regular exposure to a second language in an institutional setting (CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning) might result in qualitatively different cognitive functioning (higher mental flexibility, better attention control) and, if so, whether their presence can be detected using quantitative and qualitative methods. In the dissertation, the "between methods" version of methodological triangulation was used.

The systematic mixing of quantitative and qualitative data and methods combines the variable-oriented and longitudinal approach of quantitative studies and the case-focused approach of qualitative studies. The structure of the paper follows Cresswell's (2012) Sequential Explanatory Design, in which a large-sample quantitative study was followed by a small-sample qualitative study. In this model, the qualitative method is the main method, aiming to explore specific developmental patterns and to nuance the results to facilitate a deeper understanding.

The data were provided by 13-14-year-old primary school learners living in a county town. The participants came from five different institutions, two of which operated a CLIL program (CLIL N = 69), and the others had a normal school curriculum in the second language (English) (Control N = 73). An analysis of the socio-economic status of the learners discovered a striking similarity between the two groups.

The participants of the study completed the following tests in the quantitative stage to help the discovery of the background strategies of executive functions: Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q: Kaushanskaya, Blumenfeld, and Marian 2019), d2-R selective attention (Brickenkamp, Schmidt-Atzert, and Liepmann 2010), Hungarian phonemic fluency test (letters K, T, A), English phonemic fluency test (letters F, A, S). The scoring was as follows: in the case of d2-R, the rules in the manual were followed, and in the case of the phonemic fluency tests the principles defined by Troyer, Moscovitch, Winocur, Alexander, and Stuss (1998), Abwender, Swan, Bowerman, and Connolly (2001), Tánczos, Janacsek and Németh (2014), as well as Mészáros, Kónya, and Kas (2011) were considered. In the qualitative stage, those participants were chosen for the structured interviews – both from the CLIL and the Control group – who had either the highest or the lowest scores in the case of most variables. This way, four groups of three people were set up and each participant was invited to take part in a structured interview. Given that participants, due to their age, may not have had explicit knowledge of cognitive functions, the structured interviews covered a more common and comprehensible subject, which was also in alignment with the research topic (second language learning). The answers given to the 11 questions of the structured interview (text corpora) yielded two pages on average. Data processing was done with the help of the MAXQDA software. During the analysis of the qualitative data, content analysis was carried out using deductive and inductive logic. In the first (deductive) stage, a code list was set up; in the second stage, an inductive exploration of the deep layers of the text segments was carried out. During this stage, sub-codes were defined, to which text segments were assigned. Analysis included the summary, and comparison of data (Kuckartz 2019).

During the analysis of the statistical data and the interviews, convergent results were found, so the data gained from the structured interviews unambiguously supported the results of the tests. Thus, in the case of high-performing CLIL learners, word retrieval and strategy use detected during the tests and structured interview were considered as clear signs of mental flexibility, suggesting an enhanced level of executive functioning.

Summary

This paper has shown the questions and problems that need to be considered in a multi-phase research structure during the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data. Besides presenting the mixed paradigm and triangulation, similarities and differences were discussed, and the importance of methodological triangulation was emphasized in the research using the mixed paradigm. In the case of the research using a mixed methodology, results can be of three types: they can converge, complement each other, or diverge (contradict) from each other (Sands and Roer-Strier 2006). Convergence means that the results are the same; however, it is worth trying to let complementarity prevail, as it gives a better understanding of the research problem. Divergence in results is a problem since it is usually a sign of the incompatibility of the results of two or more methods. This is either the consequence of methodological mistake or shows that the theoretical basis was improper. Complementarity might assist the analyst in case of a thoughtful, model-based, well-designed, and consistently executed mixed-methods study. This paper highlights the importance of a systematic research process in studies under different research methodological paradigms.

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Eliminating Intergenerational and Intercultural Communication Problems in Tourism and Hospitality Enterprises

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Abstract. Tourism and hospitality is a versatile and multicultural industry that comprises collaboration between members of different generations and cultures in creating and selling a tourism product. Business communication, including tourism and hospitality, does not refer only to business etiquette but is strongly rooted in culture, which influences people's interaction and way of speaking. Hence, intergenerational and intercultural communication problems are inevitable. The current research presents the main findings of an exploratory research conducted in tourism and hospitality enterprises in Latvia, Lithuania, and Sweden in the period of 2020–2023. To discover intergenerational and intercultural communication differences leading to communication problems, semi-structured expert interviews with top-level management representatives in twelve tourism and hospitality enterprises were conducted. The paper analyses intergenerational and intercultural communication problems in tourism and hospitality enterprises, in particular those concerning the use of different languages and ways of communication to suggest means of eliminating the existing problems. The research findings confirm that differences between generations had an impact on the communication process. However, the cultural background and languages influenced people's behaviour even more, and a great majority of conflicts arose because of difference in cultures, not generations. Suggestions for staff training to develop their intercultural communication skills taking into account generational differences have been proposed.[1]

Keywords: communication, culture, generations, intergenerational communication problems, intercultural communication problems

1 The research was conducted within the framework of the NordPlus Adult programme project *NordTournet-3: Solving Communication Problems of Different Generations in Tourism Companies*, Project No: NPAD-2020/10015; website: www.nordtournet.com.

1. Introduction

Due to the spread of information technology and digital media, people communicate more than ever before in the labour market. Messages may be transmitted at any time to any part of the world instantly (Guffey et al. 2019). The use of various video conferencing applications during the COVID-19 pandemic has changed traditional work environments, shifting part of communication to online environments. Although communication skills have always been highly valued in traditional business settings, their significance has even increased recently.

Recent research defines communication as "a unique, powerful, and complicated form of human behaviour" (Waldron 2022: 1), "the exchange of knowledge […] enacted, narrated, or otherwise conveyed by rule-governed and meaningful symbol systems" (Gontier 2022: 619), "the act of sharing with others a certain content of information [...] to have something in common with the one to whom we address" (Matias and Cardoso 2021: 132), and "a process of sending messages through different platforms" (Kalogiannidis 2020: 1). Communication in companies is the "general process of disseminating or transmitting business information from one employee to another or from one business stakeholder to another" (Kalogiannidis 2020: 1). To sum up, communication is an ongoing, contextual, and symbolic process (Guamguami and Zeriouh 2018) taking place in a definite physical, social, and cultural context. The physical context refers to the environment, the social context is connected with a certain event and people, whereas the cultural context is related to a broad "set of circumstances and beliefs, which still may affect how we talk" (Dimbleby and Burton 2001: 21). Since the "context always affects the act of communication" (Dimbleby and Burton 2001: 25), the relationship among communicators is crucial.

Dainton and Zelley (2022) identify several specific contexts of communication: (1) the cognitive context (how communicator's thoughts influence the way they communicate); (2) the interpersonal context (interaction between two individuals); (3) the intercultural context (communicators represent different cultures); (4) the persuasive context; (5) the strategic communication context (attaining organizational goals); (6) the group context; (7) the organizational context; (8) the mediated context (the impact of technology on communication); (9) the mass communication context (the influence of mass-mediated messages).

Although previous research has analysed communication both in everyday situations and business contexts, communication processes in the tourism and hospitality industry, focussing on generational and intercultural differences in business communication in particular, is a less researched topic. Therefore, this paper will deal with interpersonal, intercultural, and organizational contexts, as it aims to analyse intergenerational and intercultural communication differences leading to communication problems in tourism and hospitality enterprises in three European countries: Latvia, Lithuania, and Sweden.

2. Literature review

The theoretical framework is formed by theories of generational and cultural differences in communication, which result in intergenerational and intercultural communication problems.

2.1. Generational differences in communication

Nowadays, four generations are active in the labour market. Prior research (DeVaney 2015) explains that generations are defined by age, period, and cohort. Age is understood as a person's biological age, period is associated with events during an individual's lifetime, whereas a cohort is perceived as a group of individuals who have had shared experiences and events since birth because of the same global events they had experienced.

Howe and Strauss (2000) divide generations into the following age groups: (a) baby boomers, born between 1943 and 1960; (b) Generation X, born between 1961 and 1981; (c) Generation Y, born between 1982 and 2000; (d) Generation Z, born after 2000. This article introduces the main typical features of each generation to better understand the way of communication of each generation since they have an impact on how different generations "communicate in both reception and expression of information" (Jimenez and Ford-Wilcox 2022: 31) and may lead to communication conflicts.

Baby boomers, "the largest cohort of the twentieth century" (Beaven 2014: 72), are hardworking, responsible, observe instructions at work, and professional advancement is important for them (DeOliveira Lopes Melo et al. 2019). They are "workaholic, idealistic, competitive" (DeVaney 2015: 13), build good relationship with others and respect others' rights (Heng and Yazdanifard 2013). At the same time, they "tend to witness relationship and business results as intertwined" (Heng and Yazdanifard 2013: 837) and may ask the interlocutor some seemingly private questions.

"They will send e-mails or phone another person if they cannot walk or drive to that person" (Venter 2017: 498). They tend to print out e-mails and documents to edit them on paper first and prefer phone conversations when sharing relevant information found on the Internet instead of sending a link by e-mail to their employees or business partners (Venter 2017). They typically do not use social networking sites in the work context (Heng and Yazdanifard 2013).

Prior research views ***Generation X*** as pessimistic, individualistic, and self-reliant "digital immigrants" (Lissitsa and Laor 2021: 3), sceptical and pragmatic employees (Bejtkovský 2016) who highly value a "balance between work and life" (Heng and Yazdanifard 2013: 838). They are individualistic, do not acknowledge authority and hierarchy but at the same time are tolerant to social differences

(Mayer 2006). Although often addressed as "digital immigrants", they are fast at adopting technologies for both work and everyday life.

Generation X uses the Internet and social media regularly to obtain information (Rodriguez 2020) and share it with others. They also use face-to-face communication and send SMS (Pierce and Payne 2018). Since they highly value their time, communication with them must be meaningful and not a waste of time (Heng and Yazdanifard 2013).

Generation Y, also known as millennials, are confident, optimistic, multitasking (Lissitsa and Laor 2021), team-oriented, highly "value work–life balance", and "want to be happy in their work" (DeVaney 2015: 13). They can accept changes easily, including cultural changes, and do not plan long-term (Bencsik et al. 2016).

They use "a wide variety of media, not just the Internet. Diversity of preferences may be explained by multitasking as they can, for example, listen to music on the radio or watch a TV program while browsing the Internet" (Lissitsa and Laor 2021: 3). Prior research shows that their most favourite means of communication are e-mails, texts, and social media (Watson 2018). However, a difference in the choice of communication means is observed among the members of Generation Y with older members using both face-to-face and computer-mediated communication, whereas the younger ones prefer the use of electronic and digital technologies. They can spend a lot of time in communication using the Internet and social media tools, mobile phones, and Skype (Venter 2017).

Generation Z, also called digital natives, net generation, "live in a virtual and physical reality" (Seemiller and Grace 2016: 1) and are always online (Bencsik et al. 2016). Generation Z is intelligent, innovative, responsible, loyal, and open-minded (Seemiller and Grace 2016), but their interpersonal communication skills are not highly developed (Bejtkovský 2016).

Their preferred mode of communication is messaging/texting. They hate voice phone calls and do not like e-mails, as they take too much time (Seemiller and Grace 2016). Although most of their communication is technology-mediated, according to prior research, "83% prefer face-to-face communication and still find in-person communication valuable" (Seemiller and Grace 2016: 2). When communicating, they use vocabulary and slang that other generations find difficult to understand (Bencsik et al. 2016).

2.2. Cultural differences in business communication

Highly developed communication skills further successful work performance. Unfortunately, "people with different cultural backgrounds can struggle to communicate with each other, causing conflict and reduced productivity" (Trisasanti et al. 2020: 66). Cultural differences in verbal and non-verbal communication styles may be a cause for intercultural communication conflicts. In a multicultural work environment, such as tourism and hospitality, intercultural conflicts are inevitable. Generational differences may even intensify the conflict since each generation has a different understanding of social norms and behaviour. Intercultural training organized at the workplace may help eliminate conflicts.

Prior research defines culture as “a collection of beliefs, values and behaviours distinctive to a large group of people and expressed through various forms of communication” (Dimbleby and Burton 2001: 261). It may be identified by nation, area, and religion and expressed through dressing style, art, and language in particular (Dimbleby and Burton 2001). Culture plays a crucial role in communication since social rules in different cultures differ and – as pointed out by Dainton and Zelley (2022) – intercultural communication takes place between representatives of different cultures.

Communication in tourism and hospitality enterprises involves both internal and external communication. External communication may be addressed as business communication, which involves “writing, presenting and communicating in a professional context” (Cornelissen 2004: 183). Malyuga and Orlova (2018: 3) call it “intercultural professional business communication” and highlight the role of “language, linguistic individuality, gestures, traditions, national character” (Malyuga and Orlova 2018: 3) in it.

It is evident, that business communication, including that in the tourism and hospitality industry, does not refer only to business etiquette but is strongly rooted in culture. Culture comprises values, traditions, beliefs, including religious beliefs, attitudes, perception, behaviour, and other components, and all of them influence people’s interaction and their way of speaking. In the context of business communication, “language differences and cultural values guarantee the potential for misunderstanding and even failure” (Tuleja 2022: 13). Similarly, Malyuga and Tomalin (2017) also emphasize that the way non-native speakers use a target language is often a source of communication problems.

3. Research methodology

The aim of this paper is to analyse intergenerational and intercultural communication problems in tourism and hospitality enterprises, in particular concerning the use of different languages and ways of communication, to suggest means of eliminating the existing problems.

In order to reach this goal, the following research question was formulated: What intergenerational and intercultural communication problems do tourism and hospitality enterprises have, and how can we eliminate these problems?

Twelve semi-structured expert interviews with top-level management representatives in the tourism and hospitality enterprises of Latvia, Lithuania, and Sweden were conducted. Semi-structured interviews enabled informants to express their opinions openly on the topic and at the same time collect the data required, which resulted in a detailed description leading to "an in-depth understanding of a cultural setting" (Croucher and Cronn-Mills 2019: 117).

The interviews were conducted face to face, on the phone, or via video conferencing applications (Zoom, Cisco WebEx), depending on the COVID-19 situation in each country. Their total duration was 19 hours and 32 minutes. Initially, it was planned to conduct fifteen interviews, but since the data saturation point was reached, the interviewing process was stopped.

The interview guide consisted of five parts: (1) introductory part; (2) socio-demographic data about the participants and the data about their companies; (3) internal communication of the company; (4) external communication of the company; (5) different communication problems encountered in the company and their reasons. This paper will analyse the relevant data gathered during the third, fourth, and fifth parts of the interview guide. Prior to the research, the participants signed an informed consent concerning confidentiality and anonymity.

Data analysis was done applying qualitative content analysis using inductive coding with "no pre-set codes, standards, or expectations imposed on the data" (Croucher and Cronn-Mills 2019: 117). Categories were created and themes were identified.

The research employs **criterion sampling** (*Table 1*), which "seeks to incorporate cases or individuals who meet a predetermined criterion of importance" (Aurini et al. 2016: 58).

Table 1. *Research sample*

Code	Informant's generation	Country	Tourism sector	Work position	Employees' generations
GY1	Generation Y	Lithuania	Accommodation	Personnel manager	X, Y, Z
GY2	Generation Y	Lithuania	Tour operating	Director	BB*, X, Y
GX1	Generation X	Lithuania	Tourist information	Manager	X, Y, Z
GY3	Generation Y	Lithuania	Catering	Co-owner	Y, Z
GY4	Generation Y	Latvia	Tour operating	Managing director	X, Y
GX2	Generation X	Latvia	Accommodation	Owner, Board member	X, Y
GX3	Generation X	Latvia	Tourist information	Manager	X, Y
GX4	Generation X	Latvia	Tour operating, travel agency	CEO, head of the Board	X, Y

Code	Informant's generation	Country	Tourism sector	Work position	Employees' generations
GX5	Generation X	Latvia	Accommodation	Director	BB, X, Y
GX6	Generation X	Sweden	Tourist information	Owner	Z
GY5	Generation Y	Sweden	Accommodation, catering	Co-owner	X, Y
GB1	Baby Boomer	Sweden	Accommodation	Owner	BB, X, Y

Note: * BB – Baby boomer generation.

The inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) owners/top-level managers of tourism and hospitality enterprises (catering sector, accommodation sector, travel agencies, tour operators, and tourism information centres/points) having at least two years of managerial experience; (2) five years of work experience with colleagues and stakeholders of different generations; (3) the company employs at least two employees from different generations.

4. Findings and discussion

According to our findings, certain barriers may hinder a smooth communication process at the enterprises included in the research. These barriers stem from "different cultural, economic, political, and ideological conditions of the sender and receiver" (Matias and Cardoso 2021: 137–138). This article will present the findings of the interviews concerning differences in communication, communication barriers, and different cultures.

4.1. Differences in communication

As described above, each generation has their own typical traits and value systems, which have developed based on some shared experiences during the period in which they were born, have grown up, and received their education. This has impacted people's behaviour and attitude towards others as well as their communication style. "Differences in communication styles lead to both lack of communication/collaboration and conflicts between the generations" (Appelbaum et al. 2022: 9), which hinders the creation of a quality tourism product. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the specific features of communication of each generation. The main characteristic features identified in the twelve expert interviews are summarized in *Table 2*.

Table 2. *Similarities and differences in communication among different generations*

Characteristic feature	BB	Gen X	Gen Y	Gen Z
Phone conversation	v	v	v	
Face-to-face (in-person) communication	v	v		v
Electronic communication			v	v
Record information on paper (notebook)	v	v	v	
Record information on the phone				v
Use of Anglicism				v
Difficulties in problem formulation				v
A good sense of communication style (formal vs informal)				v
Precise information needed				v
Observing hierarchy	v			v

As it may be concluded from *Table 2*, Baby boomers and Generation X prefer the classic way of communication, and face-to-face communication is significant. "Older generations like to phone or come in person"[2] (GY5), "Older Swedish generations are less likely to use technology and prefer face-to-face communication" (GY5), "Generation X communicate more by phone or face to face. They like to see, hear more, they want to know and understand everything" (GX5). In contrast to baby boomers, Generation X and part of Generation Y will first try to find information by themselves and ask questions to the point: "They will explore the webpage content, and once they have discovered some information they do not understand, they will discuss it over the phone or face to face. They will always call with specific questions" (GX5). Similar to prior research (Seemiller and Grace 2016), it was discovered that Generation Z enjoys face-to-face communication as well. Generations Y and Z communicate also electronically (GX5); "Younger generations use other forms of communication such as e-mail and websites" (GY5). Electronic communication is especially characteristic of Generation Z: "They tend to use SMS, e-mail, apps, or websites to book, which is a lot easier if there is a difference in language" (GY5).

Generation Y prefers direct and immediate communication (Bejtkovský 2016). The current research also finds that Generation Y customizes communication according to the interlocutor's age and experience (GY4), "support open communication" (GY4), often use informal communication, although "informality is both a strength and threat at the same time because it may lead to misunderstandings" (GY4). Generation Z has a good sense of communication:

2 All the interviews were conducted in English, except for two: GY3 was in Lithuanian (the translation was done by the Lithuanian project partners), and GX5 was in Latvian (the translation was done by the Latvian team).

"The younger generation has a very good sense of communication, is very much able to adapt to the client, they understand the difference between formal and informal use of the word 'you', because some like that face-to-face communication" (GY3). But, it has to be added that "Generation Z use Anglicisms, which other generations may not understand or accept" (GX5).

Furthermore, differences in recording the information were discovered: "Older Swedish generations [baby boomers] prefer information written on paper" (GY5), "X and Y write it down on paper, in a notebook" (GX1), whereas "Generation Z writes everything down on the phone" (GX1). The finding that Generation Z tends to record information electronically and transmits the information in an electronic way is natural as they are online virtually all the time.

These findings are in line with prior research (Lester et al. 2012), which finds that baby boomers prefer face-to-face interaction and written text, Generation X values direct communication but will try to find the solution by themselves to avoid unnecessary face-to-face meetings, whereas Generation Y prefers technological interactions. Beaven (2014) also shows that the choice of communication modes and channels is deeply rooted in the way members of different generations communicated during high school and college. For example, Baby boomers used to make phone calls and write letters, Generation X preferred face-to-face communication and phone calls, whereas Generation Y used instant messaging. Consequently, during adulthood, people prefer sticking to some of the forms they feel comfortable with.

4.2. Communication barriers

Prior research (Dimbleby and Burton 2001, Guffey et al. 2019, Matias and Cardoso 2021) highlights the following communication barriers: (1) mechanical or physical barriers; (2) semantic barriers; (3) psychological barriers. Noise, low-quality technical equipment, hearing disabilities, poor acoustics are examples of mechanical barriers. Semantic barriers are typically language mistakes – incorrect pronunciation, inappropriately selected vocabulary, grammar and spelling mistakes, unfamiliar words, etc. Attitudes, beliefs, cultural, ethical, and personal values are associated with psychological barriers, which are the most common problems in communication.

Semantic barriers may be caused by the vocabulary used by one party (the speaker) and its understanding by the other party (the listener). This problem is attributed to the fact that one and the same word may have different meanings. Furthermore, people's experiences may result in "different interpretations to the same words or situations" (Matias and Cardoso 2021: 139). Trisasanti et al. (2020) also mention that different pronunciation and accent are frequent causes of misunderstandings and misinterpretations in a multicultural workplace.

Semantic language barrier is one of the most evident generational differences in communication. “Lack of foreign language skills” (GX3) leads to an “inability to communicate accordingly” (GX3). For example, in the countryside, “most of the people do not speak English at all, or, if they do, it is on a very basic level” (GX3). Another example concerns the use of foreign languages by different generations: “a young person does not speak Russian, and an older person does not speak English” (GY1). It has to be noted here that historically Russian was a widely spoken language in Latvia and Lithuania, but since the regaining of independence, the situation changed. Younger generations prefer English, but a considerable part of tourists come from Russia, and there is still a part of inhabitants, mostly baby boomers, who do not speak Latvian or Lithuanian, or speak it at a very basic level.

“Another challenge is foreign languages spoken by employees” (GX1) and by clients (GY4). There have been situations when the informants lacked the personnel speaking a certain foreign language not so popular in their country but used by the clients: “lack of guides in certain languages; for example, a ship arrives, and we need twelve guides in French” (GY2). Informant GX2 has faced a similar problem.

Possible solutions to such problems are using a language spoken by everyone, if possible (GX2), using a translator application on the mobile phone (GX4), and since the communication is with clients, it is essential to adapt to their language (GX4). The managing director of a tour operating company solves this problem as follows: “Because we work in different markets and in different languages, we translate a lot of materials, so we can avoid some language barrier issues, which helps us to provide the service corresponding to expectations” (GY4).

Furthermore, grammatically incorrect expressions raise questions (GX2) and cause misunderstandings: “Communication is in English, which can lead to some problems (e.g., style mistakes, switching to informal communication, etc.)” (GY2). Another cause of language barrier is different, non-standard pronunciation: “Language barrier, especially with English-speaking clients. It is difficult to understand customers coming from India. They speak very fast; it is difficult to understand what is said” (GX5). These are semantic barriers to communication.

The next group of communication barriers are psychological barriers, including stereotypes. For example, “It is a peculiarity of Russian people that they feel that everyone understands them, including Indian students” (GX5), but it is not so. However, the informant concludes that all Russian-speaking employees can understand something in Latvian, mutual contact between employees is good, and “even those receptionists who do not speak Russian have learnt something” (GX5). Another example of psychological barrier identified was the staff’s inability to communicate in Swedish when serving Swedes in Sweden, which ended up in a communication conflict, as the locals expected to be served in their mother tongue in their own country: “Some older guests show up and do not speak English and thus are asked to wait so they can get a translator, and they end up walking off because they do not want to wait" (GY5).

The informants also face physical communication barriers both in internal and external communication. The two situations described by the informants refer to hearing disabilities: (1) "For instance, we have an employee who is deaf, so we communicate only in writing. That is a pretty big challenge for everyone. For a cleaning personnel, it is not so unusual. The situation is unusual on its own" (GX2); (2) "The receptionist also had a big communication problem with a young man who was mute and deaf and relied on his mother to do everything for him and expected Maureen to fill that role and came unprepared without pen and paper and always expected Maureen to figure out what he was trying to say" (GB1).

These situations were solved, but the situations are always specific, so each will require a different solution. Practising similar situations through case studies might be useful in gaining experience therein.

4.3. Different cultures

Culture and communication are interrelated. Cultural backgrounds influence people's way of interaction, which consequently may "lead to differences in communication styles" (Trisasanti et al. 2020: 67) and differences in perceiving messages. Furthermore, prior research (Trisasanti et al. 2020) has discovered that differences in work performance, expectations, attitudes, beliefs, and norms were the main causes of conflicts in a multicultural work environment since employees having different cultural backgrounds perceive them differently and have different reactions to the situation. For example, this may be attributed to different terms and gestures that may be insulting to other nationalities.

Consequently, this leads to cultural barriers. The level of employees' communication skills influences their ability to solve conflicts arising out of differences in cultures.

Tourism and hospitality business is multicultural in several ways. Firstly, it employs staff belonging to different nationalities and cultures. Secondly, tourism and hospitality enterprises collaborate with many partners in creating and selling their product such as: transport companies such as airlines, ferry lines, coach companies in their own and/or other countries, local organizations providing excursions and other entertainment at the destination, embassies to handle visas, etc. Thirdly, they serve customers from many countries, belonging to different generations and cultures. All these factors influence the work of the company, in particular, its communication.

The managing director of a tour operating company clearly highlights the above-mentioned: "We have clients from five different continents, and when we have to balance the interests of our clients in Australia with those from Brazil, then it quickly becomes a challenge" (GY4). In the same vein, the director of a youth hostel provides a very good context analysis in the accommodation sector: "Our clients are citizens of different countries, from different cultures, different thinking, different daily life, and traditions. These are our customers, and, in a sense, these are our challenges we face daily. Each country has different characteristics, sometimes even in different regions of one country there are completely different lifestyles" (GX5).

The manager of a tourist information point located in a rural area has also observed cultural differences: "I am always comparing my work now with when I worked in Riga, in a big international organization and had been working with foreign tourists. Now I am working in a small rural area where people are shyer, I would say" (GX3).

These examples show that intercultural training is very significant for tourism and hospitality enterprises. Since in many companies the staff is international or the staff has work experience abroad, it is recommended to use their vast experience as a source for simulations and role-plays that could be acted out by the staff members to train them to satisfy guests' expectations. Prior research (Appelbaum et al. 2022) indicates that the main causes of conflict are work performance, attitudes, and unfulfilled expectations.

However, in the current research, the informants mostly highlight problems and challenges with customers/clients, not organizational cultural problems: "Americans sometimes expect more formal attention, elegance in communication, posher style. There are clients who expect to be asked with a smile 'Are your eggs correctly boiled this morning, sir?', 'Was your pillow the way you wanted it to be?' and so on. Polishing the details, I would say, that is more an intercultural issue" (GY4).

The informants mention the most common problems derived from differences in cultures that they have to solve: "The daily challenge is to maintain the cultural environment" (GX5), conflicts based on religious background (GX5), misunderstandings because of different ways of expressing themselves (GX4, GX5), different mentality and cultural traditions (GX2, GX4, GX5), different attitude towards elderly people (GX5), different languages spoken (GY5).

The problems that collaboration partners mostly face concern differences in attitude to authority and/or work which stem from local traditions: "There are those cultural differences where they need more authority, and there are cases when the things said by project managers are not enough, as these are not instructions from the director" (GY4), and "There have been some problems while working with tour operators from different countries like Spain during the siesta, when it is hard to get hold of them and receive any answer from them, or like in Turkey where they are not so stressful as we are" (GX4).

To sum up, informant GX5 concludes that they "solve everything in discussions, but most communication problems are because of different cultures, not generations" (GX5). Furthermore, informant GX6 highlights the role of languages and culture in the tourism and hospitality industry for both staff members and customers. The informant considers that everyone should learn the basic culture of their resident country and also wishes to promote Swedish culture through an Instagram account. The informant is writing a book on Swedish culture "to put together all the important Swedish culture facts to help foreigners understand why Swedes act the way they do and to keep the Swedish culture alive and prominent" (GX6).

To summarize, the research findings show that cultural differences are a common cause of misunderstandings, but the enterprises have developed their own way of solving these issues, and establishing a dialogue between interlocutors is the first step to a good solution.

4.4. Training to eliminate intergenerational and intercultural conflicts at the workplace

"Social and cultural accumulations of knowledge are transmitted from the old to the young. Relevant information is accepted and utilized by the younger group, while outdated information fades away and becomes replaced by newer information and practices that are more relevant to their lives" (Beaven 2014: 70). Therefore, it is suggested to organize intercultural training at the workplace involving employees of different generations who belong to different cultures.

As mentioned above, it is essential to practise various situations that staff may encounter when selling the tourism product. Simulations, case studies, problem-solving tasks, and interactive games based on intercultural issues may be applied therein.

Several such tools have been created recently to develop learners' cultural knowledge and language skills as well as intercultural competence.

The EU-funded Erasmus+ project "Culture knowledge and language competences as a means to develop 21st-century skills" (culture-language.eu 2023) has elaborated six modules (comprising eighteen submodules) in ten languages in a blended-learning format (e-culture.eu 2022). The modules will be beneficial to increase learners' cultural knowledge and awareness and develop their creativity and problem-solving skills. They may be used for a group of learners or for individual learners as self-study materials.

The EU-funded Erasmus+ project "Language skills and intercultural issues in the hospitality industry: Unity in diversity in the EU labour market" (languages4all.eu 2018), besides other materials, includes an "Intercultural Module" explaining the theory of culture focusing on culture shock, behaviour and communication, culture and etiquette in a blended-learning format, and nine comprehensive culture-based case studies on hospitality themes as well as tasks and a game for face-to-face meetings (esolams.eu. n. y.). The course may be used partly as self-study material, but case studies and face-to-face tasks should be implemented for a group of learners in face-to-face mode either in-situ or via a web conferencing application.

The outcome of the qualitative research conducted during the NordPlus project "NordTournet-3: Solving communication problems of different generations in tourism companies", analysed in the current article, is an interactive communication game, called "GG game", to develop employees' intercultural communication skills and get prepared for solving intergenerational and intercultural communication problems at work (Šešeika et al. 2023).

The order of applying the teaching/learning aids is flexible and depends on the company needs. For short-term training, it is possible to use some part of the modules and the "GG game" or solely the "GG game", which may be downloaded from the project webpage (Game 2022). For long-term training, the course organizers may apply the suggested scheme (*Fig. 1*).

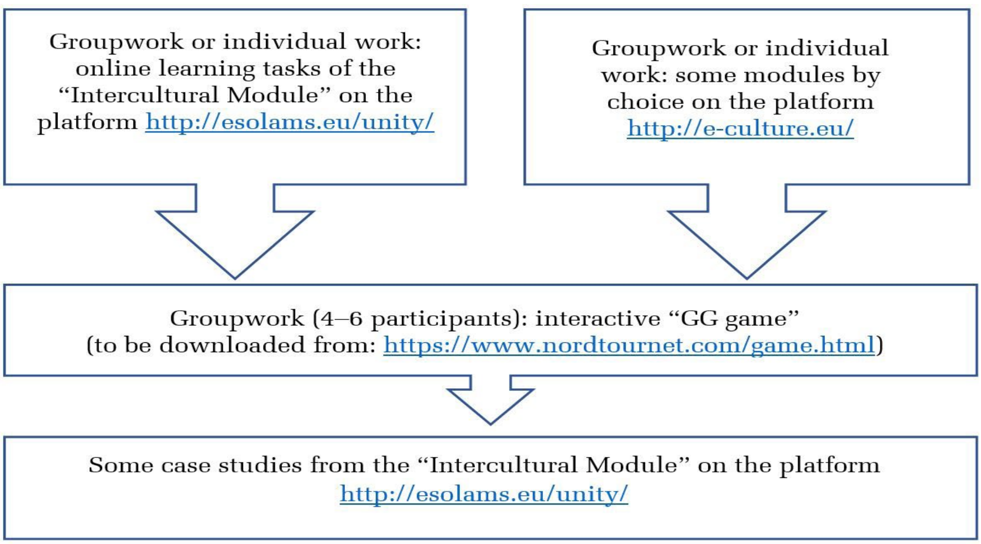

Figure 1. *The scheme for staff training to develop intergenerational and intercultural communication skills*

In order to develop skills to eliminate intergenerational problems, it is suggested to create teams of four to six people playing the game, by involving members of different generations in it. This way both older and younger generations could benefit from one another – the older generations may share their expertise with the younger ones, and the younger generations may show how the application of technologies and social media may help in solving the existing problems.

The peculiarity of tourism and hospitality business is that the tourism product is largely created by younger generations, but its users belong to all generations. A cause of generational conflicts between Generation Y – employed in creating a tourism product – and baby boomers – the clients using this product – is rooted in differences in the ways of communication and the use of technologies. Several informants (GY2, GX1, GY3, GY4, GX4, GX5, GX6, and GB1) pointed out the unwritten rule for hospitality – the client is always right. This refers to both different generations and different cultures, and empathy is important in securing efficient professional communication.

5. Conclusions

The research conducted in three Northern European countries highlights several intergenerational and intercultural communication problems that tourism and hospitality enterprises come across on a daily basis. The main problems refer to communication barriers, especially the semantic barrier, since both parties – the ones involved in the respective business and the clients – often lack certain language skills. This is both a cultural and a generational problem since, according to the research findings, different generations speak different languages. Surprisingly, it has been discovered that in certain cases tourism product providers do not speak the local language, but they are fluent in English, although the end users of their product are both domestic and international tourists. Another communication problem was caused by generational differences in communication with regard to the most preferred way of communication – face-to-face and phone vs. computer-mediated. This is not considered a problem in external communication since tourism and hospitality companies adapt to their clients' mode of communication, but it is a problem in internal communication, as everyone has to use the same communication channels to provide a quality product.

Although the research found certain generational differences that lead to communication conflicts, most communication problems have been caused by difference in cultures. This leads to the conclusion that it is recommended to have intercultural training organized for tourism and hospitality industry staff. Such training may be held at the workplace, and it would be beneficial to create groups of learners belonging to different generations to practise intergenerational communication as well. The provided scheme for organizing the training programme might be a viable option on how to learn about different cultures, practise solving various problem situations, and improve intercultural and intergenerational communication.

6. Research limitations and implications for future research

The current research was conducted in three Northern European countries – Latvia, Lithuania, and Sweden. In the future, the research could be expanded to other regions of the European Union. Moreover, it would be useful to analyse the results of the proposed training programme after its implementation in tourism and hospitality industry enterprises.

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Aspectual Errors in Romanian and Serbian ESP Learners Majoring in Tourism and Hospitality Management

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Abstract. This paper examines the interference of the mother tongue, Serbian and Romanian, in the case of students of English for Tourism and Hospitality Purposes (ESP) at the university level in the field of verbal aspect. The first part of the paper focuses on the ways in which the category of aspect is defined and expressed in Serbian and Romanian in comparison to English. It was hypothesised that the native speakers of these three languages may conceptualize verbal aspect rather differently, especially given their inherent relevant linguistic differences, particularly with Serbian having a more complex system of grammaticalized aspectuality than English and Romanian. This paper analyses the difficulties that Serbian and Romanian ESP learners might encounter in attempting to comprehend the features specific to aspect in English and in capturing the different aspectual uses of English verbs. For this analysis, a study was carried out featuring a questionnaire on the specific context of aspectual uses, which was completed by the participating Serbian and Romanian ESP students.

Keywords: ESP, aspect, interference, Romanian, Serbian

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the influence or interference of the mother tongue, Romanian and Serbian, among ESP students of English for Tourism and Hospitality at the university level in regard to verbal aspect.[1]

1 In addition to Business English, the students at the College of Hotel Management learn an

This study focuses on verbal aspect and the influence of the native Romanian and Serbian languages on the use of English aspect. The research analyses the interference among Romanian and Serbian native speakers in this context, respectively, and then compares the interference in these two languages.

1.1. Research methodology

This questionnaire-based study analyses the influence and interference of the native Romanian or Serbian language on the students of English for Tourism and Hospitality (ESP) at the university level in the field of verbal aspect. These students/examinees were not provided with additional instructions regarding the uses of English aspect prior to filling in the questionnaire, as the aim was to determine how the knowledge acquired about English aspect in the course of regular teaching within their curriculum could help them answer the relevant questions in the questionnaire. The research included the following stages: a) reviewing the regular teaching materials about English aspect for the examinees, without additional teaching about aspect; b) preparing the questionnaire; c) filling in of the questionnaire (30 minutes); d) analysis of the results.

The examinees (B1 level of English according to the Common European Framework of Reference) included two groups according to their native language: Romanian (40 second-year students of Tourism Management attending The Faculty of Management in Tourism and Commerce in Timişoara, a branch of the Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University in Bucharest) and Serbian (40 second-year students of Hospitality and Restaurant Management from The Academy of Applied Studies Belgrade, The College of Hotel Management Department).

The multiple-choice questionnaire consisted of 20 sentences, encompassing English aspectual oppositions (perfective/imperfective and perfect/non-perfect) with secondary aspectual meanings such as habitual, perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of recent past, and temporariness. The questionnaire was intended to provide insight into the aspectual interference of the native language in ESP learning and into common aspectual mistakes ESP students might make, as the sentences were constructed to reflect English usage and contexts typical of the ESP B1-level students.

elective foreign language, i.e. French, German, or Russian (elementary level), while students at the Faculty of Management in Tourism and Commerce learn business French, German, Spanish, or Italian. However, the authors consider that these elective languages do not significantly influence the learning of English aspectual oppositions, whereas research has shown that students' native language has an impact on the acquisition of the English aspect.

1.2. Initial hypotheses and expected results

For the Romanian native speakers, the following initial hypotheses were formulated:

R1 – The Romanian language lacks a direct equivalent of the present perfect, so the English resultative and experiential present perfect are frequently replaced with the simple past.

R2 – Because Romanian present simple is commonly used to denote the imperfective aspect, the English perfective aspect may be erroneously used instead of the imperfective.

R3 – The reverse type of present perfect – simple past error is expected because the Romanian compound perfect (*perfectul compus*) resembles the English present perfect.

As for the Serbian native speakers, the following initial hypotheses were formulated:

S1 – Serbian does not have a direct equivalent for the present perfect, so the English resultative present perfect and the perfect of recent past may be replaced with a simple past tense.

S2 – The English present perfect for a persistent situation may be interpreted as Serbian present tense.

S3 – Serbian perfective and imperfective aspect do not completely correspond to the English non-progressive and progressive aspect, which may lead to errors among Serbian native speakers.

S4 – English stative verbs are typically not used in the progressive aspect, and Serbian native speakers may not recognize this distinction.

2. Theoretical background

This section briefly discusses the concept of interference and aspect in Romanian, Serbian, and English.

2.1. Language interference and error analysis

The notion of language interference,[2] introduced by U. Weinreich (1953), concerns the influence of the native language (L1) on foreign language (L2) learning, implying a broader transfer of various patterns of L1 to L2 or a narrower negative

2 As Ellis (1996: 301) points out, the terms *language interference* or *transfer* are often associated with behaviourist theories of L2 learning, so there is also a theory-neutral term *crosslinguistic influence*.

transfer, which impedes learning of L2. This is also indicated as occurring in ESP learning due to the application of the native language rules on the target language. Language interference is reflected in mistakes typically made by ESP students, and these errors can range from grammatical, morphological, lexical, and semantic, to syntactic. Namely, ESP learners undergo several stages (interlanguages) as they acquire L2; errors may appear when learners make incorrect deductions about a structure in L2, relying on the patterns of L1, providing evidence about the learning process (Crystal 1991: 372). Moreover, a distinction should be made between mistakes (non-systematic errors) and errors (systematic errors reflecting the learner's transitional competence); only the latter are of significance for L2 learning (Corder 1974: 25). Errors in comprehension and production may stem from the "faulty comprehension of distinctions in the target language" (Richards 1974: 178), overgeneralization, ignorance of rule restrictions, incomplete application of rules, etc. (Ellis 1996: 174–176), resulting from the negative transfer from L1. Therefore, errors may indicate the possible influence of native language on L2 performance, which is a key assumption of this research.

Error analysis, as a component of contrastive studies, enables the tracking of the interlanguage during second language acquisition and of the possible interference of the native language, as well as the potential intrusion of other foreign languages. This research concentrates on the interference of the native language, drawing upon relevant preceding studies and research about contrastive studies and error analysis such as those of Richards (1975), James (1998), and Ondrakova (2016). Also relevant to this study are particular papers examining errors in acquiring and teaching English (Collins 2007, Khansir and Pakdei 2018) and certain papers comparing English verb categories (tense-aspect) with other languages (like Arabic, Gad 2018). Finally, papers on contrastive linguistics (English–Serbian and vice versa), with translation equivalents (Mandić 2016, Balek 2017), were consulted in the designing of the questionnaire.

2.2. Aspect in English, Romanian, and Serbian

The typological linguistic literature defines aspect as a category which enables the viewing of a situation as a single whole (*perfective aspect*) or as a structure (*imperfective aspect*) (Comrie 1976: 3). Furthermore, Comrie specifies that the imperfective aspect (in addition to the general reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation) also includes the concepts of habituality and continuousness (Comrie 1976: 24–26), thus partially overlapping with the perfective (like in the habitual domain), which is relevant for this research.

Although Serbian, Romanian, and English belong to different branches of Indo-European languages, some similarities can be established when aspect is concerned. This study presents insights into the nature of aspect in all three languages and into their systematic similarities and differences, thereby making a specific contribution to aspectology in general.

According to Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985: 90), English has two sets of aspectual contrasts: a) progressive (typically denoting imperfectivity) and non-progressive (typically denoting perfectivity) and b) perfect and non-perfect.[3] Discussing the concrete uses of the English progressive aspect, that is, the imperfective aspect, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985: 92–94) make the following distinctions: a) temporariness vs indefinite time; b) limited duration vs habitual activity; c) emotionally coloured tone vs objective tone; d) incompletion vs completion. This complexity of English progressive is a reason why English aspect represents a key area where errors may occur among B1-level learners. Bearing this in mind, this study focuses on those uses of English progressive aspect typically taught to ESP students at the B1 level such as temporariness, limited duration, and incompletion. Finally, this study also examines the use of English stative verbs like *see*, *hear*, and *feel*, which are non-progressive in their involuntary, stative meaning (for example: *He felt cold.*), but which can be used in the progressive aspect, by which they acquire a dynamic, voluntary quality (for example: *The doctor was feeling the boy's arm.*).

Declerck, Reed, and Capelle (2007: 28–38) also distinguish (2007: 28) the perfective aspect as presenting the respective situation in its entirety and the imperfective aspect as presenting a situation as ongoing (or progressive). These authors discuss two English aspects systematically expressed by special verb markers – the progressive and non-progressive aspect; the former implying that the situation is complete, presented in its entirety, the latter suggesting that the situation is ongoing, with internal temporal structure, durative, and continuous. Finally, these authors do not recognize *perfect* as a specific aspect in English.

As regards the perfect/non-perfect opposition, other linguistic sources (Comrie 1976: 56–61; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: 91; Novakov 2005) regard perfect in the category of aspect, stating that the English perfect aspect connects the verb situation with another situation or state. Thus, the present perfect connects the past and the present, indicating that the situation happened in the past but has links to the present. According to its usage, English perfect aspect is usually divided into four types – perfect of recent past (e.g. *They have just arrived.*), perfect of result (e.g. *He has washed his hands.*), experiential perfect (e.g. *She has been to China twice.*), and perfect of persistent situation (e.g. *I have been waiting for hours*) (Comrie 1976: 56–61).

Traditional Romanian linguistic literature (Găgeanu 1985, Evseev 1974, Dumitru 1976, Dimitriu 1979, Lucian 2007: 26, Pungă and Pârlog 2015: 167)

3 These authors use the terms *perfective* and *non-perfective*, but they have chosen to apply the terms *perfect* and *non-perfect* to avoid possible confusion with the traditional term *perfective* from Slavic grammar.

did not consider aspect a separate and independent verb category. The verb form was regarded exclusively as a morphological category, which must be morphologically expressed (Savin-Zgardan 2001: 38). Poghiric (Poghiric 1953: 21) also asserted that aspect in the Romanian language is exclusively a temporal opposition. On the other hand, some linguists (Cemârtan 2001: 155) have argued that the verbal aspect in the Romanian language should be considered a semantic category, as aspect and tense represent a continuum that should be understood as a whole. Furthermore, Mişan (1969: 140) claimed that aspect is a binary category that is realized through the perfective/imperfective opposition, which can be correlated with similar theses presented by English linguists (Comrie 1976, Brinton 1988, Dahl 1987). Moreover, Luchian (2007: 28) propounded that verb tenses in the Romanian language define situations as perfective or imperfective. Namely, the present, imperfect, and future denote a situation that lasts, so they signify the imperfective aspect, while the compound perfect, simple perfect, and pluperfect express the perfective aspect. Similarly, verbs denoting duration imply imperfectivity if they are used in the present, imperfect, or future, while in other verb tenses they have a perfective meaning.

Contemporary Romanian linguists have recognized aspect as a meaningful characteristic of Romanian verbs. In the *Encyclopaedia of the Romanian Language* (Avram–Sala 2001: 65–68), the authors point out that the relevant oppositions, which have been treated as temporal in the past, are in fact of aspectual nature. Thus, in the Romanian language, the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition is expressed by verbal tenses named *perfectul compus/imperfectul*, where *perfectul compus* denotes a completed situation, and *imperfectul* represents an ongoing situation: *am venit / veneam* 'I came / I was coming'. An imperfective verb can denote an action that lasts (*durative*), but also an action that repeats (*iterative*). In addition, in the Romanian language, the perfective/imperfective opposition is morphologically expressed only in the past tense, and, accordingly, a distinction is recognized between the imperfect (*imperfectul*), which most often represents the situation as a single whole without differentiating the phases that make up this situation, and the simple and complex perfect (*perfectul simplu / perfectul compus*) and pluperfect (*mai-mult-ca-perfectul*), which presents the situation as a structure divisible into segments.

Moreover, contemporary Romanian literature offers contrastive studies of English and Romanian aspectual systems (Bodean-Voizan 2015; Hanganu 2014; Hanganu 2015), as well as features error analysis and examines language interference between the Romanian and English languages (Presada and Badea 2014, Pungă and Pârlog 2015).

Based on the relevant Romanian linguistic literature, it can be argued that verbal aspect is an independent category that is only partially grammaticalized in Romanian in the sense that aspectual oppositions on the morphological level exist only in the past tense, while each verb tense in the Romanian language also expresses certain aspectual meanings.

There is a correlation between the English past perfect and the Romanian pluperfect in the sense that these forms both denote situations that occurred before some other situation in the past.

As a Slavic language, Serbian has a morphologically-marked verbal aspect, with verb lexemes having two aspectual forms in the infinitive: imperfective or perfective (with a small number of bi-aspectual verbs which determine their aspect in the context). As traditional Serbian linguists pointed out (for instance, Belić 1924 and Stevanović 1979), imperfective verbs imply unlimited duration, while perfective ones denote the limited duration of a situation. Some other linguists, such as Grubor (1953), stated that the imperfective aspect indicates situations as structured, while the perfective aspect presents situations as wholes, in their entirety. Similarly, Riđanović (1976) asserted that aspect deals with the divisibility and indivisibility of situations in time. Thus, it can be argued that, in Serbian, aspect is dominantly a morphological category, usually without contextual influences. These aspectual properties may influence the aspectual choices of Serbian native speakers when learning English as an L2.

The three mentioned languages were chosen for this analysis because they involve one concept of aspectuality yet three different ways of expressing it. Namely, in the Serbian language, aspect is a specific verbal category expressed at the morphological level in the infinitive, which is not the case for either Romanian or English verbs. In the English language, aspect can be expressed in all tenses by means of the progressive/non-progressive opposition. In Romanian, however, aspect can be morphologically distinguished only in the past tense using *perfectul compus* and *imperfectul*, which are perceived as tenses in the Romanian language. This is why, in traditional Romanian linguistic literature, aspect was not regarded as an independent verbal category but rather either connected it to the verb tenses or made no reference to the category of aspect at all (Graur, Avram, and Vasiliu 1966). However, Romanian offers a somewhat restricted possibility to express aspectual values through prefixes (*dormi* / *adormi*). Consequently, Romanian lacks morphemes that can express the category of aspect, though some modes and tenses can express the notion of duration and incompletion, as opposed to perfective situations.

3. The Study

3.1. Results for the Romanian native speakers

The Romanian sample comprised 40 respondents, i.e. B1-level students of Management in Tourism and Commerce in Timişoara, who completed the tailored questionnaire. All the respondents were Romanian native speakers. The primary aim of the study was to determine the influence or interference of respondents' mother tongue on the uses of English aspectual oppositions.

Figures 1–3 present general information about the participants:

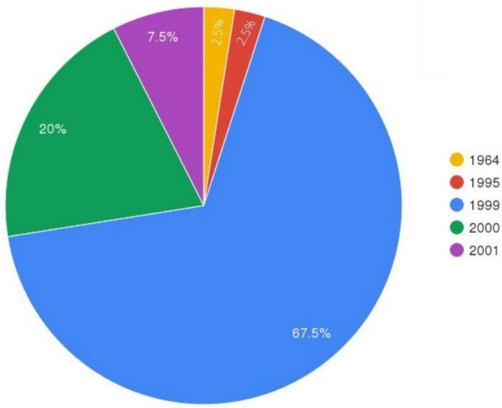

Figure 1. *Year of birth of the respondents*

Figure 1 displays the age of the respondents: the vast majority of the 40 respondents (27, or 67.5%) were born in 1999, while 8 (20%) were born in 2000, 3 (7.5%) in 2001, and 1 (2.5%) in 1995 and 1964 respectively.

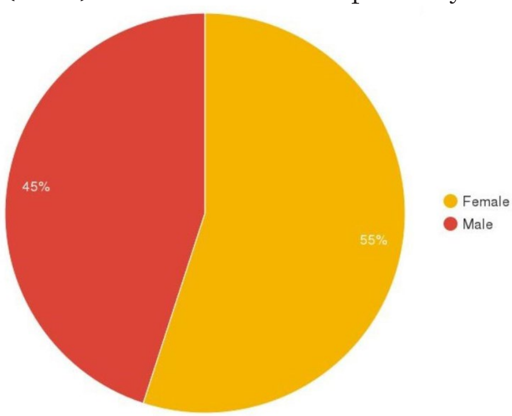

Figure 2. *Gender of the participants*

Figure 2 indicates that there were 22 (55%) female respondents and 18 (45%) male respondents, meaning the gender structure was quite balanced.

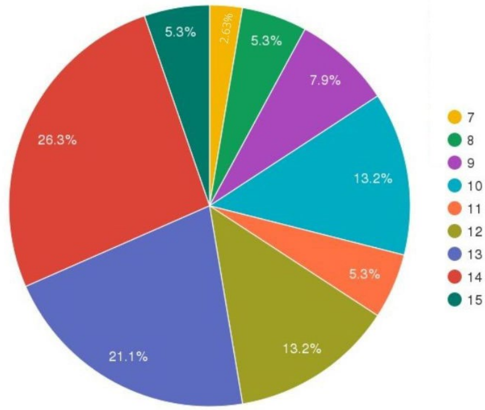

Figure 3. *Years of active English learning of the participants*

Finally, *Figure 3* shows the respondents' active years of learning English as a foreign language: the Romanian respondents were documented as having learned English for: 15 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 14 years (11 respondents, or 26.3%); 13 years (8 respondents, or 21.1%); 12 years (5 respondents, or 13.2%); 11 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 10 years (5 respondents, or 13.2%); 9 years (3 respondents, or 7.9%); 8 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 7 years (1 respondent, or 2.5%). (NB: 2 participants did not fill this field.)

The analysis of the Romanian ESP learners first addresses sentences connected to the English progressive aspect and then the English perfect aspect. Furthermore, the sentences featured in the questionnaire were divided into subgroups according to their aspectual meanings and uses. The respondents' answers to particular tasks are presented in the samples below, displayed in brackets according to the participants' answers in the following manner: in each bracket, the first number corresponds to the number of respondents who circled a particular answer, and the second represents the respective percentage of this response from among the total amount of responses.

Regarding the Romanian ESP learners, the study conducted for this paper has indicated a significant problem among these participants in comprehending or expressing the English present progressive aspect due to the interference of their native Romanian language. As opposed to the English language, where the progressive aspect is freely combinable with all tense forms, the Romanian imperfect is restricted to past situations. Therefore, there is actually no possibility to express the Romanian present progressive aspect using tense forms, inflection, and/or derivational affixes. It is either expressed by lexemes or implied contextually. These would seem to be the reasons for Romanian native speakers having difficulties in grasping the features specific to this category in English. Specifically, aspectual errors were shown to occur in situations in which the English imperfective aspect should be used in the present tense. This is a typical mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the English simple present instead of the characteristic present progressive. This can be illustrated by example sentences 1, 2, 3, and 4, where in each instance 60% or more of erroneous answers were recorded in regard to the incorrect use of the perfective instead of the imperfective verbal aspect.

1) He _____ on a cruiser this month.
   a) lived (2/5%) b) lives (24/60%) c) **is living (14/35%)**
2) The receptionist __________ the guests into the hotel right now.
   a) **is checking (10/25%)** b) checks (25/62.5%) c) was checking (5/12.5%)
3) (In an e-mail to a hotel) I _________ to book a room at your hotel.
   a) write (30/75%) b) **am writing (7/17.5%)** c) wrote (3/7.5%)
4) I _________ to call home, but I can't get an outside line.
   a) try (28/70%) b) **am trying (8/20%)** c) was trying (4 /10%)

Since in the Romanian language the imperfective aspect cannot be morphologically expressed in the present, the present indicative is used to indicate both perfective and imperfective aspect in the present, apparently causing confusion among ESP learners. Consequently, other syntactic elements, such as adverbials (examples 1 and 2), or context play a very important role in determining the aspectual scope of the situation. In the first sentence, the adverbial *this month* implies limited duration, which requires the use of the present progressive (*is living*), though this was successfully recognized by only a very low percentage (35%) of the respondents, with a relatively high percentage (60%) of respondents using the present simple, and a small percentage (5%) even employing the past simple.

Furthermore, the contexts in sentences 2, 3, and 4 demand the real present use of the English progressive. The Romanian ESP students did not appear to successfully recognize the necessity to use progressive aspect in such instances, as only 25% of the respondents' answers to sentence 2, 17.5% to sentence 3, and 20% to sentence 4 employed the progressive aspect, while a rather high percentage of respondents erroneously chose the present simple: 62.5% in task 2, 75% in task 3, and 70% in task 4.

In brief, in such situations in the native Romanian language, the Romanian present indicative would be used to express the imperfective aspect, which the respondents seemingly mistakenly applied to the English examples. This would appear to be the reason why the majority of Romanian students opted for the wrong aspect.

On the other hand, Romanian ESP learners correctly used the English past progressive to indicate the imperfective aspect, as can be seen in the sentences just below. Very likely, this can be explained by the existence of a grammatical correspondent called the imperfective (*imperfectul*) in their mother tongue.

5) The maid ___________ the room when the gust entered.
a) **was cleaning (36/90%)** b) is cleaning (2/5%) c) cleaned (2/5%)
6) The waiter ________ Mr Smith morning coffee in the breakfast room when the new guest arrived.
a) served (0) b) **was serving (37/92.5%)** c) has served (3/7.5%)

The above two sentences tested the use of the progressive as a temporal frame for a situation which interrupts the activity in progress. In both instances, the vast majority of the respondents (90% in example 5 and 92.5% in example 6) seemed to recognize these contexts and successfully used the past non-progressive, with only a very low percentage opting for the wrong answers.

In the Romanian language, the imperfect (*imperfectul*) is typically used to denote imperfective aspect, which likely explains why the students scored very high in the examples above.

As an unexpected result, the study conducted for this paper appeared to reveal an interesting curiosity, which was not accounted for in the original hypotheses. Namely, traditional grammar states that the verbal aspect does not exist as an independent category in Romanian, which seems to explain what appears to be a lacking understanding of the imperfective concept among Romanian ESP learners since the participants made unexpected errors in distinguishing the perfective/imperfective aspectual values. Moreover, this occurred only in the present tense, but not in the past, which is assumably explained by the Romanian language morphologically expressing imperfectivity only in the past tense by the *imperfectul*. This is further illustrated by examples 7 and 8, where 90% and 50% of the examinees, respectively, mistakenly employed the present progressive instead of correctly applying the present simple.

7) Hotel employees _____ two or more foreign languages.
a) are speaking (36/90%) b) **speak (4/10%)** c) have spoken (0)
8) Every year we ______ two trips to the seaside.
a) are making (20/50%) b) were making (12/30%) c) **make (8/20%)**

These results strongly suggest that there is confusion amongst native Romanian speakers in the use of the imperfective aspect in the present tense induced by mother tongue interference.[4]

4 As has already been mentioned, even though the students at both universities study other

In the next three sentences from the questionnaire, the authors intended to test the use of English stative verbs which require the non-progressive aspect:

9) Whether I get the job of a receptionist ______ on my skills and education.
a) **depends (34/85%)** b) is depending (6/15%) c) was depending (0)
10) The chicken _______ delicious.
a) is tasting (2/5%) b) was tasting (0) c) **tastes (38/95%)**
11) Hotel facilities _________ a large indoor pool, Jacuzzi and a sauna.
a) **include (32/80%)** b) are including (0) c) were including (8/20%)

The analysis reveals that Romanian ESP students were seemingly familiar with this rule, as they chose the correct answer 85% (task 9), 95% (task 10), and 80% of the time (task 11) respectively.

Apart from examining the English perfective/imperfective opposition, this paper also analyses the use of the perfect aspect in English, focussing on the present perfect, both in the non-progressive and progressive aspects.

The English present perfect has been recognized as causing confusion among Romanian native speakers, mainly because the concept of connecting the past with the present in one situation that does not exist in Romanian. Consequently, it was assumed that the Romanian ESP learners participating in the survey would make mother-tongue-triggered errors in this context and mistakenly employ the present perfect for the typical English simple past.

This indicated misperception is likely further deepened by the dual nature of the Romanian compound perfect (*perfectul compus*). Namely, the Romanian compound perfect can be used to express completed situations in the past, and thus it can be directly correlated with the notion of the perfective aspect. On the other hand, the Romanian compound perfect may also imply a situation characteristic of the English perfect aspect.

The dual nature of the Romanian compound perfect was a key notion for the investigation of this paper and its initiation as there was no clear indication as to where the respective findings would lead.

Nevertheless, this analysis has revealed that the Romanian ESP learners seemingly tend to overlook the resultative use of the English present perfect and replace it with the simple past, thereby making an aspectual mistake:[5]

foreign languages, the authors consider that the elective languages do not play a major role in the learning of English aspectual oppositions. The study indicates that it is the students' native language which has a significant impact on the acquisition of the English aspectual system.

5 Please note that this (in the examples 12 and 13) reflects the use of present perfect in British English, because in colloquial American English the simple past could also be a correct answer. The British use is expected to be familiar to the examinees as this is the primary system in which they are instructed.

12) The guest_______. He is waiting in the lobby.
a) **has arrived (14/35%)** b) arrived (24/60%) c) arrives (2/5%)
13) I just ____ the window.
a) closed (32/80%) b) had closed (1/2.5%) c) **have closed (7/17.5%)**

The above sentences illustrate a typical use of the English present perfect: recent activity in the past with an obvious result in the present, a concept with which the respondents should be familiar at their established B1 level of learning. However, a high percentage of the Romanian ESP students appeared to not recognize this rule, employing the past simple most frequently in both instances (80% in task 13 and 60% in task 12), whereas only 17.5% and 35% of the respondents chose the correct answer in examples 13 and 12 respectively.

Furthermore, the results of the study confirm the initial hypothesis that the Romanian ESP learners may misuse the experiential present perfect for the standard English simple past, which can be considered a learning-induced error that learners of English for specific purposes tend to make. Evidence of such an error can be seen in examples 14 and 15 below, where 80% and 60% of students mistakenly applied the past simple rather than the correct perfect aspect:

14) I ______ London three times so far.
a) visited (32/80%) b) **have visited (8/20%)** c) was visiting (0)
15) I ________ in this hotel twice so far.
a) am staying (0) b) **have stayed (16/40%)** c) stayed (24/60%)

On the other hand, the results of the study also confirmed the reverse type of present perfect – simple past error. Namely, likely due to the Romanian compound perfect (*perfectul compus*) resembling the form of the English present perfect (the present indicative of the auxiliary verb *a avea* ‘to have’ + past participle), 50% of the Romanian ESP learners wrongly chose the English present perfect instead of the past simple, as demonstrated in example 16 just below, which can be logically assumed to be a mother-tongue-triggered error rather than a learning-induced one:

16) Martha _________ in India when she was young.
a) has lived (20/50%) b) had lived (2/5%) c) **lived (18/45%)**

Similarly, for example 17, only 30% selected the correct answer (past non-progressive) against a very high 60% of students choosing the present perfect.

17) When he was young, he _______ The College of Hotel Management and graduated in 2019.
a) was attending (4/10%) b) **attended (12/30%)** c) has attended (24/60%)

Given that the Romanian language does not conceptualize the semantic merge of the present and the past in a single situation, the mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the present perfect for the typical English simple past is understandable and expected. Nonetheless, an interesting curiosity revealed by this research is the occurrence of the apparent incorrect use of the English present simple instead of the present perfect, as evidenced in the misapplication of the perfect aspect in examples 18 (62.5%) and 19 (42.5%):

18) I __________ English for tourism and hospitality purposes since 2016.
a) **have been studying (15/37.5%)** b) study (25/62.5%) c) am studying (0)
19) I ____ a receptionist for over 15 years now.
a) a) am (17/42.5%) b) was (4/10%) c) **have been (19/47.5%)**
20) He __________ in this hotel for 10 years now.
a) **has been working (16/40%)** b) is working (16/40%) c) worked (8/20%)

Sentences (18), (19), and (20) were intended to test the use of the English present perfect to denote a period of time up to the present. It seems that approximately half of the respondents disregarded this rule and opted for the present simple option. Most of the remaining respondents recognized that the context implied the period up to the present and used the perfect aspect appropriately.

3.2. Results for the Serbian native speakers

The sample of Serbian native speakers comprised 40 respondents in order to establish the possible influence of their mother tongue on the uses of English aspectual oppositions. The respondents were B1-level students of Tourism and Hospitality in Belgrade, all of whom completed the administered questionnaire.

Figures 4, *5*, and *6* present general information about the informants. *Figure 4* shows the age breakdown of the respondents: the vast majority out of the 38 respondents[6] (24, or 63%) were born in 2000, while 4 of them (11%) were born in 1999, 8 (21%) in 2001, and only 2 (5%) in 1996.

6 Two respondents did not fill in this field.

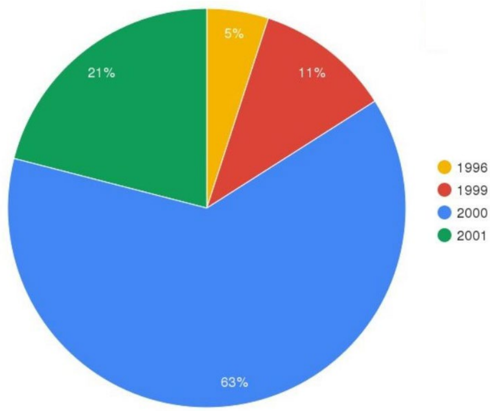

Figure 4. *Year of birth of the respondents*

Figure 5 shows the gender makeup of the sample. As there were 22 (55%) female respondents and 18 (45%) male respondents, the gender structure is quite balanced.

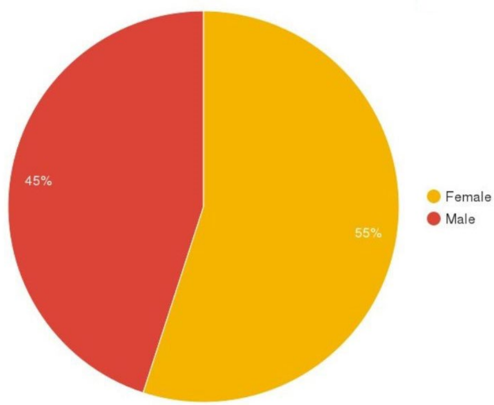

Figure 5. *Gender of the respondents*

Figure 6 presents the respondents' respective active years of learning English as a foreign language: the Serbian respondents had been learning English for the following time periods: 15 years (2 respondents, or 6%), 14 years (8 respondents, or 23%), 13 years (7 respondents, or 20%), 12 years (4 respondents, or 11%), 11 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 10 years (4 respondents, or 11%), 9 years (2 respondents, or 6%), 8 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 7 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 6 years (2 respondents, or 6%), and 5 years (3 respondents, or 8%).

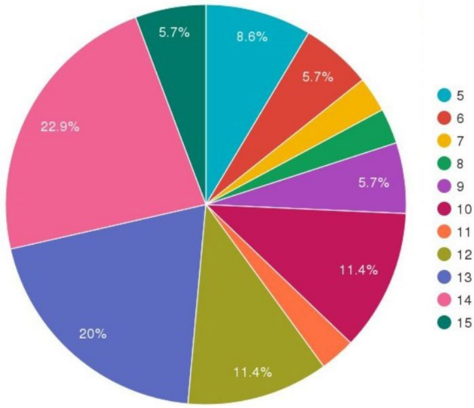

Figure 6. *Years of active English learning of the respondents*

NB: 5 informants did not fill this field.

For the purposes of the analysis, the sentences related to the use of the English progressive and perfect aspect were divided into several groups according to the meanings and uses tested in these sentences. The respondents' answers are indicated in brackets following the offered solutions: first, the number of respondents who circled a particular option and then the percentage. The respondents' answers to particular tasks are presented in the samples below, displayed in brackets according to the participants' answers in the following manner: in each bracket, the first number corresponds to the number of respondents who circled a particular answer, and the second represents the respective percentage of this response from among the total amount of responses. The first group includes the following sentences:[7]

1) Hotel employees _____ two or more foreign languages.
   a) are speaking (14/35%). b) **speak (24/60%)** c) have spoken (2/5%)
2) Every year we ______ two trips to the seaside.
   a) are making (13/32.5%) b) were making (3/7.5%) c) **make (24/ 60%)**
3) He _____ on a cruiser this month.
   a) lived (7/ 17.5%) b) lives (12/30%) c) **is living (21/ 52.5%)**

Sentences (1) and (2) were designed to test the use of the progressive aspect in the context signifying a repeated situation or a general skill. A clear majority of the respondents (60%) apparently recognized these contexts, as they employed the non-progressive present correctly; still, the percent of those who incorrectly opted for the present progressive in sentence 1 (*are speaking*) is rather high (35%),

7 One informant did not answer question 12 of the questionnaire, represented by example 17, while two did not answer question 6 (shown in example 7).

while a slightly smaller but still high percentage (32.5%) of the students circled the present progressive in sentence 2. In the last sentence (3), the adverbial *this month* implies limited duration, which requires the present progressive (*is living*). This was seemingly recognized by 52.5% of the respondents, as they correctly selected the present progressive aspect, though a rather high percentage (30%) incorrectly applied the present simple, with a small group even selecting the past simple (17.5%).

The contexts in the following group of sentences demand the real present use of the English progressive, also called temporariness:

4) The receptionist __________ the guests into the hotel right now.
a) **is checking (38/95%)** b) checks (1/2.5%) c) was checking (1/2.5%)
5) (In an e-mail to the hotel) I _________ to book a room at your hotel.
a) write (5/12.5%) b) **am writing (21/52.5%)** c) wrote (14/35%)
6) I _________ to call home, but I can't get an outside line.
a) try (3/7.5%) b) **am trying (24/60%)** c) was trying (13/32.5%)

In the instances just above, the respondents did not seem to fully recognize the necessity to use the progressive aspect: only in example 4 did they overwhelmingly and correctly apply the progressive (95%), while only 52.5% of students applied this aspect correctly in sentence 5 and 60% in sentence 6. Apparently, in example 5, some of the students failed to recognize the typical standard tense used in the opening line of an e-mail, while in sentence 6 certain respondents seemingly disregarded the present tense of the modal (*can't*), since they incorrectly selected the past progressive of the missing verb.

The following three sentences were intended to test the use of English stative verbs, which require the non-progressive aspect:

7) Whether I get the job of a receptionist ______ on my skills and education.
a) **depends (31/81.5%)** b) is depending (6 /15.8%) c) was depending (1/2.7%)
8) The chicken _______ delicious.
a) is tasting (4/10%) b) was tasting (1/2.5%) c) **tastes (35/ 87.5%)**
9) Hotel facilities _________ a large indoor pool, Jacuzzi, and a sauna.
a) **include (31/77.5%)** b) are including (9/22.5%) c) were including (0)

The respondents appeared to recognize this rule, as they chose the correct answer in 81.5% (sentence 7), 87.5% (sentence 8), and 77.5% (sentence 9) of the time. Only in example 9 did a rather large percent of respondents (22.5%) choose the present progressive incorrectly.

Finally, the last two sentences, presented just below, were meant to test the use of the progressive as a temporal frame for a temporal clause which interrupts the activity in progress:

10) The maid ___________ the room when the guest entered.
a) **was cleaning (34/85%)** b) is cleaning (4/10%) c) cleaned (2/5%)
11) The waiter ________ Mr Smith morning coffee in the breakfast room when the new guest arrived.
a) served (0) b) **was serving (37/92.5%)** c) has served (3/7.5%)

The respondents answered both tasks with a high degree of success, with 85% of them choosing correctly in example 10 and 92.5% in example 11.

The questionnaire was also intended to test the use of the perfect aspect in English, focussing on the present perfect (non-progressive and progressive), as demonstrated in the example task sentences below:

12) Martha _________ in India when she was young.
a) has lived (16/40%) b) had lived (6/15%) c) **lived (18/45%)**
13) I __________ English for tourism and hospitality purposes since 2016.
a) **have been studying (36/90%)** b) study (4/10%) c) am studying (0)
14) He __________ in this hotel for 10 years now.
a) **has been working (30/75%)** b) is working (9/22.5%) c) worked (1/2.5%)
15) When he was young, he _______ The College of Hotel Management and graduated in 2019.
a) was attending (4/10%) b) **attended (22/55%)** c) has attended (11/27.5%)

Sentences 12, 13, 14, and 15 were all aimed at testing the students' ability regarding the temporal component of the English present perfect – a period of time up to now – but without specifying the exact period in the past. It seems that the respondents widely disregarded this rule, as in (12), 40% of them, a rather high level, opted for the present perfect despite there being a clear indication of the past period without any link to the present, while another 15% mistakenly selected the past perfect. Contrastingly, in example 13, the respondents seemed to recognize that the context implied the period up to now, as 90% correctly employed the present perfect (90%). Their response success was similar in example 14, with 75% selecting the correct answer though a rather high percentage (22.5%) did incorrectly choose to apply the present progressive, while for example 15 only 55% of the respondents selected the correct answer (past non-progressive), with 27.5% opting for the present perfect.

The last group of sentences, just below, presents contexts that demand typical uses of the English present perfect, cases which should have been familiar to the respondents given their established B1 level:

16) I ____ a receptionist for over 15 years now.
a) am (17/42.5%) b) was (2/5%) c) **have been (21/52.5%)**

17) I ________ in this hotel twice so far.
a) am staying (0) b) **have stayed (27/69%)** c) stayed (12/31%)
18) I just ______ the window.
a) closed (32/80%) b) had closed (27/69%) c) **have closed (7/17.5%)**
19) The guest_______. He is waiting in the lobby.
a) **has arrived (27/67.5%)** b) arrived (11/27.5%) c) arrives (2/5%)
20) I ______ London three times so far.
a) visited (15/37.5%) b) **have visited (24/60%)** c) was visiting (1/2.5%)

Yet despite their B1 language level, only 52.5% of the respondents opted for the correct present perfect in sentence 16, while 42.5% incorrectly opted for the present non-progressive form. In example 17, 69% selected the right answer, yet 31% used the past simple incorrectly. Surprisingly, in example 18, only 17.5% employed the correct present perfect against 80%, who mistakenly opted for the past simple. Yet in a seemingly similar context, recent activity in the past with the result in the present, as demonstrated in example 19, the percentage of students selecting correct answers was much more numerous: 67.5% against 27.5% who incorrectly chose the past simple. Regarding sentence 20, despite its similarity to example 17, only 60% of the respondents answered correctly, while 37.5% opted for the incorrect past simple.

In summary, when it comes to the English aspectual opposition progressive – non-progressive, the analysis indicates that the Serbian informants managed to basically grasp the differences formulated through the grammatical rules they were supposed to acquire. However, in some examples (for instance, 1 and 2), a quite high percentage of Serbian speakers wrongly chose the progressive form to denote general abilities, probably because the Serbian imperfective aspect is used in this context, which the students then relate to the English progressive. As for English stative verbs, non-progressive is the norm even with the meaning of temporariness; examples 7, 8, and 9 indicate that the Serbian imperfective aspect likely did not cause a negative transfer. Finally, progressive as a temporal frame (examples 10 and 11) was solved for the most part successfully by the respondents.

The English perfect aspect presented a different problem for the sampled Serbian native speakers: the students had to recognize its link to the present moment (continuation, results), as well as that it is not used with the exact past time indication. The results for sentence tasks 12 and 15 show that the Serbian speakers likely did not fully recognize the exclusion of specific past time adverbials. However, they did seem to recognize that continuation up to the present requires the present perfect, based on their responses in examples 13 and 14, though in contrast, in example 16, more than 40% employed the present simple incorrectly.

4. Conclusions

The study has confirmed the initial (R1) hypothesis that since the Romanian language lacks a direct equivalent of the present perfect, the simple past (with 60% of the respondents employing it in the relevant tasks) would be used in place of the English resultative and experiential present perfect. The reverse type of present perfect – simple past error was also documented, likely due to the morphological resemblance between the Romanian compound perfect (*perfectul compus*) and the English present perfect. Furthermore, the results of the study focused on the Romanian language have corroborated the second hypothesis (R2), with over 60% of incorrect answers to tasks in this context involving the mistaken use of the perfective instead of the imperfective verbal aspect. This can assumedly be attributed to the Romanian present simple being commonly used to denote the imperfective aspect: such aspectual errors seem to occur when the English imperfective aspect is used in the present tense. This would appear to be a typical mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the English simple present instead of the present progressive. The third hypothesis (R3) was partly substantiated by the results of the study: Romanian ESP learners produced two types of errors related to the English present perfect: they used either the past simple (60%) or the present simple (70%), which indicates that while the notion of connecting the past and the present conceptually exists in the minds of Romanian ESP learners, their documented tendency to not express this connection on the morphological level is a seeming indicator of limitations in their ability to recognize and determine situations when the present perfect should be used (the mother tongue interference).

One of the main strengths of this paper is that it identifies key areas where aspectual errors may occur and where additional attention could be focused so as to improve the teaching of English aspectual oppositions. Regarding Romanian native speakers, the results of the study imply that emphasis should be placed on the resultative and experiential notions of the English present perfect. Furthermore, it would seem to be prudent in this context for English language professors to direct students' attention to the morphological similarity between the Romanian compound perfect and the English present perfect in order to avoid the present perfect – simple past error. Based on the results related to the imperfective aspect, it is recommended that relevant professors should emphasize the difference between perfective/imperfective aspectual oppositions in the present tense, especially as this study has shown that aspectual errors occur when the English imperfective aspect should be used in the present tense. Finally, it is suggested that English language professors of native speakers of Romanian underline the connection between the past and the present, since the Romanian language does not express this connection on the morphological level.

In regard to the phase of the study involving native speakers of the Serbian language, several pertinent findings were brought to light. Serbian does not have the direct equivalent for the English present perfect, and the study evidenced that Serbian native speakers tend to use the past tense instead, particularly if the situation is clearly in the past (clearly ended) or produces consequences (perfect of recent past or perfect of result). This was particularly apparent in sentence 18, where 80% of the respondents used the simple past instead of the present perfect, though to a lower degree in sentence 19; therefore, hypothesis S1 was partly confirmed. Hypothesis S2 was also partly confirmed, as the Serbian native speakers used the English present tense instead of the present perfect a relatively high percentage of the time, with more than 40% of the respondents doing so in sentence 16, with similar results for sentence 20. Hypothesis S3 was also partly corroborated; namely, the negative transfer of the uses of the Serbian imperfective verbs probably caused errors in sentence tasks 1 and 2: a high percentage of the respondents (over 30 of them) applied the English present progressive aspect instead of the present simple. As for hypothesis S4 about English stative verbs (tested by using items 7, 8, and 9), it was not confirmed since the respondents used the present non-progressive correctly in more than 80% of the time, with only a slightly lower yet still very high percentage (about 77%) making the correct selection in sentence 9 involving the verb *include*. Additionally, the results of the study have also revealed areas where errors may occur and which would thus seem to require particular attention in order to improve the teaching of English aspectual oppositions of native speakers of Serbian at the B1 level. Moreover, based on the results of the Serbian respondents, it is suggested that particular attention be paid in instruction in English involving native speakers of Serbian to the concepts of result, continuation to now, and recent past, which trigger the use of present perfect. For the imperfective aspect (English progressive), the study's results indicate that teachers should underline the concepts of temporariness and limited duration in this context.

In closing, a concise comparison of the answers provided by the Romanian and Serbian native speakers is highly relevant and offers a further contribution to this field of research. In this regard, the mistakes made by both groups of respondents were similar in the examples involving the English perfect aspect: likely due to both languages lacking direct equivalents, the English past or present tense were used quite frequently instead. Here, the decisive factor seems to be the completion of the English situation in the past (past tense) or its continuation up to now (present tense). Finally, Romanian respondents made more errors in the use of the English present progressive than Serbian participants did, seemingly on account of the specificities of the distinct aspectual systems of the Romanian and Serbian languages.

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Improving University Students' ESP Writing Skills through a Process-Based Portfolio Approach

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Abstract. Today's employers expect university graduates to possess appropriate written ESP skills, which are most effectively taught through individualized ESP writing skills development. This paper provides an account of the ways a self-developed portfolio approach may be exploited to improve EFL learners' ESP writing skills in a university environment. Through a quasi-experimental research design (N = 168), this project hypothesised that, and tested whether, our process-writing-based portfolio approach has a beneficial impact on participants' ESP writing skills and examined if the portfolio approach in question was an effective means of improving participants' ESP writing skills. For the testing of this hypothesis, a quasi-experimental research design was used with an experimental (N = 84) and a control group (N = 84), and participants' test results were compared to examine the effectiveness of the applied portfolio approach. The findings of the study show that the portfolio approach applied in the scope of the present research project proves to be an efficient way of improving students' ESP writing skills and can thus justifiably be applied at other institutions of higher education for improving such skills.

Keywords: business English, ESP, portfolio approach, tertiary education, writing skills

1. Introduction

The English language has become the most frequently used language for communicative purposes over the past few decades. At multinational companies, and increasingly at smaller companies, too, employees are often required to communicate with their customers and colleagues in English since very often English is the company's working language. Even if the majority of students has reliable English oral skills, these days the development of writing skills poses greater than ever challenges to teachers of ESP, as students, even if diverse sample texts on business issues are available online, typically do not have the necessary foundations to communicate about professional issues in writing or produce written materials from diverse inputs (Chan 2018, Zhou et al. 2022). On the other hand, the portfolio approach has been identified as a means of enhancing L2 learning motivation (Baas et al. 2019, Hyland and Hyland 2019, Lam 2018b) and learner autonomy (Baharon and Shaari 2022, Lam 2018b, Pospisilova 2018, Tyas 2020). As discussed in the literature, both L2 learning motivation (Dörnyei 2005, Mercer, Ryan, and Williams 2012) and learner autonomy (Benson 2011) are of key importance in L2 learning, as both are important predictors of successful L2 learners. In fact, both L2 learning motivation and learner autonomy – the latter through, e.g., formative feedback (Bader et al. 2019, Hyland and Hyland 2019, Lam 2018, Lopez-Pastor and Sicilia-Camacho 2017, Ryan and Deci 2020) and student engagement (Adams et al. 2020, Han and Xu 2019, Yu and Liu 2021, Winstone et al. 2017, Zhang and Hyland 2018, Zhang and Hyland 2022) – can support the development of students' writing skills. In an attempt to combine an L2 learning-motivation and learner-autonomy-driven approach (in a similar way as the one described by Yu et al. 2020) with writing skills development, this paper aims to demonstrate that writing skills can be effectively developed with the help of written portfolio tasks completed individually, in pairs, and through group work.

2. Portfolios

Portfolios have been used in tertiary education since the 1990s as a form of evidencing active use of knowledge and knowledge performance: portfolios have been applied as a means of demonstrating one's ability to solve complex problems related to their field of studies or specialization, and likewise as a way of demonstrating one's knowledge (Fathi et al. 2020, Lam 2018b). In addition, portfolios have also been used as a means of assessing students' knowledge. As a formative way of assessment (i.e. causing changes in students' linguistic behaviour with the help of teacher feedback), portfolios have been used quite successfully for language teaching purposes.

When discussing the nature of language portfolios in general, Hamp-Lyons and Condon (2000) identify nine principal characteristics of different portfolio approaches (discussion based on Weigle 2002). Portfolios:

1) are a collection of several written works rather than presenting one single writing sample;

2) exhibit a variety of written tasks: typically in diverse genres, for different audiences and for a range of purposes;

3) reflect the learning situation and show what the writer has accomplished in that context;

4) work with delayed evaluation of student work;

5) offer a selection of works for inclusion in the portfolio;

6) offer student-centred control through enabling students to select and revise their best pieces of writing for inclusion in the portfolio;

7) include reflection and self-assessment concerning the works included in the portfolio;

8) show and measure development with respect to certain criteria;

9) can be used to measure and document student development over time.

With a view to the above features, the portfolio approach offers numerous benefits as far as the development of students' English writing skills are concerned. Below, some of these advantages are discussed in some detail.

Li (2010) and Lam (2018b) claim that students' writing abilities develop if they are given the opportunity to produce several versions of the same text and if students are assessed on numerous occasions. Also, portfolios are capable of demonstrating students' language development over time, as Hamp-Lyons and Condon (2000) and Lam (2018b) note. Furthermore, for encouraging students to become less dependent on their teachers for guidance concerning their written works and for facilitating the development of a critical approach to their written compositions, the portfolio approach can naturally be paired up with the process writing approach. In general, it can be stated that through evaluation and feedback, portfolios contribute to students' writing skills development, as attested by Lam and Lee (2010).

Continuous and large amounts of instructor feedback is provided when using portfolio approach, which contribute to increasing students' L2 learning motivation, as discussed by Ma and Bui (2022) as well as Tsao et al. (2017). In addition, the portfolio approach encourages and helps students to be self-reflective in their writing, as discovered by Lam (2013), Lam (2018b), Ziegler and Moeller (2012), and Martin-Beltrán et al. (2018). This approach helps students identify and correct their typical mistakes, to phrase their thoughts more precisely, and to know their strengths and weaknesses as far as written text production is concerned. As the portfolio approach allows students to be more aware of their progress, to think critically about themselves as language users, and to assume increased responsibility for their own development – the importance of which is underscored by Lam (2018b) –, the portfolio approach increases students' independence during their learning process.

The portfolio approach engages and involves students in all phases of writing through reflection and formative evaluation, and for this reason, it can naturally be paired up with the process writing approach. When exposed to a portfolio approach, students develop a "critical consciousness" (Bennett-Bealer 2015) and an "evaluative sense about [their own] writing" (Hout 2002: 79). This way, students acquire the ability to self-correct their texts. In general, it can be stated that through evaluation – be it formative or summative – and feedback, portfolios contribute to students' writing skills development, as attested by Lam and Lee (2010).

In his discussion about the realization of the genre writing process in general, Bennett-Bealer (2015) lists the following stages as constituents of the writing journey: brainstorming, drafting, peer review, revising, editing, assessing, and student reaction to feedback. All of these stages can easily be integrated into a process-writing-based portfolio approach and can be documented in portfolios. As the portfolio approach allows students to be more aware of their progress, to think critically about themselves as language users, and to assume increased responsibility for their own development – as underscored by Delett et al. (2001), Banfi (2003), Yang (2003), and Allen (2004) –, the portfolio approach increases students' independence during their learning process including decreased dependence on instructors for advice and help as far as language development and the planning of such development are concerned (Esteve et al. 2012; Kohonen 2012).

It needs to be noted, at the same time, that research on the effects of the portfolio approach on ESP writing skills in the Hungarian context is virtually non-existent, and therefore the present paper also aims to fill this gap.

3. The portfolio used in the present study

The literature defines portfolios in numerous ways, mostly depending on the field of education where such portfolios are used. A broad definition of the portfolio is offered by Davis and Ponnamperuma (2005: 279), who state that a "portfolio is a collection of various forms of evidence of achievement of learning outcomes", which collection exhibits students' efforts and progress.

With respect to the process-writing-based portfolio used in the scope of the present study – which contains a range of student assignments collected, revised, and edited by the students themselves and is used for both formative and summative assessment during a language course –, the following definition has been adopted by the authors: a collection of texts of diverse genres produced through process writing that evidences students' best knowledge and is compiled by students after revisiting and correcting their assignments produced over a period of one academic semester.

As far as the specific portfolio tasks are concerned, the portfolio consisted of four tasks:

– a text containing personalized professional introduction,
– a graph analysis,
– a list of field-of-study-related terms, and
– a case study.

Since the majority of businesses insists on employing staff with a good command of English, the above tasks were chosen to be featured in the portfolio. The above tasks closely reflect what graduating students will be expected to produce in English, both orally and in writing, in the scope of a job interview. The above listed four portfolio tasks are described below in more detail as they were used at the Budapest Business School University of Applied Sciences (the former name of Budapest Business University; henceforth all references to this institution – irrespective of the actual name of the University in different periods – as: Budapest Business University) during the ESP course entitled the *Language of Finance and Accountancy*, in the autumn semester of 2019/2020, when the research was carried out.

3.1. Personalized professional introduction

The first portfolio task was to compose a personalized text discussing students' professional background and experience in a 200-to-300-word-long coherent text to be structured around various topics, including education attainments, employment history, work experience, strengths, interests, and career plans.

3.2. Graph analysis

The second task was to study a graph or a series of graphs in pairs. In this task, students were to analyse a graph about one of the topic areas covered in the course. The length of the text was 250-300 words. In the analysis, students were required to outline the background of the graph's topic, identify and analyse trends visible in the graph, give some general details concerning the graph, and describe future tendencies based on the graph. For this task, the same score was awarded to collaborating students.

3.3. List of field-of-study-related terms

The third task was the compilation of a terminology list related to the students' field of study. Students were to find a total of 30 new terms related to a maximum of 2 business topics covered during the course. In the portfolio, the terms had to be topically arranged (e.g. income statement). For each of the 30 words, a definition in English alongside with the Hungarian equivalents were to be included, and the use of the English term in context also had to be illustrated (e.g. by citing a sentence from a dictionary).

3.4. Case study

Students had to write a case study in groups. The topic of the case study was to address a topic covered during the course. In a total of 500-600 words, the case study was supposed to be structured as follows: introduction, background, problem description, problem analysis, suggestions for the solution of the problem, and conclusion.

4. Research questions

The present research aimed to test the applicability and usability of the above portfolio approach in developing university students' written ESP skills. Therefore, through the use of the above portfolio approach, this research posed the following research questions:

RQ1 – Does the portfolio approach applied in the scope of this research have a beneficial impact on participants' ESP writing skills?

RQ2 – Is the current portfolio approach more effective in developing written ESP skills as compared to non-process-based and non-formative ways of teaching writing?

RQ3 – Do any previous (tertiary education) studies, former experiences of compiling portfolios, work-related professional experiences, and having to use written English at work contribute to students' increased written ESP performance?

The data obtained with respect to these questions enable us to determine the applicability and usability of the portfolio approach presented above.

5. Methods

In order to find answers to the above research questions (RQs), we adopted a quasi-experimental research design, as it allows for the investigation of effectiveness of different teaching methods. To produce a tightly controlled environment (Johnson and Christensen 2019), we decided to create an experimental group and a control group: the former received special treatment, i.e. students were requested to compile a process-writing-based language portfolio, whereas the control group was not required to rework their texts or produce a portfolio, and thus students were to complete only the regular course tasks assigned by their instructors. In this research design, the purpose of having a control group was to possibly rule out as many factors impacting the results of the experiment beyond the ones under investigation as possible.

The quasi-experimental research design meant that in the autumn semester of 2019/2020 a pre- and a post-test were administered to examine whether there was any discrepancy between the experimental and the control groups in their end-of-term written performance. In this context, written performance was assessed through an e-mail writing examination task compiled and standardized by the Department of Languages for Finance and Business Management acting as competent department.

5.1. Participants

For the recruitment of the participants, purposive sampling was used, and the sample consisted of Hungarian university students studying finance and accountancy at Budapest Business University in the autumn semester of 2019/2020. For the research project, the total number of participants was 168 (N = 168), out of which 84 belonged to the experimental group (n = 84) and 84 to the control group (N = 84). The mean age of the participants was 21.75 years (M = 21.75; SD = 1.40), and in terms of gender 82 males and 86 females participated in the research. All participants of the study took the compulsory course titled the *Language of Finance and Accountancy* in the semester in question. The mother tongue of all participants was Hungarian.

5.2. Measuring university students' ESP writing skills: The instrument

As part of the requirements, in the course *Language of Finance and Accountancy*, our students take a standardized end-of-term test compiled by the Department of Languages for Finance and Business Management. This end-of-term test consists of a reading comprehension task with closed-ended questions (for maximum 30 points; which is of no importance for our present research purposes, as this task does not involve productive writing skills), and a writing assignment (20 points), of relevance for us. For the assessment of the writing task, a standardized writing assessment grid was created, which specified accuracy, spelling, use of English as well as structure and coherence of the compiled text as criteria of assessment. Each criterion is well defined, e.g. how many grammatical mistakes the writing assignment may have in order for the maximum amount of points to be awarded. This was important in order to ensure that any assessor would award the same final test points when assessing a given text, thus assessment objectivity could be ensured.

5.3. Data collection and data analysis methods

Before starting the data collection process at the beginning of the autumn semester of 2019/2020, all necessary and important information about the research project was shared with the participants, whose participation in the study was voluntary. The data obtained during the research were used and stored according to the applicable GDPR regulations and rules stipulated by Budapest Business University. Data collection was not anonymous: respondents had to provide their name so that the data obtained from the pre-test, the post-test, and the short paper-based questionnaire with participants' demographic information could be matched, coded, and later compared and analysed.

Besides basic demographic questions, such as age, gender, and university programme (cf. above), some questions aimed to collect information about the participants' previous experiences concerning the portfolio approach. These questions were the following:

– whether students had to compile any kind of portfolio (not necessarily English-language portfolio) earlier,

– whether they attended another tertiary educational institution,

– whether they worked (at least) part-time besides their studies, and

– whether those who worked part-time besides their studies had to correspond in English at work.

These additional background variables were of interest, as they were assumed to possibly affect and explain our participants' attitudes towards the portfolio tasks and could also potentially impact their ESP writing performance.

After administering this questionnaire, all participants in the experimental and control groups were asked to take the pre-test in order that participants' initial writing performance could be quantified and later compared and contrasted with the results of their post-tests taken at the end of the semester. For the purpose of identifying any potential change in the test results of our study's participants and for investigating whether there had been any improvement in their writing skills, initial measurements were obtained: a pre-test consisting of an e-mail writing task was administered at the very beginning of the semester, in the middle of September 2019. This was essential for obtaining insights into the initial level of our students' ESP writing skills. This was followed by the post-test, which took place in the middle of December 2019, when students – as part of their course requirements – completed the standardized end-of-term test including e-mail writing.

As for the assessment of the test results at the pre- and post-tests, the scores of the writing task at the very beginning of the semester (i.e. pre-test with a maximum of 20 points) were compared with the scores of the end-of-term writing task (i.e. a post-test with a maximum of 20 points). In the pre-test, all students were required to individually compose a short business letter of 130-150 words, for which task a maximum of 20 points could be awarded. The letter composed as part of this assignment was assessed by one of the authors and another member of the Department of Languages for Finance and Business Management thoroughly trained in such evaluation, and the average of the points awarded by the two assessors was used for the purposes of the analysis of pre-test results. As previously mentioned, in addition to the pre-test, a post-test was administered at the end of the semester. In the scope of this post-test, students – just like in the case of the pre-test – were to individually compose a text of 130-150 words, which was assessed by the previously mentioned assessors. The average of the points awarded by the two assessors was then used for the purposes of the research project.

During the semester, in addition to the texts composed at the pre-test, each student in the control group was to compose another three pieces of texts (two business letters and a CV) as part of the compulsory course content, i.e. students in the control group had to produce altogether five texts (including the pre-test and the post-test) during the term. Students in the experimental group, who were to compile portfolios, were also required to compose five texts altogether (a personalized professional introduction, a graph analysis and a case study as well as the pre- and the post-tests). The portfolio tasks in the experimental group (cf. the section "The portfolio used in present study") were not closely related, either in theme or in genre, to the end-of-term test even though these written assignments (e.g. case study) strongly focused on professional matters. At the same time, the writing tasks (business letters) in the control group were similar in terms of their genre to the tasks at the end-of-the-semester written exam. This research design meant that students in the experimental group composed as many texts as the students in the control group did, but the production processes were different.

The student score averages and the data obtained during the research project – following the coding of such data – were exported to a Microsoft Excel file, which was then transferred into SPSS 28.0. For the analysis of the data, t-tests were used in order to find statistically significant differences between the control and experimental groups' averages of pre-test and post-test scores. The level of statistical significance was $p < .05$.

6. Results and discussion

In this section, the results of our empirical study are presented. As a background, some additional information about the participants is provided: 89.3% of the respondents (N = 150) reported that they were not enrolled at any other higher education institution during or before the data collection, and 10.7% was enrolled at another higher education institution (N = 18). Out of the respondents, 73.8% (N = 124) never had to compile a portfolio at any other course before, and only 26.2% of the participants (N = 44) were required to compile a portfolio of some kind at one of their earlier courses. Our participants were also asked about whether they worked part-time besides their studies. In total, 70.2% of the respondents (N = 118) reported that they had a part-time job. As for having a job besides their studies, our participants were also asked to provide information whether they had to use English at work (i.e. correspond or communicate in English in any other ways): 64.4% of those who worked part-time (N = 76) had to use English for their work on a regular basis.

In the scope of data analyses, the mean scores of both the pre-test and the post-test were calculated for all the participants so that these scores could be compared for investigating whether the portfolio approach applied in the scope of this research is capable of improving university students' ESP writing skills. Consequently, independent samples t-tests were run in order to test whether there are any significant differences in the mean scores of participants in the experimental and control groups. For this comparison, both the pre-test and post-test means of the two groups were examined and compared. The pertaining data are summarized in *Table 1*.

Table 1. *Results of independent samples t-tests between mean test scores of participants in the experimental and control groups*

Pre-/Post-test	Group	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pre-test	Experimental	13.17	3.97	.17	166	.788
	Control	13.00	4.05			
Post-test	Experimental	15.59	2.37	3.75	150.73	<.001*
	Control	13.93	3.30			

Note: Statistical significance level of t-tests: *p <. 05.

Table 1 demonstrates that there was no statistically significant difference between the pre-test scores of our participants (M = 13.17 and M = 13.00 respectively). Such unanimity was achieved by a placement test administered to the participants prior to the course. This means participants in the experimental and in the control groups possessed the same level of language proficiency concerning writing skills when the pre-test was administered, which was required to ensure the reliability of the research. In contrast, students' post-test test scores in the experimental and the control groups demonstrate a statistically significant difference ($p < .001$), i.e. participants in the experimental group outperformed participants in the control group. This answers our research question and confirms that the portfolio approach developed by our Department was efficient both as a way of general ESP writing skills improvement and, consequently, also as a means of exam preparation. This confirms the authors' initial hypothesis that the portfolio approach is an effective and efficient way of improving learners' ESP writing skills. The above results are in line with the findings of previous research examining the effectiveness of portfolios in improving ESP writing skills (Burner 2014, Lam 2018a, Li 2010, Tabatabaei and Assefi 2012).

The pre-test scores were examined through independent t-tests in order to investigate whether there are any statistically significant differences between the participants' mean scores based on the different background variables, i.e.:

– whether they compiled a portfolio before,

– whether they attended another higher educational institution simultaneously with attending Budapest Business University,

– whether the participants worked part-time besides their studies, and

– whether the students who worked part-time besides their studies had to correspond in English as part of their job.

The mean scores and the results of the independent samples t-tests are presented in *Table 2.*

Table 2. *Results of independent samples t-tests between participants' mean test scores at pre-test*

Variables	Yes/No	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
(1) Compiled a portfolio earlier	Yes	44	13.77	4.28	1.33	166	.184
	No	124	12.84	3.89			
(2) Attended another tertiary educational institution	Yes	18	14.90	3.77	2.05	166	.051
	No	150	12.87	3.98			
(3) Worked part-time besides their studies	Yes	118	13.32	4.10	1.19	166	.236
	No	50	12.52	3.73			
(4) Worked part-time besides their studies and had to correspond in English at work	Yes	76	13.55	4.33	.82	166	.414
	No	42	12.90	4.39			

Note: Statistical significance level of t-tests: $^{*}p < .05$.

The results in *Table 2* show no statistically significant differences between students' mean scores with regard to any of the above background variables. This underscores that at the time of the administration of the pre-test, there were no significant differences in the scores of the participants regarding the above background variables. This means that all groups were relatively homogeneous concerning the above four factors.

Concerning the above variables, it was also investigated whether any statistically significant differences between participants' post-test scores could be found. Independent samples t-tests were used to discover if any of the above background variables have an impact on participants' post-test performance. *Table 3* presents the results of the independent samples t-tests.

Table 3. *Results of independent samples t-tests between participants' mean test scores at post-test*

Variables	Yes/No	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
(1) Compiled a portfolio earlier	Yes	44	15.86	2.31	2.91	166	.004*
	No	124	14.37	3.11			
(2) Attended another tertiary educational institution	Yes	18	16.56	3.03	2.75	166	.007*
	No	150	14.55	2.92			
(3) Worked part-time besides their studies	Yes	118	14.69	3.02	-.44	166	.657
	No	50	14.90	2.93			
(4) Worked part-time besides their studies and had to correspond in English at work	Yes	16	15.18	2.96	2.41	166	.017*
	No	102	13.81	2.97			

Note: Statistical significance level of t-tests: *$p < .05$.

As opposed to the pre-test results, several statistically significant differences were identified in the post-test mean scores of our participants. One of such differences ($p = .004$) was found between the post-test mean scores of those participants who previously had some experience compiling a portfolio during their studies ($M = 15.86$, $SD = 2.31$) and the post-test mean scores of those students who had no such experience ($M = 14.37$, $SD = 3.11$). What might explain this is that the students who had to compile a portfolio before realized the importance, benefits, and merits of preparing one: they took the task more seriously and put more conscious effort into producing their work. Alternatively, this finding may also be explained by the following: teacher feedback may have a positive effect on learners' confidence and L2 learning motivation (Ruegg 2014); therefore, participants who had to compile a portfolio before could have taken their teacher's feedback more seriously. This is further reassured by the findings of Ruegg (2017), who investigated teacher feedback on writing and found that learners assume that teachers will provide feedback on writing-related problems, and this will help improve the quality of the texts produced. This assumption may also have contributed to the preparation of our research participants' portfolios, which have been created in a cyclical manner over several rounds of teacher (and peer) feedback. On the other hand, obviously, learners who previously had some experience compiling a portfolio during their studies also had some advantage, as they were already familiar with the concept of portfolios and probably had some knowledge of how to prepare high-quality submissions.

The second background variable also shows there is a statistically significant difference ($p = .007$) between the mean scores of the participants who attended another tertiary educational institution ($M = 16.56$) and of those who did not ($M = 14.55$): the mean scores achieved by those who participated in courses at another university are higher than the mean scores of those who did not. This could be explained by the increased efficiency and effort invested by these students: such students were probably more motivated to perform well and diligently, and their study and organizational skills may have been more developed than those of other less experienced students. As for the third variable, i.e. working part time during studies, there is only a negligible difference between our participants' mean scores ($M = 14.69$ and $M = 14.90$ respectively), and no statistically significant difference was found between these mean scores. It seems that work experience does have some but not a substantial impact on students' performance.

With respect to the last variable (corresponding in English), a statistically significant difference ($p = .017$) between participants' post-test mean scores was identified: it can be stated that those students who had to correspond in English at work scored significantly higher ($M = 15.18$) than those who did not ($M = 13.81$). The authors' assumption here is that the former group had more experience in using English at work, which may well have contributed to their better performance at the portfolio tasks: daily work execution in English must have positively impacted students' language skills. Such students may have had more practice and training in composing texts, which might well have contributed to their achieving better results at writing tasks. Besides, these students – as opposed to ones who did not have to correspond in English – may have realized the potentials of practising and improving their writing skills with the help of receiving more extensive feedback in the scope of the portfolio project. In fact, the exposition to extensive feedback constitutes one of the main benefits underlined in the literature (Alharbi 2022, Dressler et al. 2019, Mujtaba et al. 2021, Ziegler and Moeller 2012), and this may have caused students to invest more effort in the compilation of their portfolios. Concerning the background variables, based on the above data, it can be established that students' prior learning and work experience impact their portfolio performance, as attested by the current research.

7. Conclusions

In general, based on our research data, it can be stated that the portfolio approach developed by the Department of Languages for Finance and Business Management functions as an effective way of improving students' general ESP writing skills. This is attested by the fact that in our research project, our participants scored higher in the post-test than in the pre-test. Through fostering extensive and personalized student involvement in the development of ESP writing skills, the present portfolio approach may help to better tailor language education to individual demands and needs. In addition, such an approach – as previous research carried out by Abdel Latif (2019) suggests – satisfies individual demands more extensively and may result in a lower level of L2 writers' negative affect and a more positive general attitude towards L2 writing. Concerning the findings, the results of this research project are in line with the findings of previous research (Alharbi 2022, Dressler et al. 2019, Lam 2018b, Mujtaba et al. 2021, Pospisilova 2018, Tyas 2020, Ziegler and Moeller 2012), which point out that one of the main strengths of process-writing-based portfolio approaches is to help learners reflect on their own texts, correct their own mistakes, and contribute to their own development more extensively.

It may also be concluded that, similarly to the findings of previous research (Burner 2014, Lam 2018a, Li 2010, Tabatabaei and Assefi 2012), the portfolio approach applied in the scope of this research project is an efficient way of improving university students' ESP writing skills: this approach allows for students' continuous improvement of ESP written texts through the student–teacher dialogue about the texts produced, which evolves during the cyclical and customizable task completion characterizing this process-writing-based portfolio approach. Also, the results of the present research project suggest that it would be worthwhile to introduce English-language portfolios even more extensively to business English courses offered in the scope of tertiary-level degree programmes. Such a scenario may provide students with opportunities to compile several portfolios during their studies, thereby developing their language skills from course to course. Such an arrangement would also enable students to potentially develop different language skills in different courses. In turn, this would eventually offer students the flexibility and opportunity to design their custom-made paths of language development during their studies to the greater benefit of their individual language development. This way, students could decide which ESP language skills they wish to focus on at a certain course and how this will finally form a tailor-made and customizable full-scale language training component during the completion of their degree programmes. In such a setting, students may easily connect their ESP studies with their work experience, which may further enhance the mutual impacts of these two areas on students' professional development.

As far as the limitations of this research project are concerned, the following can be stated. Students who already compiled a portfolio may have had an advantage over those students who had never been involved in such an activity before. This advantage may have consisted in having more knowledge about the potential benefits and merits of compiling a portfolio and in having more practice in completing such a task. This may have influenced the above research findings. Another limitation is that the study did not address the examination of students' development in the individual criteria of assessment. The scrutiny of this may have shed light on what areas are more likely to be improved through the proposed portfolio method. Finally, and additionally, this study is limited by its sample size (N = 168). Therefore, in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture, a similar research project should be carried out with a larger and more varied sample size. This means that the findings of this study are not necessarily transferable to much broader contexts. Even so, the findings presented herein may form a firm basis for further investigation. It must also be noted that, due to these limitations, this study merely reveals potential tendencies, which need to be ascertained through further, possibly larger-scale research.

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Medical Texts and Their Translation in Translator Training

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Abstract. With the development of medicine, the demand for the translation of medical texts has increased significantly. Translations play an important role in disseminating medical knowledge and new medical discoveries and are vital in the provision of health services to foreigners, tourists, or minorities. Translating medical texts requires a variety of skills. In our study, we assess the extent to which translation and interpretation students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania are able to translate medical texts from English into their mother tongue (Hungarian) and Romanian (the official language of the country). With the purpose of curriculum development, we examine whether the lack of medical knowledge affects the work of translators and what strategies can be used in translation in the absence of this expertise. We also examine our students' attitude related to translating medical texts and becoming a medical translator.

Keywords: translator training, medical texts, medical translation, medical writing

1. Medical language use and translation

Medical language (as well as specialized languages in general) is characterized by stratification according to the context and situation in which it is used. This is reflected in both the vertical and the horizontal structure of specialized languages. In this context, we can talk about three closely interlinked user levels: the academic/scientific language, which is characterized primarily by theoretical aspects; the professional common language, which means the use of language in everyday professional practice; the so-called language of mediation, which conveys the results of science and profession to the laity (Roelcke 2002).

In the communication between medical professionals and lay people, doctors, nurses, and other healthcare professionals (in some cases, medical writers as well) have to use clear and understandable language and offer explanations for non-professionals. They can be called "bilinguals" (Kuna and Ludányi 2018) who need to know both the language of their patients, the patients' relatives, or their target readers and the language of the medical profession. This kind of bilingualism is complex and complicated, is often difficult to implement, and possible failures in communication between medical professionals and patients may cause dissatisfaction among patients, sometimes even leading to inadequate treatments and lawsuits (Pilling 2008, Youngson 2017). The language of the documentation received by patients (clinical findings, hospital discharge forms, medical letters, reports, prescriptions) can play an outstanding role in communication between medical professionals and patients. The correct interpretation and understanding of medical documentation may be vital for successful treatment, patient safety, and satisfaction. Expert–lay communication should include less complicated and complex medical terms, or such terms should be explained or illustrated when they occur for the first time (Gotti 2008).

In the 21st century, a new phenomenon, the category of the e-patients, or "smart patients" appeared (Meskó 2016), meaning that patients and online communities discuss and provide information and organize themselves in online forums about different illnesses and recovery. This also has an impact on the transformation of the structure of healing and healthcare, and it creates new challenges regarding communication between healthcare professionals and patients, and the use and understanding of medical terms, treatments, and procedures.

The three mentioned user levels are very closely linked. The language of medical documentation, the excessive or individual use of abbreviations and acronyms can make even communication among professionals difficult although they are an integral part of their active vocabulary. According to Bandur (2003), physicians use nearly 300 abbreviations as part of their active vocabulary, and they understand approximately the same amount in a given situation. However, it often occurs that a specialist of a certain medical domain does not understand expressions and abbreviations related to other domains. Genres used in the communication between professionals, such as case studies, discharge summaries, imaging reports, contain a large number of specialized terms whose meaning is generally known by the professional users. However, some of the words or phrases may have to be explained when they are redefined by an author (Gotti 2008). The professional common language in the communication between professionals can depend to a large extent on the context. Depending on this, they can be more closely intertwined with the academic/scientific language or the language of mediation. There are specifically standard text types following conventionalized patterns such as a referral. The referral is an official document, and it must contain certain specific information (for example, the name of the official institution, the name of the patient, his/her place and time of birth and address, the period of medical treatment care, the time of the examination, medical history, diagnosis; the name, signature, stamp number and seal of the doctor) (Kuna and Ludányi 2018).

The highest level of abstraction in professional languages may be encountered in the so-called theoretical, academic, or scientific language use, which also has its characteristic speech events, discourse types, and related terminological problems. Academic language is used in scientific lectures and articles, studies, monographs, and also in medical education. The main characteristics of specialized medical texts are that in most cases they include syntactic features such as nominalization, long sentences, pre- and post-modifications, the use of third person and passives, and terminology (Askehave and Zethsen 2000).

Medical translation is necessary in several different subject areas depending on the fields of specialty such as surgery, pharmacology, medical rescue, obstetrics, oncology, paediatrics, psychiatry, cardiology, internal medicine, and other related disciplines such as administration and law. Medical texts cover a wide variety of topics related to the different branches of medicine, and they can also belong to different genres such as clinical guidelines, grant applications, manuscripts, media releases about research, news and feature articles for medical professionals, pharmaceutical product marketing materials, product information, protocols, regulatory submissions, reports, research papers, conference proceedings, case histories, case studies, discharge summaries, and relatively simple texts for patients: consent forms, information leaflets, brochures, and others. According to Karwacka (2015: 291), "medical translation is a complex and interesting phenomenon in which linguistic, sociocultural, scientific, economic and other factors are at play". Translation of medical texts in any of the above-mentioned user levels, domains, or genres can be vital, and medical translators must be aware of the responsibility they undertake in this challenging work.

2. Translator trainees' work and performance

The target group of this study consists of 24 translator trainees, BA students studying Translation and Interpretation at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania. Our three-year bachelor programme offers training in three languages: Hungarian (their mother tongue), Romanian (their second language and the official language of the country), and English (their third/foreign language). The programme includes a two-semester-long course and seminar in specialized languages in the second year and two semesters of practice in translating medical texts in the third year. It is important to note that this BA programme is not designed to train specialized translators. The subjects included in the programme offer our translator trainees the possibility to get acquainted with the characteristics and translation of specialized texts on a basic level. If they wish to become translators in the domain of healthcare and medicine, they will need to study and practise more in order to become licensed and accredited specialized translators.

Translation and interpretation graduates do not automatically become authorized and licensed translators in Romania. For that, they need to take an examination organized by the Ministry of Culture. This test may be taken in several domains: agricultural sciences, art, chemistry, economic sciences, electronics and telecommunications, geography, history, informatics, legal sciences, literature, mathematical sciences, medicine and pharmacy, philosophy and religion, physics, political science, sociology, technology. While writing the test, candidates are not allowed to use the Internet, machine translation, or other online resources, only a printed bilingual dictionary. As a result, the chances of candidates who studied applied linguistics but have no previous training or work experience in a specialized domain is rather limited. In the classes dedicated to the translation of medical texts, we use some of the sample texts related to medicine and pharmacy published in the candidate's guide for the translator exam, issued by the Ministry of Culture (Blănaru and Romanic 2018), in order to show them the level of difficulty of such a test.

In this study, we assessed our target group's attitude regarding the translation of medical texts, the strategies they used in the process of translating them, and the possible difficulties they faced in the process. We also analysed some of their translations in order to assess their performance and identify the most common errors.

2.1. Translating medical texts – Students' perspectives

We designed a questionnaire in order to assess our students' needs related to translating medical texts. The questionnaire consisted of seven questions focusing on translator trainees' attitude, difficulties, strategies, and use of ICT tools related to translating medical texts, and it was completed by 24 third-year students.

First, we asked about their future intentions, enquiring whether they considered becoming medical translators. Three possible answers could be chosen: Yes, No, I do not know – and they had to explain their choice. The students' options are shown in *Figure 1*.

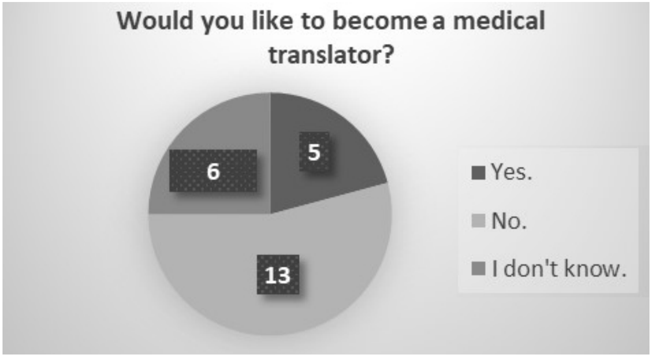

Figure 1. *Preference of becoming a medical translator*

More than half of the translator trainees do not wish to become medical translators, six are indecisive, and five would like to become medical translators. The students who do not wish to translate medical texts as a future career gave the following reasons: they think that they could never get familiar with medical procedures and the related terminology; it is a large domain, and even doctors or pharmacists may have difficulties in understanding texts which are not related to their specialty; medical texts can be too complex and difficult, they do not understand them; there can be too much risk and responsibility when translating medical documents; they are more interested in other domains such as audiovisual translation, translating literature or texts from other domains; they do not plan to work as translators; some of them would be interested in translating health-related texts written for the general public, about topics such as wellbeing, diet, lifestyle, treating or preventing certain diseases, but not scientific or highly specialized texts. Those students, who do not know whether they would work as medical translators justified their answer as follows: if there are such jobs, they are probably taken by translators who also have a degree in the domain of healthcare; they do not know if such jobs exist or would be available in Romania; they doubt if they could meet the job requirements for a medical translator; it is too soon to think about a future job, they need more experience in order to decide. Translator trainees who would like to become medical translators gave the following explanations: medical translators are well paid; online sources and machine translation can help overcome the possible difficulties in translating medical texts; texts related to healthcare can be challenging, but they are also interesting; they already have a degree in healthcare; they are interested in topics related to healthcare.

The next question was related to the difficulty of translating medical texts compared to general translation. The majority of the students (22) believe that medical translation is more difficult, and they mentioned four difficulties which they encountered while translating medical texts: resulting from their lack of subject knowledge and experience in the domain of healthcare, they could not decide whether their translations were acceptable; they did not understand the meaning of certain terms/sentences/procedures in the source text; they were unable to find the target language equivalent of some source language medical terms; they could not find reliable online sources or dictionaries which could help in the process of translation.

The following question referred to the possible solutions and strategies they found to overcome the difficulties. Here the following were mentioned: colleagues, teachers, or specialist friends helped with proofreading; they consulted specialized online resources, dictionaries or asked people who studied or worked in the domain of healthcare for help.

The fourth question referred to the sources they used when translating medical texts. Here they mentioned machine translation (MT), textbooks, online dictionaries, course books, websites related to the subject domain, containing definitions of terms and descriptions of different processes and procedures. They also asked friends or acquaintances working in healthcare for guidance and explanations.

In the fifth question, we asked whether MT (e.g. Google Translate or DeepL) and CAT tools (e.g. Trados or MemoQ) were useful when translating medical texts. MT proved to be helpful in translating English texts into Romanian, but it was less efficient when translating into Hungarian. Most students mentioned that they relied mostly on MT; their work consisted mainly in identifying and correcting the errors and mistranslations in the target texts generated by Google Translate. In their case, CAT tools did not prove to be particularly useful in translating medical texts.

In the last question, respondents were asked to mention five skills or characteristics which they consider essential for a medical translator. Some of them listed less than five characteristics. In order of frequency, the following were mentioned (in brackets we also indicate the number of the students who mentioned them): good command of the target language and the source language (20); familiarity with/experience in the subject area (18); domain knowledge – medical knowledge and skills (15); good writing skills (13); familiarity with the terminology of the domain (12); ICT skills (10); accuracy (8); research skills (4); problem-solving skills (2); cultural awareness (2); time management (1); teamwork (1); creativity (1); flexibility (1); attention to details (1); self-sufficiency (1); resourcefulness (1); openness (1).

2.2. The process and outcome of medical translation – Translator trainees' work

We also analysed our students' translations of medical texts, focusing on the problems and difficulties they encountered and the solutions they found. These issues are illustrated with examples from the translations, also giving explanations based on interviews with the students whose works we selected for this analysis.

Table 1. *English medical text translated into Romanian*

Source text	Google Translate	Student’s work (1)	Student’s work (2)
“Studies have provided much of today’s knowledge about cancers caused by radiation exposures from nuclear power plant accidents. The new research builds on this foundation using next-generation DNA sequencing and other genomic characterization tools to analyze biospecimens from people in Ukraine who were affected by the disaster. The first study investigated the long-standing question of whether radiation exposure results in genetic changes that can be passed from parent to offspring, as has been suggested by some studies in animals. To answer this question, Dr. Chanock and his colleagues analyzed the complete genomes of 130 people born between 1987 and 2002 and their 105 mother-father pairs.”[1]	Studiile au furnizat o mare parte din cunoştinţele de astăzi despre cancerele cauzate de expunerea la radiaţii din accidentele centralei nucleare. Noua cercetare se bazează pe această fundaţie folosind secvenţierea ADN-ului de nouă generaţie şi alte instrumente de caracterizare genomică pentru a analiza biospecimenele de la persoanele din Ucraina care au fost afectate de dezastru. Primul studiu a investigat problema îndelungată a faptului dacă expunerea la radiaţii are ca rezultat modificări genetice care pot fi transmise de la părinte la descendenţi, aşa cum a fost sugerat de unele studii la animale. Pentru a răspunde la această întrebare, dr. Chanock şi colegii săi au analizat genomurile complete ale 130 de persoane născute între 1987 şi 2002 şi ale celor 105 perechi mamă-tată.	Studiile au furnizat o mare parte din cunoştinţele de astăzi despre cancerele cauzate de expunerea la radiaţii din accidentele *centralelor* nucleare. Noua cercetare se bazează pe această fundaţie folosind secvenţierea ADN-ului de nouă generaţie şi alte instrumente de caracterizare genomică pentru a analiza biospecimenele de la persoanele din Ucraina care au fost afectate de dezastru. Primul studiu a investigat *o întrebare veche,* dacă expunerea la radiaţii are ca rezultat modificări genetice care pot fi transmise de la părinte la descendenţi, aşa cum a fost sugerat de unele studii la animale. Pentru a răspunde la această întrebare, dr. Chanock şi colegii săi au analizat genomurile complete ale 130 de persoane născute între 1987 şi 2002 şi ale celor 105 perechi mamă-tată.	Studiile au furnizat că cunoaştinţele despre cancer în zilele noastre sunt cauzate de expunerea la radiaţii din accidentul nuclear. Noua cercetare a fost bazată pe folosirea secvenţierii ADN-ului noii generaţii şi alte instrumente de caracterizare genomică, pentru analizarea biospecimenului al oamenii din Ucraina care a fost afectate de acest dezastru. Primul studiu a verificat aceasta întrebarea veche despre expunerii la radiaţii în genetic care pot fi transmise de la părinţi la urmaşi, cum nişte studii despre animale au demonstrat. Ca să răspundem la aceaste întrebare, Dr. Chanock şi colegii lui au analizat genele complete a 130 de oameni care s-au născut între 1987 şi 2002 şi 105 perechi dintre părinţii lor.

1 https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2021/04/210422150435.htm.

In *Table 1*, we present an example, a paragraph from a text with the title *Genetic Effects of Chernobyl Radiation*, translated from English into Romanian. The first column of the table contains the source text, the second column its Google Translate version, and the third and fourth columns two translations performed by students. The Google Translate version is included because most of our students mentioned that they started their work by creating a raw translation with the help of MT. The third column contains such an example – a corrected MT translation. The unacceptable parts of the translations are underlined, the corrected and rephrased parts (compared to the machine-translated version) are in italics. The fourth column contains the work of a student who did not use MT, only online dictionaries and websites related to the topic. It is important to mention that none of our students have any previous training in healthcare.

As shown in *Table 1*, the Google Translate version contains four mistranslated sections. In the first one, the singular form of the word *centralei* in Romanian suggests that the study refers to accidents caused by only one power plant. In order to refer to power plants in general, as suggested in the source text, the plural form *centralelor* should be used. The first student managed to correct this error. The second underlined error is a mistranslation which alters the initial message of the source text: *secvențierea ADN-ului de nouă generație*. If we translate it back into English, it means 'sequencing of the new generation DNS'. This mistranslation was not noticed and corrected by the student. The next underlined part, *problema îndelungată a faptului*, means 'the prolonged problem of the fact', which does not make any sense in this context. The student managed to correct it appropriately. The last mistranslation is in fact an omission, failing to convey that the mother–father pairs were in fact the parents of the 130 people mentioned before. The student failed to notice this omission.

The second student did not use Google Translate, only online dictionaries. Therefore, her errors are not related to the MT version from the second column. Her first, rather significant error, was the misinterpretation and mistranslation of the first sentence. If we translate it back to English, it means that 'nowadays knowledge about cancer is caused by exposure to radiation from a nuclear accident'. Her second underlined mistranslation is probably again the result of misinterpreting the source text because her translation means 'DNS sequencing of the new generation'. The next mistake occurs in the translation of 'from people' as *al oamenii*, an incorrect form in Romanian. Instead, she should have used the word *persoanelor*. The following underlined part is again an example of the use of incorrect structures in Romanian; a corrected version could be: *a căutat răspuns la această întrebare veche referitoare la efectele genetice…* The word *aceaste* contains a spelling error, the correct form is *această* (this).

Table 2. *English medical text translated into Hungarian*

Source text	Google Translate	Student's work (1)	Student's work (2)
"Studies have provided much of today's knowledge about cancers caused by radiation exposures from nuclear power plant accidents. The new research builds on this foundation using next-generation DNA sequencing and other genomic characterization tools to analyze biospecimens from people in Ukraine who were affected by the disaster. The first study investigated the long-standing question of whether radiation exposure results in genetic changes that can be passed from parent to offspring, as has been suggested by some studies in animals. To answer this question, Dr. Chanock and his colleagues analyzed the complete genomes of 130 people born between 1987 and 2002 and their 105 mother-father pairs."	Tanulmányok adták a mai ismeretek nagy részét az atomerőmű-balesetekből származó sugárterhelés okozta rákos megbetegedésekről. Az új kutatás erre az alapra épül a következő generációs DNS-szekvenálás és más genomiális jellemzési eszközök segítségével, hogy elemezze a katasztrófa által érintett ukrajnai emberek biológiai mintáit. Az első tanulmány azt a régóta fennálló kérdést vizsgálta, hogy a sugárterhelés olyan genetikai változásokat eredményez-e, amelyek a szülőktől az utódig továbbadhatók, amint azt néhány állatokon végzett vizsgálat is sugallja. A kérdés megválaszolásához Dr. Chanock és munkatársai elemezték az 1987 és 2002 között született 130 ember és 105 anya-apa pár teljes genomját.	A tanulmányok szolgálják a mai ismeretek nagy részét az atomerőmű balesetekből származó sugárterhelés okozta rákos megbetegedésekről. Az új kutatás erre az alapra épül a következő generációs DNS szekvenálás és más genomális vizsgálatok segítségével, hogy elemezze a katasztrófa által érintett ukrajnai emberek biológiai mintáit. Az első tanulmány azt a régóta fennálló kérdést vizsgálta, hogy a sugárterhelés olyan genetikai változásokat eredményez-e, amelyek a szülőktől az utódig továbbadhatók, amint azt néhány állatkísérlet is sugallta. A kérdés megválaszolásához Dr. Chanock és munkatársai elemezték az 1987 és 2002 között született 130 ember és 105 anya-apa pár teljes genomját.	Tanulmányok szolgáltatják a mai ismeretek nagy részét az atomerőmű-balesetekből származó sugárterhelés okozta rákos megbetegedésekről. Az új kutatás erre az alapra épít, és *újgenerációs DNS-szekvenálást és más genetikai jellemzési eszközöket használ a katasztrófa által érintett ukrajnai emberekből származó biológiai minták elemzésére*. Az első tanulmány azt a régóta fennálló kérdést vizsgálta, hogy a sugárterhelés olyan genetikai változásokat eredményez-e, amelyeket *a szülők továbbadhatnak az utódoknak*, ahogyan azt egyes állatokon végzett vizsgálatok feltételezik. E kérdés megválaszolása érdekében Dr. Chanock és kollégái 130, 1987 és 2002 között született ember és 105 anya-apa pár teljes genetikáját elemezték.

When translating an English text into Romanian, our students work in fact with two languages, neither of which is their native language. This fact definitely adds to the difficulty of the task. However, if they intend to find a job in Romania, they must be able to translate into or from Romanian as well.

The second example contains the same paragraph from the same text translated into Hungarian. As is the previous example, *Table 2* also contains the source text, its machine-translated version, and the translations performed by two students. The third column contains an example of a poor translation and the fourth column a better one. Both students used MT in their work. The unacceptable parts of the translations are underlined, the corrected and rephrased parts – compared to the Google Translate version – are in italics.

As we can see in the second column of *Table 2*, the machine translation contains longer mistranslated parts and structures that are not considered correct or appropriate in Hungarian. The first student failed to correct any of them; moreover, his translation contains also another mistake: using the definite article at the beginning of the first sentence, thus altering its meaning, referring to the studies, as if the article enlisted all the studies related to the topic. The second student produced a more acceptable translation, doing a much better job in reformulating the sentences using more appropriate style and forms in Hungarian. The first underlined sentence in the machine-translated version is difficult to understand because of its confusing structure. By changing the word order and structure, the second student managed to formulate a clearer sentence. The second underlined part contains another word order issue in the Hungarian text, which was successfully solved by the second student. The translations of the last sentence in all three Hungarian translations contains the same omission, which was also a problem in the Romanian translations: failing to convey that the mother–father pairs were in fact the parents of the 130 people mentioned before.

3. Conclusions

Medical translation has proved to be a difficult task for translator trainees, who have no previous experience or studies in the domain of healthcare, and their main interest is in humanistic studies. Most of them do not even consider becoming medical translators, and when faced with such texts, they heavily rely on MT and Internet sources in order to compensate for their lack of experience in the subject area. However, because of the demands of the market, and personal or financial interests, some of the students are willing to take up the challenge of a career in medical translation.

The questionnaire and the analysis of the translations offered us a deeper insight into our students' needs, strengths, and weaknesses, and it may be helpful in curriculum development. We can demonstrate and practise the features of medical writing and translation, raise our students' awareness of the necessary skills and knowledge, and help them develop some strategies and techniques that they might find helpful when encountering medical texts. For those who would like to take up medical translation as a career, it is advisable to receive further training in the subject domain.

A further step of this research may be a comparative study of medical translations performed by translator trainees versus medical students with the same level of English (B2/C1).

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Linguistic Landscape of Football. Reterritorialization in a Minority Setting

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Abstract. Football has been related to various fields of linguistics, and linguistic landscape (LL) research is no exception. The study examines how football fans in a linguistically, culturally, and ethnically diverse region claim the club and the stadium as their own space in the process of reterritorialization (Monaghan 2020), due to numerous linguistic and semiotic resources. The research site is a Hungarian minority context in the public space of a football stadium in Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania. The linguistic landscape of football in Sfântu Gheorghe has never been explored in depth before. The study draws on a corpus based on photographs, videos taken inside and outside of the stadium, and data collected from the social media. The analysis shows that the presence of Hungarian in this particular LL indexes collective identity and describes the positioning strategies of the Hungarian minority speakers. The study also explores the processes of identity negotiation in which they are engaged.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, semiotic landscape, language policy, ethnic minority

1. Introduction

It is Friday night. As I am trying to drive into the city where I live, I am blocked by waves of traffic, cars full of people, leaving a newly built football stadium after a match day. It is a game day, a national football event, with banners, flags, adverts in and outside of the stadium. We usually assume that sport, in particular football, is only a game and a competition. What if there is more to tell than scoring a goal?

Football in its global context (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009) has various connections with different areas of linguistics. The main concern, probably, has been the language of football from its terminology to register. However, in recent years, more and more studies deal with the language choice of players and coaches (Lavric and Steiner 2018), ethnicity and diversity discourses of the fans (Kytölä 2017), identity issues in the football stadiums, etc. (Del Percio 2015, Gibbons 2011). Football is therefore closely linked to sociolinguistic and discourse phenomena, and linguistic landscape is no exception. Studies have already drawn particular attention on symbolic space construction (Monaghan 2020). Not surprisingly, for the home team, the stadium is the familiar, *holy ground*, while for the visitors it is the unknown, danger-filled, agonizing *hell* (Péter 2010: 21). This space is a public one and open for meaning-making, which builds up the linguistic landscape of football, with all the processes and states of "becoming undone" through "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987 – qtd. in Monaghan 2020: 177). To follow up this enquiry, it is important to know what linguistic and semiotic resources are present in the landscape and how they contribute to the construction of local ethnic identity. The study seeks answers to the following research questions: what linguistic and semiotic resources are used in a football stadium to construct the ethnic minority identity and how reterritorialization takes place in this public space.

The paper is structured as follows: in the first part, I outline the theoretical perspectives by emphasizing the need for a semiotic approach in linguistic landscape research. Public space is a central notion in linguistic landscape studies, and this time is no different, as I focus on stadiums as such, unravelling the relationship between football and linguistic landscape research. The paper will further expand on the concept of reterritorialization and settle it in the context of a bilingual, minority situation. This will be followed by a description of data and data collection procedures, where the most important aim was to capture the diverse offline and online resources produced and used by fans, as private agents, and by the club, as an official, corporate one. Data analysis includes a description of the football club. It is followed by an analysis of identity construction based on the linguistic and semiotic resources as elements of the linguistic landscape of football in an ethnic minority context. Special emphasis is placed on the linguistic display of conflicting discourses between fans, which seems indispensable for the reterritorialization of this public space. Finally, after the discussion and concluding remarks, suggestions for further research extending the objectives of LL research within football are formulated.

2. Theoretical perspectives

2.1. A semiotic approach to linguistic landscape

Early linguistic landscape studies were influenced by the initial definition of Landry and Bourhis (1997). They focused on the visibility of languages on signs in public spaces, and they commonly contributed to the interpretation of differences between official top-down and private bottom-up signs, for example, commercial and place-name signs located in urban areas. These studies attempted to describe how linguistic landscapes mirror the language situation of a certain area (Shohamy and Gorter 2009). There has been a further aim to understand the informative and symbolic functions of linguistic signs (Gorter et al. 2021) in order "to link publicly displayed – or emplaced – discourse to some aspects of the sociolinguistic reality of the place" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 10). Undeniably, signs convey not only linguistic but sociocultural meanings, which are always constructed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation. They are connected to language policy and framed within geopolitical boundaries (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

With the rapid expansion of the field, different "scapes" have been investigated to cover other questions related to multilingualism such as dominance of languages, language policies, etc. (see Shohamy and Gorter 2009, Blommaert 2016, Laihonen 2015). Various "scapes" emerged from cityscapes to soundscapes and from schoolscapes to smellscapes and cyberscapes (Brown 2012, Laihonen and Tódor 2017, Laihonen and Szabó 2017, Biró 2016, Androutsopoulos 2015, Pennycook 2018, Ivković and Lotherington 2009). Linguistic landscape has also been embraced as resource for language learning (Krompák 2018, Gorter et al. 2021).

This need for expansion meant the reconsideration of the term "linguistic landscape", thus terms such as "semiotic landscape" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010), or "semioscape" (Thurlow and Aiello 2007) have been offered as alternatives. According to Thurlow and Aiello (2007) semiotic landscape refers to "the globalizing circulation of symbols, sign-systems, and meaning-making practices" (2007: 308), where the focus has moved from the visual and material display of languages onto other semiotic resources. As Jaworski and Thurlow have pointed out, researchers became interested in the interaction between language, visual discourse, and culture and the use of space as a particular semiotic resource. In their interpretation, semiotic landscape means in the most general sense "any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 2). This perspective has been scrutinized by Gottdiener (2012). According to his view, Jaworski and Thurlow may be best understood as advocates of a semiotic approach to linguistic landscape studies. The term *linguistic* refers to the object of study itself, namely language, while *semiotic* refers to a particular approach to the object of study. Therefore, semiotics has the potential to provide a robust approach to reading visual language in the public space and connect the interpretation of the signs to sociocultural contexts.

Chríost (2020) has pointed out that the object of linguistic landscape studies generally has four qualities. First of all, there is the linguistic quality, interpreting the presence or absence of languages within a territory. Second, there is the social quality, addressing social meanings. Third, the visual quality has to be mentioned, and forth, the spatiality can refer to any public space. Space is only given meaning through human interaction. They are semiotic spaces, that is, "an ecological arena that goes beyond written texts of signs and includes oral languages, images, objects, placement in time and space, and also people" (Gorter 2013: 197). In the present study, I view the linguistic landscape in this broader, semiotic sense and as a nexus of meaning-making and identity construction in physical space (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

2.2. The football stadium as a public space

All the above described conceptual, methodological changes towards a more general social semiotic approach have required linguistic landscape studies "to expand the scenery" (Shohamy and Gorter 2009) to any public space. Public spaces have fluid nature, where the borders are not strictly defined, and these spaces are constructed by an infinite amount of signs, which, either deliberately or in an unplanned way, contribute to meaning-making.

Pennycook (2010) outlined new ways of understanding urban space while interpreting the language and semiotics of graffiti. He argued that there are different ways of claiming space, and he lists four parameters in his model of analysis. Applying his parameters to the football stadium as a public space, first there is the need to understand how and why certain signs are created. Second, following Pennycook (2010), we need to understand how these signs are read and interpreted. Third, there is the concern to define how different linguistic resources have to be analysed. And fourth, the question of dominance of one or more signs over one or more other signs has to be clarified.

Here, the football stadium can be understood as an objectively distinct social space that is created by specific social groups. This space encompasses more than just the actual "loco" of the football matches, as all linguistic and semiotic resources are present way before playing the game: outside of the stadium or in the social media pages of the local football club.

Based on Pennycook's model, these signs are created to construct a distinct identity of the particular football club and its fans as object of the present analysis. Not only the visual linguistic signs but all oral linguistic and semiotic resources become elements of identity construction: from banners to chants, from scarves to flags appearing in the stadium. The display of these signs can be interpreted as a symbolic act of belonging to a particular community and sharing a common identity. The different linguistic and semiotic resources can be analysed in two categories: identity construction in the space and reterritorialization of the space. And, finally, the predominance of one or more signs can be interpreted in terms of state language – minority language dichotomy, as well as the role of English as a language choice is worth to be analysed.

2.3. Reterritorialization and linguistic landscapes

In this context, the linguistic landscape of a football club becomes (i) the space of identity expression, indexing the collective identity by the use of linguistic and semiotic resources (Shohamy 2006). It also turns into (ii) the space of reterritorialization, where reterritorializing means restructuring of a place or territory that has experienced deterritorialization at a certain point in the past – in other words, (re)making it as "own" place, integrating local culture, becoming again a nexus of spaces, relations, and texts in contact (Monaghan 2020). The relatively new concept of reterritorialization has gained ground within the volume published by Malinowski et al. (2020). Their work includes a wealth of theoretical and methodological discussions focusing on the reterritorialization in the linguistic landscapes.

This conceptual framework, now employed by linguistic landscape research, is based on the work of Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, published in 2004. According to them, specific spatial processes can occur, namely the processes of (re)territorialization, which produce spatial arrangements according to categorical markers such as nationhood, class, ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, and so on (Cerimaj et al. 2020). By contrast, the processes of deterritorialization separate space from identity discourses. (Re)territorialization and deterritorialization, in turn, "are achieved through a variety of semiotic means which encompass specific linguistic, visual, and other semiotic choices" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983 – qtd. in Cerimaj et al. 2020: 118). As Monaghan explains, football fans use a range of resources to claim a particular football club as their space, which is defined through reterritorialization. As he further clarifies, here we can rely on a "regime of signs" (Monaghan 2020: 178), linguistic or semiotic resources of the football club such as online/offline adverts, branded kits, souvenirs, and also online resources available on their website and social media pages. These are completed by the "local practice" of the fans, which involves banners, chants, ad-hoc displays, because "what we do with language in a particular place is a result of our interpretation of that place; and the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of place", and this local "becomes the site of resistance, of tradition, of authenticity, of all that needs to be preserved" (Pennycook 2010: 2–4). As a new space, a newly built stadium offers endless possibilities for the club owner and for the fans to make this space their own, to do this with a clean slate, or a "tabula rasa" of the linguistic landscape.

3. Methodology

During the process of collecting and analysing data, I have combined different methods, producing different types of data. To explore my research questions, the core method was the photographic data collection – offline and online –, which resulted in different visual linguistic and semiotic data.

These data were categorized into two major groups. The first category includes the so-called static linguistic landscape elements such as the stadium itself, the visual and semiotic resources outside and inside of the stadium, as well as some locally assigned spots for advertisements of the football club in the city, which were documented via photo-taking. These resources are stable, typically remain unchanged, for example, the flags, chants, anthems, slogans, hashtags, etc.

The second category is based on data collected during matches, which comprises so-called dynamic elements. These include banners, ad-hoc visual linguistic signs, but also oral linguistic data, the majority of them Hungarian-only. The offline resources blend together with the online data collected from social media posts, where bilingual, Hungarian–Romanian linguistic data is more prominent, as well as the presence of English as language of neutrality is also visible. All these data collections were complemented by interviews carried out with two fans of the football club. The goal was to gather the various offline, online resources produced and used by the fans and the club owner, as official agent, and this resulted in more than 300 images, approximately 25 videos available on the official website, including the official statements of the club. Secondary data collection was based on more than 30 newspaper articles related to language use, language policy, and current fan conflicts experienced in the stadium (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. *Categorization of static and dynamic linguistic signs in the LL of football*

Static elements	**Dynamic elements**
the stadium	banners
adverts	ad-hoc signs
flags – with inscriptions	oral linguistic data
chants	newspaper articles on conflicting discourses (< 30)
anthems	
slogans	
hashtags	

Besides interpreting the visual language in the public space, the semiotic resources connect the interpretation to sociocultural contexts. As already mentioned, these signs, such as chants, scarves worn by the fans, or flags waved in the stadium, also construct the distinct identity of the studied football club. The display of these signs symbolizes the act of belonging to a particular community. Data analysis focuses on the presentation of linguistic landscape elements which enable football fans to claim the club and the stadium as their own space and construct their identity in a minority context. Furthermore, it attempts to integrate the interpretation of conflicting discourses existing between fans of rival teams as part of the reterritorialization process.

3.1. The Sepsi OSK football club: Historical and sociolinguistic contexts

Sepsi OSK is a Romanian professional football club based in Sfântu Gheorghe [Sepsiszentgyörgy], which is the capital city of Covasna County, in the central part of Romania. In the census of 2021,[1] 69% of the city's inhabitants categorized themselves as ethnic Hungarians, 19% as Romanians, the rest as Roma or other ethnicities; 70% of the population indicated Hungarian and 18.5% Romanian as their first language.

It is important to mention that the largest Hungarian minority in the former territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, dissolved in 1920, lives in Transylvania, Western Romania; however, Romanian language has a dominant official status in Transylvania. Hungarians constitute the largest ethnic minority in Romania (1,002,151 – 6% of the total population).[2] Hungarian is not only the home language but the language of everyday public communication for Hungarian-dominant bilinguals[3] in Szeklerland,[4] a historic and ethnographic area in Transylvania, inhabited mainly by the Szeklers, a subgroup of Hungarians. Szeklers make up nearly 75% of the population of Szeklerland. The rest of the population consists of Romanians, Roma, and Germans. Although there is a positive attitude towards multilingualism as a means of integration into the European community and global society, different attitudes and ideologies apply to the state language than to the Hungarian language. In general, people's attitudes towards the Romanian language are influenced by their views of national state language policy, which is quite often connected to the hegemony of Romanians as the national majority group. State language policy is typically defined as top-down language policy (Biró 2016).

Football in Romania has a long and controversial history and a very versatile narrative. As Péter (2010) claims, conspiracy is one of the "oldest" topics in the narrative of football. Its roots go back to the communist regime. From this point

1 https://www.recensamantromania.ro/ (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

2 Census 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Romania (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

3 Dominant bilinguals are bilinguals who are more proficient in one language as compared to the other language.

4 It is a historic and ethnographic area in Romania, inhabited mainly by Hungarians and Romanians, a region of three counties with more Hungarian inhabitants than Romanian.

of view, football expresses the anomaly of the Romanian political transition, with all the phenomena of corruption, fraud, etc. Football, in this context, represents the failure to respect the rules that matter (Péter 2010). Therefore, in these circumstances, reterritorialization or restructuring a space may also mean resetting the rules, (re)creating something sustainable, respectable, and united.

The football club was founded in 2011 by László Diószegi and Dávid Kertész in Sfântu Gheorghe, and it is part of the Romanian Football Association. Sepsi OSK tends to represent the Hungarian minority of this region although the owner of the club, László Diószegi, has repeatedly pointed out that Sepsi OSK is about sport, and despite any criticism, this team does not belong to Hungarians but to people who love football, be they Hungarian, Szekler, or Romanian fans.[5]

Picture 1. *The logo of the Sepsi OSK football club*[6]

It was also decided that, in respect with the tradition of football in Sfântu Gheorghe, the colours of the club should be red and white. With reference to the past, it was also agreed that the club should bear the name OSK (acronym for the old, discontinued football club: *Olt Sport Klub*). It was also important to emphasize that it was a local club in Sfântu Gheorghe. Thus, the name of the club became Sepsi OSK (*Picture 1*). *Sepsi* is the shortened word for *Sepsiszentgyörgy*, the Hungarian name of the town Sfântu Gheorghe. In six years, the club managed to climb to the top through the Romanian league system. The turning point in this process was the construction of the new football stadium of the city, the Sepsi Arena Stadium, with a seating capacity of 8,500 seats, built with Hungarian grant money, at a cost of €20–25 million.[7] In 12 years, not only a football team has been created but also a home with the construction of this new stadium. Furthermore,

5 https://www.3szek.ro/load/cikk/103011/edda-koncerttel_unnepeltek_az_elvonalba_jutast (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

6 Photos credit: official Facebook page of Sepsi OSK.

7 https://hang.hu/sport/gspro-mennyi-penzt-kuld-orban-viktor-sepsiszentgyorgyre-153116 (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

Sepsi OSK won the Romanian Cup in 2022 and 2023, and the club has managed to build an enthusiastic fan base in the city.

Picture 2. *The home: The Sepsi OSK stadium*

The stadium, as a public space, already succeeds in strengthening the identity of the Hungarian minority. The concept of the Sepsi OSK stadium was designed by a Hungarian architect; then a local expert redesigned the façade of the facility to resemble buildings designed by emblematic Hungarian architects Imre Makovecz (1935–2011) and Károly Kós (1883–1977). For example, the turrets on the four corners of the stadium feature this style with a Hungarian cultural connotation, shown in *Picture 2*. The space itself became part of identity construction and a site of tradition, "of all that needs to be preserved" (Pennycook 2010). The construction of the stadium therefore meant restructuring a territory, as the launching point of the reterritorialization process, and, echoing Monaghan (2020), the time has come for football fans to use linguistic and semiotic resources to claim this space as their own. No wonder the stadium is nicknamed the "Fortress" by the fans and the club owner, a connotation that goes back to the local fortified churches built by the Hungarian minority – this way creating a link between modern football and historical-cultural past.

4. Data analysis

4.1. Linguistic resources and reterritorialization

A significant part of identity construction is linguistic identity (Lenihan and Kelly-Holmes 2017), which associates someone or a community with the use of specific language or languages. As far as linguistic representation is concerned, we refer back to Pennycook's (2010) concept of "language as local practice", where the choice of language is always the result of the interpretation of a place, which can be divided, as mentioned before, into two main categories. The first category in this analysis covers the static linguistic elements of the linguistic landscape, online or offline. The second category refers to the dynamic elements, which are "on the move" during the actual matches, within the stadium (see *Table 2*).

Table 2. *Distribution of linguistic resources based on languages*

	Linguistic resources			
	HU-only	RO-only	Bilingual	English
Static elements	scarf with text, flags, anthems, chants, hashtags	coach statement (videos, online), product ads (in the stadium)	match info (online), holiday wishes (online), souvenirs	match info (offline and online), holiday wishes (online)
Dynamic elements	banners, ad-hoc signage, oral linguistic manifestations	oral linguistic manifestations	banners, ad-hoc signage	banners

The static elements of the linguistic landscape of football are influenced by the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic characteristics and the preferences of the supporters. The majority of the supporters and fans identify themselves as members of the Hungarian minority, feel a connection with this "Hungarian" club, and call the stadium their own space. Therefore, the choice of the Hungarian language, whether present on online or on-site visual linguistic signs, is predominant compared to Romanian. The fan scarf, as a static element, displays Hungarian-only text (*Picture 3*) and is held as a main symbol of team loyalty, pride, and respect, with an explicit reference to colours of the old football club: *Bennünk a vér piros-fehér* [The blood in us is red-white.], which is also the main slogan of the fans, together with the following: *Néha a lehetetlent is kísérteni kell* [Sometimes even the impossible must be tempted] or *Mindig egy csapatért* [Always for one team]. Hashtags are also displayed only in Hungarian: #csakazosk [#onlytheosk], conveying the feeling of togetherness through the use of minority language, Hungarian.

Lots of souvenirs sold in the club store are accompanied by Hungarian-only inscriptions. The club flags are not only semiotic resources, as they can display texts as well. However, typically only the name of the football club appears on them, which contains the Hungarian place-name "Sepsi", without its Romanian equivalent "Sfântu Gheorghe".

Picture 3. *Hungarian-only inscription on scarf*

The chants, anthems are oral linguistic resources, and they are sung and shouted only in Hungarian by the Sepsis OSK fans. Football chanting is an expression of collective identity (Knijnik 2018). They can be obligatory part of a football match or some spontaneous oral expressions, adjusted to the events happening in the stadium. The most typical chants used by the fans are: *Ria Ria Hungaria!*, a chant also used by all Hungarians during football matches, and *Hajrá Szentgyörgy!* [Go Sfântu Gheorghe!], reflecting local and national Hungarian identities at the same time.

Football chants are usually short, based on some simple words, but more often they are full songs. They are typically performed repetitively, accompanied by handclapping, drum beating, or by other typical manifestations. They can be adaptations of popular songs, but some of them are original. The Sepsi OSK chants are mostly "borrowed" from the Hungarian football club FTC [Fradi][8] from Hungary, which links the Sepsi OSK even tighter to the Hungarian identity. In 2018, the Sepsi OSK anthem was composed by a Hungarian rock band, called *Edda Művek* [Edda Works]),[9] founded in Budapest, Hungary. The author of the song is the singer Attila Pataky. The anthem's lyrics not only inspire victory but also connect the team and its fans to the region: *Megmutatjuk, / Megmutatjuk, / Székelyföld / A mi otthonunk.* [We will show, / We will show, / Szeklerland / Is our home]. The space of football thus becomes the space for expressing a regional homeland, which is reterritorialized, restructured, and connected to the ethnic Hungarian identity.

Another significant song, which is always sung during the OSK matches, is *Nélküled* [Without you], composed by the Hungarian band *Ismerős Arcok* in 2008. This song has been chosen as the anthem of the DAC football club in Dunajská Streda, Slovakia [HU: Dunaszerdahely]. From this Hungarian-dominant

8 https://www.fradi.hu/en (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).
9 https://sepsiosk.ro/MUSIC1/ (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

city in Slovakia, the use of this song has spread to other football stadiums in Hungarian regions, including current Hungary. There it was also the main theme of the opening ceremony of the new Puskás Arena in Budapest in 2019. The song, dubbed as the song of "togetherness", takes on a deeper meaning – it largely deals with the fate of the scattered Hungarian people and the nation after the Trianon peace dictate that ended the First World War in 1918.

Finally, as a core element of this identity construction, the Szekler anthem is sung after matches by the supporters and fans in front of the whole team. The lyrics of this anthem, originally a poem by György Csanády, was written in 1921, the music composed by Kálmán Mihálik and adopted as the anthem of Szeklerland on 5 September 2009 but sung as the Szekler hymn for decades before. The anthem is about the patriotism of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, with a deep connection to the place representing the homeland, emphasized in its lyrics: *Ne hagyd elveszni Erdélyt, Istenünk!* [Do not let Transylvania perish, our God!].

Banners, or ad-hoc signages displayed by fans during matches are typically Hungarian-only – for example, *Kedves Roli, kérlek add nekem a pólód* [Dear Roli, please give me your shirt] (*Picture 4*), addressed to the Hungarian-speaking goalkeeper of the team; at the same time, some of these banners are bilingual, too.

Picture 4. *Hungarian-only, handwritten sign of a young fan*

The dynamic linguistic landscape of football can be related to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concepts of de- and reterritorialization, where fans reterritorialize each time the stadium as their space through the use of the club's linguistic and semiotic resources and via their own ad-hoc signage. We can see evidence of this in the above mentioned static and linguistic resources used and created by the supporters and fans, as well as the official agent, the club and its ownership.

Bilingualism is present on the official website of the club, and it is also characteristic of the Facebook profile of the official fan base (*Picture 5*), displaying the slogan of the club in both languages: *Always for one team!* However, the Hungarian text is in top position, indexing the prestigious state of the Hungarian language in the broader linguistic landscape of a bilingual minority region, which is necessarily contrasted to the official language policy regarding the presence of the minority languages. As revealed by the interviewees, bilingual oral linguistic manifestations are not rare during matches. The supporters carefully make their choice of language depending on the addressed opponent. Sepsi OSK team members are always addressed in Hungarian, even though only one player is of Hungarian ethnicity at the moment. However, the referees are addressed and shouted at in Romanian, especially if they make decisions that are not in favour of the home team. The choice of language symbolically constructs the “us” against the “others”, builds the “home” versus the “enemy”.

Picture 5. *Bilingualism shared on the social media / official website*

Pictures 6–7. *Online official announcements, New Year multilingual wishes*

The use of English is also displayed, as it indexes the international characteristic of football. Moreover, in a minority language situation, where the use of the state language forces the minority language into a subordinate position, English is given a neutral role, and in this case “English is not part of multilingualism”, "not indexical of any particular country" (Kelly-Holmes 2013: 138). The use of English can be interpreted as a polite gesture towards the members of the Sepsi OSK team, as the majority of them are footballers coming from other countries, and English is the *lingua franca* of the team (*Pictures 6–7*).

Occasionally, English can be the choice of language on-site as well – for example, due to the Russia–Ukraine war, an English-only solidarity message was shared in the stadium (*Picture 8*).

Picture 8. *Solidarity and anti-war message*

A football stadium seems to be an excellent space to observe the construction of this linguistic and cultural identity, also the specific patterns of language choice by the supporters and fans.

4.2. Semiotic resources and reterritorialization

The semiotic resources accompany the linguistic ones, and they also emphasize the unity and togetherness among the fans. Besides the flags, scarves as the club's main semiotic resources, we can find local products, which also tighten the bonds between the club and the local Hungarian-Szekler identity. They constitute clear expressions of support for the club while conveying a local identity. Alcoholic drinks like a local beer, the *Tiltott Csíki Sör* [Prohibited Csík Beer], which displays the logo of the team on the bottles as a marketing strategy, and the souvenir figures, *Pista bá* [Uncle Pista], sold by the club, are typical, symbolic elements of this local ethnic identity (*Pictures 9–10*).

Flags are obligatory semiotic resources (Monaghan 2020) during football matches. The flag of the Sepsi OSK club together with its crest represent the fans' devotion towards the team. The Szekler flag is used as a symbol of the Szekler ethnic group, subgroup of Hungarians, living in Romania. The civil flag of Hungary (without the state coat of arms) as a national emblem is usually displayed during the matches.

However, the use of these symbols constitutes a constant problem in Romania.[10] The regulations referring to the use of these national symbols in the stadiums is controversial, and in 2023 the UEFA did release an official announcement, according to which supporters cannot display the flag of Greater Hungary, as well as another national symbol, the Árpád stripes, at international matches.[11] The display of these was considered as provocative and racist behaviour during the Sepsi OSK matches by the Romanian rival team supporters.

Pictures 9–10. *Local products, brands, and symbols*

Besides the linguistic and semiotic resources, conflicting discourses between fans have to be analysed as potential signifiers of space reterritorialization. Ethnic polarization is evident in football in Romania, and Sepsi OSK is often considered a “Szekler-Hungarian” team in this area unofficially referred to as Szeklerland, with a Hungarian ethnic majority. These circumstances prepare the setting for conflicting discourses in the football stadium as well. Since linguistic landscapes are constructs which usually reflect language ideologies and policies (Shohamy 2006), they can deliver significant information about the differences between the *de jure* official language policy and the *de facto* implementation of the same policy. This becomes evident as the public space of football lacks clear language policy regulations. The Act of 2008/4 on preventing and combating violence during sports competitions includes reference to the display of racist, discriminative messages; however, in actual cases, the police officers present at the matches approve or prohibit the use of banners in the stadium. Therefore, it may happen that discriminative messages addressing the ethnic Hungarian minority, such as *Pentru voi acasă nu e în Romania. Plecați!* [Your home is not in Romania. Go away!], may appear on banners (*Picture 11*).

10 https://www.mikoimre.ro/en/the-szekler-flag-caused-a-diplomatic-incident/ (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

11 https://hungarytoday.hu/uefa-bans-flags-depicting-historical-great-hungary/ (Last accessed: 15 May 2023).

Picture 11. *Romanian discriminative messages on banners*

These conflicting discourses are well illustrated by the use of linguistic and semiotic resources. In the above mentioned banner, not only the text of the banner but also the use of the Romanian national colours reinforces the message.

The fan group of the Sepsi OSK club, the *Székely Légió* [Szekler Legion], which includes Hungarian and Romanian members, tries to reterritorialize the space with the linguistic and semiotic resources already mentioned, while the matches may end up in conflicting discourses. A Hungarian-only fanatic football supporter group, the *Transylvanian Fanatics* (*Picture 12*), occasionally uses other resources to take part in these discourses, which are on the extreme side and drive them away from other supporters. The two groups of fans do not mix, and this is reflected in the arrangement of the space. Not only the supporters of rival teams are seated in separate sectors, but fanatic supporters also have separate areas in the stadium.

Picture 12. *Transylvanian Fanatics ultra-fans dressed up in black*

The symbolic function and the dynamic characteristic of both linguistic and semiotic resources are needed to reterritorialize the public space of football in this minority context. The ethnic conflicting discourses blend with the highly emotional state of a football match, within the *fight in the arena*, which may further explain why football reflects society and its tensions with such fidelity.

5. Concluding remarks

The linguistic landscape of football proves to be dynamic, fluid, and challenging. The linguistic and semiotic elements are created by official and non-official sign makers to claim the space as their own. These signs can be interpreted as identity-constructing elements and analysed as potential resources in the process of reterritorialization of the public space of football. The dominance of the Hungarian linguistic and semiotic resources also points towards a strengthened ethnic identity and a permanently reterritorialized space.

With the help of static and dynamic linguistic and semiotic landscape elements, I have analysed how fans use offline and online resources successfully in the public space of the football stadium to construct their identity and engage in conflicting discourses while reterritorializing the public space of a new stadium. The presence of the fans with their banners, scarves, flags, and their voices is static and dynamic at the same time; and they persist online through the social media. Drawing on a linguistic landscape analysis with a semiotic approach, I have delivered a sketch of the linguistic landscape and the processes of restructuring the space, how the fans reterritorialize the stadium by the use of various linguistic and semiotic resources.

Similar to any football club, fans accept the similar, exclude the different to construct their club identity. In the case of Sepsi OSK, ethnic identity-forming elements, such as singing the Szekler anthem, the presence of the Szekler Legion fans, etc., is obligatory; the club identity integrates the local, collective identity. Bilingual identity construction, integration of Romanian local fans is officially embraced. Although ethnic conflicts are unavoidable, the Hungarian minority is now on the map of Romanian football.

As for further research, there is a need to extend the objectives of the linguistic landscape of football with the help of qualitative analysis carried out with more interviews among different groups of fans in order to get a proper picture of possible differences in identity construction, and to find out whether this reterritorializing process of the space dictates new power relations within the linguistic landscape of the region.

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Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of *Boanghin*

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Abstract. In this study, we aim to analyse the origin and semantics of one of the lexemes used by Romanians to refer to Hungarians: *boanghin(a)*, also used as *boanghen(a)*. Besides a meta-analysis of this ethnic slur (emergence, meaning, semantic shifts, and etymology), we also refer to literary works in which these terms have been used. The archaic *boanghin*, or *boanghen* seems to be a political construct which has the purpose of naming the enemy and personifying the evil. It is a typical case of verbal abuse, mockery, or insult which used to display a significant amount of collectively formed, pejorative connotation. Today it is old-fashioned, as it has been replaced by another slur, i.e. *bozgor*, which is going to be presented in a forthcoming study.

Keywords: *boanghin/boanghen*, ethnic slur, etymology, meaning, Romanian, Hungarian

Dysphemic ethnonyms and ethnic slurs

Ethnonyms are names used to refer to an ethnic group, tribe, or people.[1] Two types of ethnonyms are commonly distinguished: the external, which is used by others for the people (exonyms), and the internal, used by themselves (endonyms). Demonyms refer to a person or group of people living in or coming from a specific place.[2] They differ from ethnonyms by focusing on place rather than ethnicity[3] (e.g. *Croat* = an ethnonym, and *Croatian* = a demonym).

Endonyms are also known as autonyms or autoethnonyms, and they denote *native* names used to refer to a geographical place, group of people, individual

1 “Ethnonym”. Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, Merriam-Webster. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnonym (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).
2 https://www.britannica.com/search?query=demonym (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).
3 “Demonym”. Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, Merriam-Webster. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/demonym (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

person, language or dialect; they are self-identification lexemes used by an ethnic group as a self-designation.[4] Exonyms are also known as xenonyms, and they are accepted, *non-native* names for geographical places, groups of people or languages, used only outside that particular place, group, or linguistic community.[5] Glossonyms, glottonyms, or linguonyms designate language names. Exonyms are likely to suffer semantic changes, such as pejoration, due to the inimical representations ethnic groups create with regard to outgroup people or other nations. When pejoration takes place, the idea of *other*ness comes to the fore, and very often the language used by these *others* is perceived as "foreign-speaking", "bad-speaking/-sounding", or "nonsense-speaking", as we will see in this article. Pejorative ethnic names, or ethnic labels are also called ethnic slurs, i.e. linguistic units (remarks or statements) "designed to defame, vilify, belittle, and insult members of a racial or ethnic group, usually by those who are not members of that racial or ethnic group" (Rodale 1986: 1125). These offensive ethnic names are instantiations of verbal abuse, insult, and exclusion meant to stigmatize others and to increase the gap between in-group and out-group people. This kind of linguistic offence endorsed with the help of pejorative, offensive exonyms is a symptom and a substantiation of hate speech, or "public speech that expresses hate or encourages violence towards a person or group".[6]

Pejorative or dysphemic ethnonyms are also called ethnophaulisms, i.e. "words used as ethnic slurs to refer to outgroups in hate speech" (Mullen and Leader 2005).[7] Allport (1954), on the other hand, talks about antilocutions[8] as manifestations of hostile prejudicial behaviour in language. Mizetska and Zubov (2019) call pejorative ethnonyms ethnophobisms. In this article, we will mainly use pejorative or dysphemic ethnonyms or ethnic names and ethnic slurs, as these are clearly defined as lexemes meant "to derogate or dehumanize (…), to signal that their targets are unworthy of equal standing or full respect as persons, that they are inferior as persons" (Jeshion 2013: 232). Nevertheless, we do not wish to take sides for or against in the many current theories of slurs such as those presented by Neufeld (2019) or Hom and May (2013).

4 https://encyclopedia.pub/entry/29893 (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

5 https://encyclopedia.pub/entry/29893 (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

6 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hate-speech (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

7 Ethnophaulisms (Roback 1944; from the Greek roots meaning 'a national group' and 'to disparage') are the words used as ethnic slurs to refer to outgroups in hate speech. These are distinct from ethnonyms (Levin and Potapov 1964; from the Greek roots meaning 'a national group' and 'name'), which are the names an in-group gives itself to distinguish itself from outgroups. https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2005-08614-012 (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

8 From the Greek root meaning 'against' and the Latin root meaning 'to speak'. In his 1954 book, *The Nature of Prejudice,* Allport establishes a scale of prejudiced behaviour (called the Allport Scale). The stages of bias or prejudice in a society are antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, extermination.

Paşca (2019) classifies pejorative ethnonyms as the following types:[9]

– Dysphemic ethnic names that satirize physical aspects;

– Dysphemic ethnic names that criticize behavioural and psychic/moral aspects: ethnic names used for Hungarians: *gadină* 'wild animal', 'beast', *pohârlă* 'stupid dog', *pupăză* 'talkative';

– Dysphemic ethnic denominations based on religion: *calvin* 'Calvinist', *letină* 'Latin'/'Roman Catholic' (but this might mean 'non-orthodox' as well, as Turkish people are also called *letin*; cf. Adam 2015);

– Dysphemic ethnic designations based on cultural and linguistic diversity (*ceangău* 'sounding bad', 'stupid', *boanghen* 'Hungarian', *şogor* 'brother-in-law');

– Dysphemic ethnic names based on regular ethnonyms (*ungur-bungur*);

– Dysphemic ethnic names based on trade names.

Among the most widespread dysphemic ethnic names used by Romanians to label or call Hungarians is *boanghin*, also known as *boanghen.* In this study, we aim to analyse the origin and semantics of: *boanghin(a)/ boanghen(a).* Besides a meta-analysis of this ethnic slur (emergence, meaning, semantic shifts, and etymology), we also attempt to identify the literary works in which the term has been used.

Boanghin, *boanghen* in dictionaries, literary writings, and other genres in cultural reviews

It is said that the first attestation of the word *boanghen* belongs to Ion Luca Caragiale, the famous Romanian playwright and prose writer (Pârvulescu 2000). *Boanghen* is used by Caragiale in a short prose published in the literary review *Moftul Român* [Romanian Fads], on 10 June 1901, entitled *Lună de miere* [Honeymoon]. It is the description of a journey the author takes from Braşov to Budapest, a journey during which he travels with a newlywed couple going on their honeymoon. The two young people take him for a *boanghen*, i.e. they believe that he is Hungarian and does not understand Romanian at all, therefore they keep gossiping about him and calling him names. The well-known *boanghen* is used quite often as a dysphemic exonym, usually in the vicinity of other pejorative qualifiers.[10] Only when they finally arrive in Budapest does he reveal his true ethnic identity and status, with his accent-free and perfect Romanian. All along the way, he amuses himself at the expense of the two rather ignorant and obtuse-minded young people.

Our research has revealed further occurrences of *boanghen/boanghin* in the following texts and/or publications:

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9 The examples of ethnic slurs selected and provided here are solely those used by Romanians to refer to Hungarians.

10 Such as: *Ptfiu! fir-ai al dracului de boanghen!* 'Phew! Damn boanghen!'

Table 1. *Occurrences of boanghen/boanghin in different publications and contexts*

Text/Publication	Context/Co-text	Pragmatic implications
Rebreanu, Liviu, *Frământări* [Torments], 1912, Librăria Națională Orăştie	*fire-ar al dracului de boanghină!* '...damn boanghina'	*Boanghin* is used in the context of cursing, swearing, with obvious negative implicatures.
Furnica: revistă umoristică, 1914, vol. XI, *Contrabanda de război prin Români* [War smuggling in Romania]	*Dă-te jos, boanghine* '*Get off, boanghine*'	The context reveals a clear physical but also psychological distancing.
Furnica: revistă umoristică, 1916, vol. XII, *Din aventurile unui rural* [The adventures of a rural man]	*vreun boanghen anarchist deghizat țăran* 'some anarchist boanghen disguised as a peasant'	All the co-textual elements expose negative connotations (*anarchist* implicates violence, *disguised* implicates false, artificial, misrepresented, *peasant* implicates uneducated, low social status).
Liviu Rebreanu, *Calvarul* [The Ordeal], 1919, Bucharest, Alcalay	*Aici port groaza în spinare pentru că sunt boanghină, dincolo sunt huiduit pentru că-s român transilvănean.* 'Here I feel terrified because I am a Boanghina, over there I am booed because I am a Transylvanian Romanian'	*Boanghina* is used in the sense of 'Transylvanian', which is perceived as a shortcoming, a moral defect.
D. D. Pătrăşcanu, *Domnu Nae: scene din vremea ocupației* [Mr. Nae: scenes from the time of the occupation], 1921, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg & Fiu Bucharest	*mi sberi în ureche, boanghină, paştele lui tatâ-to…* 'you're banging in my ear, you boanghina, bloody hell'	The entire communication is construed of curse words and swearing.

Text/Publication	**Context/Co-text**	**Pragmatic implications**
Sburătorul, Felix Aderca, *O noapte în avanposturi* [A Night in the Outposts], 14 February 1920	*Un boanghen cu un ochi de sticlă* 'a boanghen with a glass eye'	*Boanghen* is a synonym for Hungarian, though there are clear textual clues to emphasize the idea of otherness, difference, as the glass eye of the Hungarian is a sign of the fact his eyes do not mirror his inner life, it is a false eye without the capacity of absorbing and reflecting the divine light and without life. The eye is the symbol of Christianity, therefore the man with a false eye, the *boanghin*, is a man with a false religion.
Locusteanu, A.–Puşcariu, Sextil, *Sub aripa morții: însemnari fugare din răsboiul de întregire* [Under the Wing of Death: Fugitive Notes from the War of Union], Institutul de Arte Grafice Ardealul Cluj, 1923	*bat cu ceasul boanghinii ăştia, mânca-i-ar să-i mânce holera!* 'What the hell, I'll beat the clock of these boanghins, dammit!	The whole contexts is construed of curse words and swearing.
Liviu Rebreanu, *Aventuri vamale in Metropole: Berlin, Roma, Paris* [Customs Adventures in Berlin, Rome, Paris], Cartea Românească Bucureşti 1926	*încăpățânat de boanghină* 'damn stubborn boanghina'	*Stubborn* implicates mulish, obstinate, and difficult to handle.
Alex Lupeanu Melin, Biblioteca ASTRA, July 1927, *Minunatele întâmplări ale lui Niță Zdrenghea la Bucureşti, în America şi aiurea* [Niță Zdrenghea's wonderful stories in Bucharest, America, and elsewhere], Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii, Lupta cu taurii la Bucureşti	*boanghine turbate* 'rabid boanghin'	*Rabid* implicates extreme violence and fury.

Text/Publication	**Context/Co-text**	**Pragmatic implications**
Răsboiul pentru întregirea neamului povestit de Victor Lazăr [The War for the Reunification of the Nation narrated by Victor Lazăr], Editura Asociațiunii Astra, 1928,	*Boanghine (Unguri)* 'Boanghins (Hungarians)'	*Boanghine* is accompanied by the explanatory lexeme Hungarian, reinforcing the perfect synonymy between the two lexemes and the fact that the users do not wish to make the difference between an ethnic name and an ethnic slur.
N. Aloman, *Spitalul* [The Hospital], *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, 1936, vol. 3, No 12	*O femeie înaltă, blajină, ducea un cărucior cu mâncare pentru bolnavi. Asta-i boanghina, îmi explică el arătându-mi femeia* 'A tall, pale woman was carrying a cart of food for the sick. That's the boanghina, he explained, pointing at the woman.'	the sole example in which *boanghina* carries neutral or perhaps slightly positive connotations in the sense that the referent is portrayed as a kind and gentle woman
Ilie Dăianu, *M-am pornit la şcoală* [I set off for school], *Satul şi şcoala*, no 9–12, 1938	*Boanghină de săsoaică* 'That Saxon boanghina'	*Boanghin* is synonymous with Saxon, but it is used as a qualifying adjective with strong negative connotations, in the vicinity of the distal deictic element *that*, signalling psychological distancing.
P. Petra Pop-Cucer. *Dumineca, Organul vicariatului episcopal greco-catolic din Maramureş* [Duminica, Organ of the Greek-Catholic Episcopal Vicarage of Maramureş], 9 August 1936:	*Nicicând să nu ne spălăm în public lingeria, mai curând să concurăm spre scopul nostru strălucit: o turmă şi un păstor iar vorbele de minoritari, străini, revizionişti ori boanghine să le cadrăm numai trecutului.* 'Let us never wash our lingerie in public but rather compete towards our brilliant goal: one flock and one shepherd, and let the words minority, foreign, revisionist, or boanghine be only of the past'	*Boanghin* is a synonym for 'minorities', 'foreigners', 'revisionists', implicating out-groupness and hostile opposition.

Text/Publication	Context/Co-text	Pragmatic implications
Dumineca, Organul vicariatului episcopal greco-catolic din Maramureş [Duminica, Organ of the Greek-Catholic Episcopal Vicariate of Maramureş], 9 July 1939	*Va trebui să ne desbrăcăm de omul cel vechiu şi să'mbrăcăm haina dragostei de adevăr. Să nu fie dar nici grecotei nici popistaşi (nici boanghine, nici golani) când numele adevărat este români.* 'We will have to put off the old man and put on the garment of the love of truth. Let there be neither Greeks nor Papists (nor Boanghine nor thugs) when the true name is Romanians.'	The listing of adjectives referring to religious membership (Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic) together with *boanghin* and the qualifying adjective *thug* hints to the fact that *boanghin* is a lexeme which refers to Catholic religion, perceived as a morally condemnable status.
Petre Dumitriu, *Salata* [The Salad], in Steaua, February 1955	*Şi canalie e ofițerul care se-nsoară cu boanghine, duşmani ai nației noastre. Ieşind, locotenentul Spahiu începu să înjure printre dinți: — …paştele şi dumnezeii mă-si de putoare …. ce crede ea, ciocoaica dracului? Şi mai e şi boanghină!* 'And scoundrel is the officer who sleeps with the boanghine, enemies of our nation. Leaving, Lieutenant Spahiu began to swear through his teeth: – ...Goddammit …. what does she think, the fucking whore? And she's also a boanghina!'	The co-text of *boanghina* makes it perfectly clear that the lexeme is used in the sense of 'enemy of our nation', 'someone who is not us', 'a member of the out-group nation'.

Boanghen, boanghin in early dictionaries

We have researched the occurrence and definition of *boanghen* in a significant number of early Romanian dictionaries: Bobb (1822), Barițiu (1869), Laurian-Massimu (1871). Lăzăriciu (1886), Barițiu (1870), Barițiu (1893), Alexics (1900), *Dicționarul Limbii Române / Dictionary of Romanian Language* (1913), Hodoş (1929), Şăineanu, (1929), Candrea (1931), Scriban (1939).

The first dictionary which lists an ethnonym referring to Hungarians as an entry is Barițiu's 1869 dictionary, which lists *Csángó* (textually "ceangau, magiaru moldovenu seu barsanu" 'csango, Hungarian from Moldova or from Țara Bârsei'), meaning ‘Hungarian’. The 1913 *Dictionary of Romanian Language* lists *boanghen* as a mock name given to Hungarians for the first time. The merit of this dictionary is that it offers information regarding the usages of the word (in the review *Convorbiri literare* 1911) and a possible old Slavic etymology *Vangrii vangher*.

In Hodoş’s 1929 dictionary and in Şăineanu’s 1929 dictionary, *boanghen* is also listed. Hodoş considers that *boanghen*, *boanghina* is a simple nickname for Hungarians, while Şăineanu discards the pejorative implications, focusing on the semantics of *boanghen* as a nickname for Hungarians, most probably linked to *boancă* ‘pine tree’.

In Candrea’s 1931 dictionary,[11] *boanghen* is a mock name given to Hungarians. *Boanghen* or its variants (*bonghin*, *banghin*) cannot be found in any of the other old dictionaries we have consulted.

Boanghin/Boanghen in modern dictionaries and studies: Definitions and etymologies

In the *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* [Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language] (hereinafter referred to as DEX), the meaning of *boanghin* is outlined as ‘Hungarian’ (with the specification ‘deprecatory’ or ‘ironic’), also known with the variants *hoanghină* (‘an insulting name given to a mean old woman’) and *şoangher* (derogatory name for ‘Hungarian’ and/or ‘Transylvanian’). This latter seems to be, according to DEX, an expressive creation, which seems to combine with *boanghen* and with *şogor* ‘brother-in-law’. The information provided by DEX for the variant *boanghin(a)* is based solely on Scriban (1939).

The variant *boanghen* is more detailed, as it refers to Şăineanu (1929), to Scriban (1939), but also to more recent dictionaries (MDA 2010, DEX 2007). Semantically, *boanghen* is defined as a “derogatory epithet given to the Hungarians” (MDA 2010), a “regional or dialectal and often deprecatory name for Hungarians” (DEX 2007). In Volceanov’s 2007 *Slang Dictionary*, the lexeme is registered as ‘person of Hungarian nationality’.

In this research, we have focused on identifying the earliest occurrences of the lexeme in literary and non-literary writings and its earliest attestations as dictionary entries. The purpose is to find the etymology, as the information provided by DEX is insufficient and based on folk etymology.

Lazăr Şăineanu, following on Dimitrie Cantemir, lists an ethnic slur in his 1891 study, where he states that Hungarians are called by Romanians *Şoacăț*, i.e. ‘mouse’ (Şăineanu 1891: 379). The Hungarians from Moldova, as Şăineanu

11 An etymological pathway still to be followed in the future, taking into account that *boancă* meaning ‘pine tree’, ’forest’ is semantically and formally very close to a similar lexeme in the Szekler dialect, *bongos*, *bongor*, *bungur* (meaning ‘shrubbery area’ or ‘forest’).

mentions, are called *ceangăi* (Hu. *csángó*), meaning in his view 'bad-sounding' (let us remember that an important feature of ethnic slurs is that of emphasizing the idea of otherness through calling the other's language 'bad-sounding language', 'bad-speaking').

In an 1895 study, Ion-Aureliu Candrea quotes Lazăr Şăineanu's *Semasiologia* [Semasiology] and lists *boanghen* as the only nickname given by Romanians from all historic regions to Hungarians, only that the form used at the end of the nineteenth century is that of *songher*, altered to *bongher*. He also states that in some parts of Moldova Hungarians are called *soacăț*, a slur used nevertheless more often, with reference to Germans and Saxons.

In 1909, Pascu Giorge published his doctoral thesis *Despre cimilituri. Studiu filologic şi folkloric* [A Philological and Folkloric Study of Riddles]. In this study, Pascu (1909: 64) defines the ethnic slur *boanghin(a)* and attempts to establish its etymology. In his view, *boanghina* (meaning 'foreign'), is applied especially to Hungarians, and comes from the words *monghină*, *mohoangă (-că)*, *mogoandă* meaning 'stupid' or 'foolish'. However, the etymon identified by Pascu and the phonetic and semantic shifts he mentions cannot fully explain the emergence of *boanghin* from *moagă* via *mogoandă* and *monghină*.

In 1944, Iorgu Iordan mentions *boanghin* related to *şoanghina*, the formation of which is based on blending and contamination, which is also frequent in spoken language: *şoanghina* < *boanghină* + *şoacăț* (both pejorative names for a Hungarian). We would disagree with this argument by highlighting that the lexeme *şoacăț* is a slur for German, not for Hungarian.

Andrei Avram (2001) attempts to explain the etymology of *boanghen*, *boanghin* in his study *Noi contribuții etimologice* [New Etymological Contributions], where he states that *boanghina* is a derivative of *boangă*, closely related to *goangă* (meaning 'ogre'), *boangă* being the feminine of *bongar*, which comes from Hun. *bogár* (En. 'bug'). Ciorănescu (2002: 101) also lists *boanghen*, *-ina* as a deprecatory adjective applied to Hungarians but also to Transylvanian Romanians. Gabriela Violeta Adam (2015) defines *boanghen* as a synonym for 'Hungarian', whereas *boangher* is a synonym for 'Saxon'.

Hence, we have spotted *boanghen*, *boanghin* under various forms in the first part of the twentieth century, followed by a gap of almost half a century, during which the lexeme seems to have vanished, to surface again in the 2000s. What could explain this sudden and total silencing of a word from texts, dictionaries, and most probably oral communication as well? The explanation is to be found in the scientific texts of lexicographers and linguists of the socialist regime such as Victor Cheresteşiu's 1952 text *Să întocmim un dicționar ştiințific al limbii române* [How to make a scientific dictionary of the Romanian language], in which he circumscribes the regime's official position towards ethnonyms of nations belonging to the so-called *friendly socialist states*:

"The new management of the Institute proposes that such words as *boanghen*, *bungur*, *baragladina*, *jid*, etc., words spread with the aim of stirring up hatred between peoples, for diversionary purposes, be eliminated from the Dictionary" (Cheresteşiu 1952: 15).[12]

Boanghin: Bandini and the Catholic Hungarians of *Codex Bandinus*

Based on the fact that *boanghin* and all the other versions of the xenonym have been used in the context of otherness, Hungarianness with regard to religion and due to the fact that it has been spotted in many writings connected with Moldova, we have tried to find the connections of the term with the most significant Hungarian community from Moldova, the *Csángó* community, to see whether we can find some historical explanations of the emergence and spread of the term. The position of Romanian historiography on the issue of Csángó origins is not the topic of this study. However, we mention the fact that their research results between the two world wars are broadly in line with the results of Hungarian researchers, i.e. they do not question the fact that Csángós are a Hungarian Catholic community living in Moldova (Rosetti 1901, Năstase 1934, Iorga 1936). The Romanian position on the Csángó origin issue changes dramatically after 1945.

One of the most important features of Csángó self-naming strategies and auto-ethnonymic usages is that of defining themselves as 'Hungarian' and 'Catholic' to such an extent that 'Hungarian' and 'Catholic' became synonymous with each other a long time ago: it was enough to say one, and everyone understood the other (cf. Iancu 2021: 156). The synonymy of the two endonyms 'Catholic' and 'Csángó' is reinforced by Pávai (1999), Tánczos (2002), and Péntek (2005).

If we take a closer look at the history of this peripheral Hungarian community, we will see that the first written source of the word *Csángó* in Hungarian is the letter of parish priest Péter Zöld in 1772.[13] The first census of this community was done in 1644 by the apostolic administrator Marco Bandini, who visited the Moldovan parishes during the reign of Vasile Lupu. He issues the so-called *Codex Bandinus* (with the original Latin title *Visitatio generalis omnium ecclesiarum catholicarum romani ritus in Provincia Moldaviae*), which is a report written in 1648 by Marco Bandini in Bacău, at that time the Roman Catholic episcopal residence, to be sent to Rome, to Pope Innocent X and to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Bandini records that

12 English translation provided by the author of the present study.

13 Though the traces of the first Hungarian Catholics can be found as early as 1222, cf. http://www.csangok.ro/vallas%20es%20kultura%20a%20moldvai%20magyaroknal.html (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

in the town of Huşi Hungarian was sung during mass (Iancu 2021: 156), that in Iaşi there were 30 Hungarian families, in Bacău 40 Hungarian families, in Trotuş 30, in Galați 40, in Bârlad 30, in Huşi 150 (Holban 1968: 437).

This *Codex Bandinus* is nothing else than a list of names and a detailed report of Hungarian-speaking Catholic community, the Csángó community from Moldova. The document has become one of the most important historical records regarding the Hungarian Catholics in Moldova, but also a minute analysis of life in medieval Moldova.

István Pávai (1999: 69–82) makes a complete inventory of ethnonyms, endonyms, and exonyms alike, with regard to the Csángó community. His research suggests that Csángos call themselves 'Hungarian' and 'Catholic' mainly, while the exonyms they are referred to by Romanians are 'Csángó', 'Hungarian', 'bozgor', and 'band'in'. According to dialectologists, band'in or bangyin[14] is a pejorative word borrowed from the Romanian *boanghin*, pronounced *band'in*, meaning 'Transylvanian Hungarian'. They say it is not included in dictionaries, but it was a common word in the period between the two world wars. It was used with a stylistic nuance similar to that of *fricc* standing for 'German' or *iván* meaning 'Russian' (Márton, Péntek, and Vöő 1977: 56).

Therefore, it is quite clear that the connection between *band'in* or *bangyin* respectively *boanghin* in the sense of 'Hungarian Catholic' is indisputable. We believe that the ethnonyms 'Csángó' and 'Hungarian' are synonyms. What is more, the pejorative exonym we are analysing, *boanghin*, *bonghin*, *boanghen* (Romanian spelling and pronunciation), *band'in* or *bangyin* (Hungarian spelling and pronunciation) must be connected with the name of Marco Bandini, the author of the first list of Hungarian Catholics from Moldova. The lexeme *Bandini* has changed its status from a proper name into a common noun and/or an adjective. This is a case of apellativization, more precisely recategorization (cf. Anstatt 1997), as the proper name Bandini has shifted into the adjective *band'in*, meaning 'belonging to the Bandini list'. Whether it is a simple appellativization (Bandini > belonging to Bandini's list, i.e. Hungarian Catholic) or a recategorization of 'Bandini' accompanied with the contamination of a possible earlier version *bonghin in the sense of 'pine forest', 'pine tree', 'inhabitants of the pine forests' 'inhabitants of forest areas, i.e. 'Transylvanian' (see footnote 11 but also the forms *bongar*, *boanga* in DEX), is a matter of further research.

The phonetic changes which have occurred in the shift from BANDIN to B(O)ANGHIN/BANGYIN can be summarized as follows:

– The palatalization of zs/z or d/dj [^{j}] has always been specific to Csángó speech (Rubinyi 1902: 5) but also to Romanian spoken in regions inhabited by Hungarians

14 The word can be found under the forms *bangyina*, *bangyen* in Hungarian literary writings as well, such as in Ignácz Rózsa's *Keleti magyarok nyomában* [In the Footsteps of Eastern Hungarians].

as well (we would add), therefore this dental palatalization is obvious in our examples. The sounds *t*, *d*, and *n* palatalize under the influence of the Hungarian language, and in Transylvania there are pronunciations similar to the Hungarian sounds *ty*, *gy*, and *ny*: the variation d/gy shows in the Hungarian versions of *Boanghin/Bangyin*, as in *bade* → *bad*^{j}*e* (*Bagye*). Thus, D >> GH (Hungarian *gy*).

– Hungarian sound A turns into OA in many Romanian lexemes.[15]

Boanghin, as used by Romanians, or *bangyin*, as pronounced by Hungarians is a pejorative word borrowed from the Romanian 'bandin' (cf. Márton, Péntek and Vöő 1977: 56), meaning either 'Catholic' or, through semantic contamination, 'Transylvanian' or 'Hungarian'. We add that the etymon for 'bandin' is the name of the apostolic administrator Marco Bandini.

Boanghin/*boanghen* is a type of ktetic, or possessive, meaning 'belonging to Bandini's list', and it is an ethnic slur, an exonym but also a glottonym, or language name, as the lexemes *bozgor*, *bangyin*, *madárnyelv*, *lónyelv* 'bozgor, bangyin, language of birds, language of horses' are all pejorative glottonyms used by Romanians to refer to the Hungarian language (Iancu 2021: 162).

Another argument for the etymology of *boanghin*, *boanghen* from the eponym Bandini is the presence of the verb *a se bonghini*[16] in Romanian, meaning 'bending', 'bowing', or 'kneeling down', which is an obvious hint to the body posture during worship and praying and to the religious background of the word.

Another, equally important pathway to be followed is the hint we find in Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu's unfinished work *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*, issued in 1893 in Bucharest at Socecu Publishing House, according to which in the nineteenth-century Romanian language there was a lexeme *bânde* (with no clear etymology given) which was a synonym for *ungur* 'Hungarian' (further derivations of this lexeme are toponyms such as Bândeşti and family names such as Bândoiu, Bândescu, etc.). As Haşdeu left his work unfinished, the forthcoming volume in which this piece of information could have been clarified was never written and/or published.

Conclusions

The ethnic slurs *boanghin*, *boanghen* (RO) or *bangyen*, *bangyina* (HU) are lexical creations that semantically represent dysphemic ethnic denominations which clearly foster discrimination and prejudicial thinking. Prejudices and negative stereotypes are not necessarily in line with reality, which is why their usage must be avoided. However, discrimination through language has left its imprint on the

15 A Romanian–Hungarian glossary from the beginning of the 20^{th} century proves the pronunciation of the Hungarian *a* sound as the Romanian *oa* (Lexicon militar româno-ungar 191?).

16 A se încovoia – https://dexonline.ro/definitie/bonghini/definitii (Last accessed: 1 June 2023).

lexicon, which contains many offensive units that have preserved and developed over time. Although these slurs may gradually fade away (as has happened in the case of *boanghin*, *boanghen*), they can be replaced with others (as *boanghin* was replaced with *bozgor*, which is the topic of a forthcoming study).

Exclusion and discrimination are usually based on the acceptance of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices though very often the true meaning of the words people use to offend others has blurred. The meaning and origin of *boanghen*, *boanghin* are still uncertain and obscure though the lexeme sometimes emerges in written/spoken discourses and codes, i.e. on forums and social media platforms (though it has been abandoned in newspaper articles and other forms of classic written communication). That is why we have attempted to clarify the abstruse aspects of these linguistic units which still nurture xenophobic attitudes. We have reached the conclusion that despite all the (rather insufficient and intricate) information, scattered in scientific volumes and dictionaries, *boanghin/boanghen* are offensive ethnonyms based on community religion, which originate in the name of Bandini, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Bosnian origin, who organized the first census of the Hungarian Catholics and/or Csángós from Moldova in and around the Diocese of Bacău, the author of the so-called *Codex Bandinus*.

Boanghen/boanghin (with intermediary form *banghin*) are corrupted forms of 'bandin' (pronounced as band'in by the members of the Csángó community), both meaning 'Hungarian Catholic' or 'belonging to Bandini('s list)'. Nevertheless, further research is needed to spot the presence of the word in the above forms and meaning in old Romanian documents.

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Linguistic Re-reading of the Literary Text. An Alternative Understanding of Local Bilingualism in the Context of Globalization

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Abstract. In this paper, I present a possible interdisciplinary, predominantly linguistic reading of the literary text, taking as a starting point the work of Andrei Dósa entitled *Multă forță şi un dram de gingăşie* [Lots of Power and a Touch of Gentleness], published in 2021 by Polirom Publishing House. This way of re-reading allows us to go beyond the basic narrative structure of the text and focus on the underlying meanings constituted by the language used in the shaping of local colour. In the contextualization of the narrative thread, in the case of this novel, translanguaging strategies appear, which are analysed in relation to the evolution of the main character and the constitution of his own identity in relation to the Other. The specificity of the artistic processing of the spoken language, the way in which the complementary activation of languages becomes a tool for characterization, and the creation of local colour can provide stable reading references even for texts written in other languages. In this case, the activation of lexemes, phraseological units, culturemes, quotations from Hungarian (predominantly) and English in the literary text written in Romanian support the presentation of the steps of the individual's self-definition in finding the local specificity under the imprint of globalization. The present study explores the significance of the secondary semantics of bilingual situations in the architecture of literary texts in general and, at the same time, provides a possible way of re-reading the text by following the processes of individualization of the literary transfiguration of bi- or multilingual existence in the case of a contemporary novel.

Keywords: reading from a linguistic perspective, bilingualism, biculturalism, translanguaging

Introduction

Reorganizing, reinterpreting, and redefining are constant marks of the Present, and these elements are to be found in the redefinition of local specificity in the context of globalization. Re-dimensioning is also echoed in literary discourse. Thus, in the age of the digital, the sphere of referentiality in literature is widening, and we are witnessing the resizing of literary discourse in general, the flexibilization of its framework through intertextuality and multimodalization. Relevant in this regard is the diversity of new species that have appeared recently only at the level of poetic discourse such as slam poetry, Instagram poetry, videopoems, slides, etc. Along with these openings to other forms, we are also witnessing the rethinking of national paradigms in literary interpretation (Balázs 2017). The aim of the present analysis is to provide interpretative benchmarks for the selective re-reading of contemporary literary texts produced by a new generation characterized by ambilingualism, i.e. parallel socialization in two languages, literatures, and cultures. The specific framework of the re-reading is given by the linguistic perspective, more precisely sociolinguistics, which we adopt by defining and applying a terminological system borrowed from this field. This interdisciplinary dialogue can provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the portraits, relationships, and cultures that emerge in and between different languages.

Text and context

In the present analysis, I address the significance of secondary semantics of bilingual situations in the architecture of literary texts in general, while in the second part of the paper, I track the individualization processes of the literary transfiguration of bi- or multilingual existence in the case of a novel published in 2021. The referential framework of this analysis is the generation of contemporary ambi- or multilingual authors, which – based on Demény's (2023) self-definition – can be considered the "Hunga-Romanian" generation of writers.

The present study is part of a larger project that aims to investigate how the literary representation of biculturalism, also bi- and multilingualism, acquires specific individual notes through the linguistic strategies of constituting the linguistically and culturally determined semiological system in the case of the aforementioned generation of writers.

What do we mean by the new generation of ambilingual writers?

The generation upon which I aimed a more in-depth reading is represented by the works of authors such as Péter Demény, Andor Horváth, Tamás Mihók, Nóra Ugron, Robert Gabriel Elekes, Kocsis Francisko, Andrei Dósa, etc. The common note of the authors mentioned above is that they write both in Hungarian and Romanian (some also in English) and are at the same time socialized in the literature of both cultures. They are also translators, an endeavour that ensures a permanent to-and-fro between languages and cultures, even between universal and local literature. In outlining the portrait of this new generation, the predominant common note concerns the nuances of the inner perspective of creating in two languages. Illustrative in this regard is Nóra Ugron's statement about the act of creation: "By the way, writing literature in Romanian as a Hungarian person sometimes feels sad, as well as being an anti-normative experiment and exploration. With every line I write, I seem to gain something I had never thought I would, and I lose something at the same time, with every missed opportunity to write in my mother tongue..." (Ugron 2023).[1] As the same author remarks, creating in two languages is "a tragedy and a celebration" at the same time; it is a state of being "caught between two languages and nowhere at home" (Ugron 2023).

Generally speaking, from the various interviews[2] and confessions, we also notice that, although these authors define the state of creation as an ambivalent state, we feel in their voices, with different intensity, the co-presence of the regret of abandoning the mother tongue but also the curiosity of finding themselves through the language of the other. They do not determine their own cultural identity based on the paradigms of national literatures, nor based on spatio-temporal paradigms, but in terms of meaning and significance in which they search for the right linguistic styles, codes and registers, the right words. Péter Demény illustratively captures this in the following lines, published in *Matca Literară*: "I do not, alas, look for pretexts for hatred. I'm looking for myself in this hustle and bustle. In all this life. In all the 'Hunga-Romanianness' that defines me" (Demény 2023). The compound word used by the author essentially but suggestively captures the idea of Presence (Dasein in the Heideggerian sense) in both cultures.

These authors' works represent artistic expressions of bicultural socialization, socialization assumed through the activation of inter- and intra-linguistic and cultural experiences. Taking this context as a starting point, I believe that we are witnessing the emergence of a new dimension of artistic language, in which the differentiation, the hierarchy of minor and major cultures or the idea of "minoritized"

1 All translations from Hungarian and Romanian are mine, E. M. Tódor, throughout the article.

2 https://transtelex.ro/kultura/2022/04/11/andrei-dosa-magyar-kolteszet-napja (Last accessed: 31 May 2023).

cultures disappears, as they are perceived as value systems in themselves, bearers of specific, indigenous values. In the universes thus created, the boundaries (even those of languages) disappear, and the universal character of human feeling is conveyed through this bi- or trilingual, complementary perspective, while the central organizing element becomes mediation, the transmission of feelings, values, thoughts and ideas, and not so much the origin of the word.

Writing in or about the language of another is not a foreign phenomenon in world literature. The literature of exile, for example, provides us with numerous illustrative examples of authors whose primary linguistic socialization differs from the language in which they expressed their artistic talents. We only need to think of the works of authors such as Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977), Eugen Ionescu (1909–1994), Cinghiz Aitmatov (1928–2008), Tristan Tzara (1896–1963), Arthur Koestler (1905–1983), Paul Celan (1920–1970), Aleksandar Hemon (1964–), Eugen O. Chirovici (1964–), and others.

In Romanian literature, taking on the voice in the other's language has manifested itself in different ways. We find the direct artistic processing of these ideas as early as 19th-century literature. Costache Negruzzi, in his essay entitled *Cum am învățat româneşte* [How I Learned Romanian], describes, for example, his "painful" experiences of reading in his mother tongue. An interesting description of the immersion in a language that is not one's mother tongue can be found in Lucian Blaga's *Hronicul şi cântecul vârstelor* [The Chronicle and the Song of Ages], in which the narrator recounts his experiences when entering a German-language school, how at first he perceives and listens to the language of communication in his environment, which then becomes the language of study, and the language of his intellectual fulfilment. Indirect literary references to the coexistence of cultures can be found in many artistic universes of Romanian literature, such as in the writings of Liviu Rebreanu, Ioan Slavici, Mihail Sadoveanu or the very existence and writings of Tudor Arghezi (Ferenczes 2015), etc. It should be noted that we have exemplified in this case the representations of each other's culture, but we do not propose to analyse the relations and tendencies of mutual knowledge of cultures, on which Tomonicska (2017b: 245), following a diachronic incursion, concludes that there is "an asymmetry and a partial parallelism" in the Romanian–Hungarian cultural relations. Generally speaking, in the era before the Revolution of 1989, Hungarian literature "under a dictatorial regime" was poorly represented, "camouflaged and/or repressed" (Tomonicska 2017a: 174). In the texts of contemporary Romanian literature on the whole and in texts by the authors of the generation writing in both languages, the manner of writing about bi- or multilingual life and manifestations appears much more "relaxed", although it is a relatively recent phenomenon. By introducing this aspect into the sphere of literary discourse, the specific aspects of cultural and linguistic interdependencies become much more nuanced, as their transposition to the level of artistic discourse synthesises the vision of both the lived and contemplated experiences, provokes the dialogue of intrinsic and extrinsic images, thus providing a framework for metalinguistic and metacultural reflection on the phenomenon. Obviously, these tools continue to fulfil their natural purpose of restoring local and regional colour, individualizing the universe created by the author. We are also witnessing the processing of spoken language, the capturing of speech acts in their natural manifestation, but – implicitly – also their artistic processing.

In contemporary writings, the way of talking about bi- or multilingual life and manifestations has taken on nuanced representations, being a constituent of local and regional colour creation techniques. An illustrative example in this sense is Caius Dobrescu's novel *Moarte în ținutul secuilor* [Death in Szeklerland], a novel published in 2017, where a specific form of resemantization of spoken language can be observed (Tódor 2019). In this case, the language of the characters becomes a means of "naturalizing" portraits and places, while their verbal conduct offers the possibility of contextualizing the narrative thread. The translinguistic manifestations of the characters, identifiable at different levels of language, from the phonetic-phonological to the lexico-semantic, become strategies of rendering local colour. "From this mingling and rupture of words and non-words, the author reaches a *metasemantic* level, a 'game of language' obtained by a *hyper-sign* created on a level beyond sentences, cultures and languages" (Tódor 2019: 4; emphasis in the original).

Conceptual framework of re-reading

The theoretical framework of the linguistic re-reading of literary texts is provided by the conceptual system of defining the coordinates of bilingual verbal conduct. The starting point for linguistic rereading is a more nuanced understanding of verbal conduct through the dimensions provided by the literary text. The reading will thus acquire a specific character through the way in which the reader's perspective focuses on the verbalization of biculturalism. In this paper, I investigate how this idiolect appears in the artistic universe outlined by Andrei Dósa in the novel *Multă forță şi un dram de gingăşie* [Lots of Power and a Touch of Gentleness] (2021), published at Polirom Publishing House. The re-reading announced in the title of the present study involves the transphrastic analysis of the text (focusing on the linguistics of the text); the metasemantic study of the text obtained through a transphrastically constituted, transcultural hyper-sign. I begin the re-reading process by delimiting a thematic and a linguistic level, a surface and a deep structure in the architecture of the text.

The conceptual framework that provides the benchmarks for the re-reading is focused on the terms that describe the profile of the bilingual speaker, studied and described on the basis of empirical data collected among the Hungarian-speaking community in Romania (Tódor 2019). The arsenal of notions referred to will be briefly presented in what follows. They cover behavioural aspects on the one hand and language structure and cross-linguistic contacts on the other.

Thus, in the praxis of communication, phenomena such as communicative anxiety (fear of speaking in order not to make a mistake), lexical hiatus (the feeling of not finding the right word), linguistic impasse (the quicker activation of a word from another language although the word is also known in the base language of communication), verbal routines (i.e. the habit of naming something in a specific way), failure or success of intercomprehension are elements that are more prominent with bilingual speakers than with monolingual speakers. In these situations, the "familiar" or "foreign" character of a word is also determined by the frequency at which it is used, as well as by its socio-affective valences, as it may happen that a foreign word in the linguistic system of a language may seem familiar to the speaker – perhaps more familiar than the one in the language of communication – due to the specificity of the contact with that language. Based on such situations, the concept of translanguaging situations (Wei 2011, 2017, Cenoz and Gorter 2017) emerges, which aims at the complementary activation of languages in the speaker's linguistic repertoire, the specificity of the choice of a word in L1 or L2 being socio-culturally and relationally marked (Wei 2011: 2). Thus, the phenomenon of language code switching noticeable at the level of language structure is contextualized, taking on pragmatic and socio-affective functions. In the artistic transfiguration of reality, this conceptual puzzle is re-semanticized, becoming a tool for characterization, for creating local colour, constituting pillar elements of the global and local coherence of narrative structures (Zafiu 2000).

General overview of the novel

Poet, prose writer, and translator, Andrei Dósa, in his novel *Multă putere şi un dram de gingăşie* [Lots of Power and a Touch of Gentleness], published in 2021 at Polirom Publishing House, Iaşi, offers the reader a framework for reflection on how to define oneself in a bilingual and bicultural context. A Romanian-writing Hungarian writer, he writes in both Hungarian and Romanian. In an interview[3] published in 2022, he claimed about his own bicultural existence that he "has two ways of thinking": "When I write, the constraints of choosing language registers are real challenges. How to express something well and precisely as it resonates with me. Not to mention the traditions of the two literatures…"

3 https://transtelex.ro/kultura/2022/04/11/andrei-dosa-magyar-kolteszet-napja (Last accessed: 31 May 2023).

Right from the title, his book announces a contrast between the symbolically chosen words "power" and "gentleness", to which he refers through quantitative determinants that are also in antithesis. It is a thematically complex novel which proposes at the same time a socio-political monograph on the redefinition of post-communist existence and an ironic social critique of the times; all of this is outlined through a personal narrative thread that gives the novel an autobiographical touch. In the critical remarks contained in the back of the book, Adrian Lăcătuş remarks that "unique in this novel is the voice of its narrator, a mixture of Holden Caulfield and Karl Ove, Hungarian and Romanian, idealistic and cynical, hybrid in many senses, trying to find clarity, without knowing why..." Accepting the hybrid character of the novel, a combination of Bildungsroman and anthropological novel, I interpret this writing primarily from a psychological perspective, being an artistic universe that presents the steps of an individual's self-definition, his intrinsic struggles, the moments of gradual recognition of the self in relation with others. It is a novel of psychology beyond masks, with a fine illustration of repressed feelings and the discomforts of assuming the self at different moments of existential evolution. It is a piece of writing concerned with the analysis of the gentleness of personality in the context of the power-shaping socio-political factors.

The psychological character of the novel is also emphasized by the dimension of setting up the linguistic and even national identity of the main character, distancing himself from the restricted circle of friends socialized in one culture and stepping into another framework of linguistic and cultural socialization. These uncomfortable exits and returns become sequences of the permanent struggle between affirmation and silence, between acceptance and rejection.

Through the confessions of the narrative self, we are presented with the portrait of a young man socialized in his immediate environment, with distinctive regional characteristics, eager to go beyond the limiting framework of locality and to redefine himself translocally by discovering the dazzling challenge of globalizing trends. These three dimensions can be traced in the text by describing how the narrator self relates to his environment.

Interlingual dimension and text architecture

Beyond the global narrative structure, the peripheral narrative (van Dijk 1972, in Zafiu 2000) appears in the architecture of the text, which in the case of the present discourse renders the local, translocal, and global dimension of the main character's journey.

The local cohesion of the text (Zafiu 2000) is delineated by the regional clues of the discourse, materialized in (a) spatial references: "the registration number of the van is only partially visible, the first two letters: HR. *Hegyi Rabló* (Mountain robber)" (Dósa 2021: 87); and in (b) onomastic and toponymic references. In the text written in Romanian, the characters have Hungarian names, rendered literally in Hungarian spelling such as Atti (nickname for Attila, representative for the Hungarian culture because of Attila the Hun, also called "Scourge of God"), Timi, Robi, Péter, Gergely, Edit, and so on. Local celebrities also appear in the novel, such as Uncle Sós, "the old man who had fought a bear and had apparently chased it away with his fierce battle cries" (Dósa 2021: 16).

The scenes of the novel are set in geographically identifiable locations, such as Braşov, Mereşti, Târgu-Mureş, or Miercurea Ciuc; the toponyms used in the text sometimes appear in Hungarian, sometimes only in Romanian. "Atti was delighted about his trips to Szeklerland, he was energized by any contact with this geographical region which he called his true homeland" (Dósa 2021: 18).

The translocal cohesion of the text is outlined through strategies of capturing cultural specificity, through the alternation and complementary blending of languages at the level of sentences and phrases, completed with the author's footnotes with the Romanian translations of the Hungarian in-text sentences. Here are some illustrative examples:

"I'll give him a bit more time to get used to the idea, I told myself. *Kész kabaré, pajtás!*[4] *as Greg used to say.*" (*Dósa 2021: 117; italics in the original*)*;*

"Atti used to call me csirkemellű"[5] (Dósa 2021: 42; italics in the original).

The intercultural dimension of the narrative discourse is outlined through the interlinguistic playfulness, an individualizing element of Andrei Dósa's texts. This playful character is achieved through interlinguistic lexical similarity or interlinguistic paronymy or homonymy (also called "false friends" after "faux amis"), explained through translation. Interlingual homonymy refers to situations in which lexemes from different languages show formal similarity (full or partial) but carry different meanings. In the following case, the author refers to the association of the words *irodalom*/*birodalom* 'literature/empire' in order to then make semantic connections: "in Hungarian it is enough to omit the first letter of the word *birodalom* to get *irodalom*" (Dósa 2021: 8). Another illustrative example is *Goodfriends*/*Bukfenc* 'Somersault': "We used to get snotty in the Hungarians' bar, Goodfriends, which we nicknamed Bukfenc" (Dósa 2021: 51).

The lexical dimension of intercultural confluences takes on various forms. Cross-linguistic strategies appear at the level of sentences and phrases, with explanations in the footnotes via the author's translations:

"Except that my father thought otherwise. You have to eat what you're given. *Elég a figurázásból*"[6] (Dósa 2021: 21; italics in the original).

4 "Ce cabaret, amice! (magh.)" (Like a cabaret, pal! (Hun.)).
5 "Că am piept de pui (magh.)" (having chicken breast (Hun.)).
6 "Lasă figurile (magh.)" (Forget about tricks (Hun.)).

"'*Na, nyomás*!'[7] encouragement which he accompanied with a distinctive whistle…" (Dósa 2021: 34; italics in the original).

"I never stopped to talk to him, I just greeted him briefly, *szevasz*!"[8] (Dósa 2021: 40; italics in the original).

"*Tiszta szégyen!*[9] Greg's father looked surprised and stroked his bushy moustache: Does he really not know Hungarian?..." (Dósa 2021: 121–122; italics in the original).

The activation of texts in other languages is often driven by the desire to accurately reproduce the cited text. This is the case of the lyrics of songs heard or hummed in different contexts, of which a few illustrative examples are provided below.

"From the battered speakers we could now hear: *Olyan csávó vagyok / hogy kilenc romnyit kapok/, ha akarok*"[10] (Dósa 2021: 55; italics in the original).

Often the insertion of the word from the other language is a result of the untranslatable nature of some phraseological unit or cultureme. Here is an illustrative example: "János's culture was *egyveleg kultúra* (un vălmăşag, un potpuriu),[11] in which Hungarian folk songs co-existed, a kind of tavern music which back in those days was labelled Hungarian manele" (Dósa 2021: 170; italics in the original).

Prejudices and labels widely used among subcultures of the Hungarian population, such as the way Hungarians in Hungary are perceived by Hungarians in Szeklerland, also appear in the text. In this context, the word *táposok* appears, meaning weaker people, lacking vitality, which basically includes an indirect characterization, a compensatory or cynical way of relating to the other, used especially in colloquial contexts.

'These people are driving me crazy with their geeky ideas.'

'*Táposok*,'[12] Atti said contemptuously.

'We are going to get bored…'

'*Nyugi, ember.*[13] *He won't do anything we don't like.*' (Dósa 2021: 110; italics in the original)

Through translinguistic narrative and conversational situations, beyond the portraits, the imagology of the micro-community is also outlined. This micro-

7 "Hai, bagă viteză! (magh.)" (Come on, step on it! (Hun.)).
8 "Sal! (magh.)" (Hi! (Hun.)).
9 "Curată ruşine! (magh.)" (What a shame! (Hun.)).
10 "Sunt aşa un gagiu, că-mi iau nouă femei dacă vreau (magh.)" (I'm such a guy that I'll take nine women if I want to (Hun.)).
11 A hodgepodge, a potpourri.
12 "Hrăniți cu paiul, lipsiți de forță (magh.)" (straw-fed, lacking strength (Hun.)).
13 "Relax, omule (magh.)" (Relax, man (Hun.)).

community often refuses otherness, from which it acquires its own vitality through the permanent strengthening of its own image in relation with the other.

The dimension of the narrator's relation towards the globalizing tendencies of the time is also outlined through interlinguistic connections. These are achieved through the activation of English lexemes in the narrative continuum in Romanian. Here are some illustrative examples: "The child... made the *switch* with extraordinary speed" (Dósa 2021: 38; italics in the original); "That almost sickeningly erotic gleam in his eyes was not nearly enough to arouse me. *And I had my porn*. Why complicate myself?" (Dósa 2021: 33; italics in the original).

At other times, mutations of registers and linguistic codes are due to quotations or intertextuality resulting from the accurate reproduction of the lyrics of English songs. Here are some illustrative examples:

"I was moved to tears by the love songs of the eighties. *What a wicked thing to do, to let me dream of you*" (Dósa 2021: 118; italics in the original). English lexical elements, marks of globalization, are perceived as comprehensible presences; they are not translated by the author.

A representative topos of the main character's existence is digital space itself. At one point in the novel – through the universalizing language of the digital –, we are introduced to the configuration of the computer, by presenting the D-partition of the computer and its existing subfolders. From this point of view, the space in which the reader is transposed is unprecedented, the way in which a space of human existence, of the constitution of the digital self, is outlined to us, with powerful imprints on concrete manifestations and spoken language. In the text, there is a permanent transition from the register of digital communication to that of the oral or written narrative. Here is an illustrative example: "I gave the girl an *add* on Messenger and within a second Atti pulled out his phone and called her, eyes focused on the screen to say *I'm atta_boy, please accept my friendship*" (Dósa 2021: 58; italics in the original).

Reflections upon re-reading the text

In this study, I have illustrated a new possibility of reading the literary text, namely its reading from a linguistic point of view, offering a novel perspective on the text in which, beyond the overall narrative structure, I have experimented with selective reading of the peripheral narrative from the perspective of activated verbal conduct, capturing the way language is processed in the universe of the novel in its natural, spontaneous manifestation. In this way, the surface and underlying meanings of the text have been outlined. I believe that such an interdisciplinary (re)reading can provide a qualitative deepening in the understanding of the text and, at the same time, can provide a framework for reflection on the language activation schemes and strategies available in the linguistic repertoire of the bi- or multilingual speaker. This repertoire must be approached holistically, while the communicative contexts of the novel pragmatically illustrate such a linguistic reality. It can therefore be concluded that this interpretative reading approach can be applied, based on the concepts offered by linguistics, to the context of other texts, including those written in other languages.

The present reading also becomes exciting in terms of the techniques used by the author in the linguistic rendering of local colour. In this case, we can see that unlike the universe created by Caius Dobrescu – analysed in Tódor (2019) – through the translinguistic elements that provide the artistic discourse with a closed coherence, since the world articulated and transfigured through translinguistic techniques must be intuited, meanings and significance are to be discovered by deciphering the local accent and the specific lexico-semantic structures. Thus, in the linguistically outlined universe of this work, there are continuous openings and exits. By these "exits", I mean the specific strategy of Andrei Dósa's universe, realized through the metatextual dimension, constituted by the translations offered by the author. In this case, the reader is left to contemplate the intrinsic universe of the work, precisely through the different linguistic worlds constituted in parallel (i.e. through translation). Here the specific element of the languages used complementarily is the effort to sustain or challenge "total" understanding.

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Cultural Models of the Body Parts Hand and Hair in Hungarian Archaic Prayers

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Abstract. Body part names are productive sources of metaphoric and metonymic expressions, which constitute coherent constructions in the languages. These cognitive cultural models are subconsciously known to all cultural community members (D'Andrade 1992). In the paper, I explore how culture influences the conceptualizations of body parts. The theoretical framework is Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian 2017), which investigates cultural conceptualizations in language. The data and analysis presented here consider the uses of 'hand' and 'hair' metaphors and metonymies in Hungarian archaic prayers, which represent a specific subculture mingling elements of the Christian religion with other (pagan or shamanistic) belief systems. The corpus of the study is Erdélyi's collection of 321 archaic prayers (2013 [1976]), from which all representations of 'hand' and 'hair' are selected and conceptually analysed. The results show that 1) the figurative functions of the two body parts partly correspond to metaphors which are also found in secular Hungarian (e.g. HAND FOR HELP, HAND FOR CARE, HAND FOR ACTION); however, in the archaic prayers, they often take form in specific meanings (HAND FOR HELP TO GET INTO HEAVEN, HAND FOR PROVIDENCE, HAND FOR CONTROL); 2) their figurative uses strongly rely on cultural schemas which are attached to people and events. It is concluded that the body parts under consideration have fundamentally different cultural models in prayers than in secular usage.

Keywords: cultural conceptualizations, cultural linguistics, hair, hand, Hungarian, metaphor, schema

1. Introduction

Language testifies that the human body is one of the richest sources of experience utilized in conceptualization. The overarching theory that established this observation was the embodiment hypothesis (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987), proposing two important claims: a) abstract concepts are conceptualized in terms of concrete concepts, which are perceived in our everyday physical experiences, and b) human beings understand the complex aspects of their experiences through their bodies (including its possibilities and constraints). It is a universal tenet that the very first experiences humans have about their environment is their own body; at the same time, the human body is not a culture-free object (Gibbs 2005). Linguistic, especially lexicographic studies show that due to the rich experience of body parts, they often serve as source domains to be applied to various aspects of human life, including abstract domains (Kövecses 2000, Sharifian et al. 2008). Body parts are extended to both external concepts (this division follows Kraska-Szlenk 2014) like OBJECTS or SPACE (*foot of the hill, back, heading, mouth of the cave*) and internal, or person-bound concepts like REASONING, EMOTIONS (which are often metonymical, e.g. *happy/sad eyes, hair rising, get under one's skin, raise an eyebrow*), CULTURAL VALUES (comprising of MORALITY, HONOUR, HOSPITALITY; about EYE and VISION, cf. Baranyiné Kóczy 2023), BEHAVIOUR, CHARACTER TRAITS, or SOCIAL INTERACTIONS.

While the figurative use of body parts has raised considerable interest for cognitive and cultural linguists in recent years (e.g. Yu 2001, Sharifian et al. 2008, Maalej and Yu 2011, Baş and Kraska-Szlenk 2021, Baranyiné Kóczy and Sipőcz 2023), their intra-cultural specifics in terms of religious context or traditional folk-cultural context received considerably less attention. Even more peculiar is when the two are combined such as in the case of Hungarian archaic prayers (Erdélyi 2013 [1976]) reflecting the spiritual belief system of traditional folk communities, mingling elements of the Christian religion with other pagan or shamanistic belief systems.

This study aims to pinpoint the cultural conceptualizations of body parts in Hungarian archaic prayers (belonging to the Hungarian folk subculture) by examining Hungarian *kéz* 'hand' and *haj* 'hair' occurrences in the corpus of Erdélyi's collection of archaic prayers (2013 [1976]) and compares their figurative usages with secular usages of 'hand' and 'hair'.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Cultural conceptualizations and cultural models of the body

The present research employs the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics, a multidisciplinary approach that investigates the dynamic interface between language, culture, and conceptualization (Sharifian 2017). This framework combines a cognitive semantic approach with other culture-related disciplines, which draw on elements of culture that anchor language data into the cognition of a cultural community. Cultural Linguistics asserts that cognition and conceptualization do not only operate at the level of individuals, but they also engage with the cultural (collective) level of cognition. In this context, culture is defined as a specific worldview (beliefs, ideas, and values) that characterizes a group of people who live together in a particular social, historical, and physical environment and interpret their experiences in a more or less homogenous way (Sharifian 2017: 26). Its fundamental notion *cultural conceptualizations* is used as an umbrella term for a broad and diverse category involving various manifestations of cultural cognition in the forms of cultural schemas, categories, and metaphors (Sharifian 2011, 2017). Cultural conceptualizations can be found at different language levels and in extralinguistic phenomena, including rituals, emotions, nonverbal behaviour, and other instances where verbal and nonverbal representations coexist harmoniously.

Cultural metaphors are conceptual constructions based on cross-domain mappings embedded in cultural schemas related to folk medicine, worldview, or a spiritual belief system (Sharifian 2017: 4; cf. Kövecses 2015, Yu 2017). Cultural schemas, or "those pools of knowledge that contain a significant portion of meanings encoded in human languages" (Sharifian 2017: 52), are another branch of cultural conceptualizations. They include beliefs, norms, and expectations of behaviour, and they are apparent in the forms of various types of schemas, e.g. event schemas (like that of Christmas), emotion schemas (such as PRIDE, ANGER, and SHAME), or role schemas (e.g. gender roles). Cultural models are "presupposed, taken-for-granted models" that are shared among a group of individuals (Quinn and Holland 1987: 4), and they are thought of as the basic components of knowledge, organizing systems of concepts based on folk theories (religion, philosophy, or other belief systems) (e.g. Kövecses 2000, Yu 2001, Sharifian et al. 2008). Speaking of the human body, Yu asserts that: "cultural models set up specific perspectives from which certain aspects of bodily experience or certain parts of the body are viewed as especially salient and meaningful in the understanding of those abstract concepts" (Yu 2004: 683). The term "cultural model" is essential to the study of culture in cognitive anthropology (Quinn and Holland 1987, Shore 1996, Strauss and Quinn 1997), highlighting the unifying aspect of this conceptual knowledge shared by many individuals collectively (Ungerer and Schmid 2006). Sharifian stated in a previous article that "cultural models may encompass a network of schemas, categories, and metaphors" (2008: 339), though he later replaced this statement with "cultural conceptualizations" as a cover term for "cultural schema", "cultural category", and "cultural metaphor" (Sharifian 2017). "Cultural model" and "cultural schema" are concepts that are comparable in many ways; however, many researchers use the term "cultural schema" for specific types of conceptual content (like role schema), while they prefer the term "cultural model" when referring to the systematic nature and complexity of cultural-conceptual creations made up of different kinds of cultural conceptualizations. This direction is likewise taken by the current study.

2.2. Cultural models, folk culture, and sacrality

The three thematic pillars of the present study manifest in three interacting themes: the nexus of body and folk culture, the nexus of sacrality and folk culture, and the nexus of body and sacrality. In the Hungarian context, the first two have already been studied, but the third one, concerning the "cultural models of the BODY in traditional Hungarian folk communities"[1] is yet to be explored. Perhaps the only available literature in a cultural-cognitive framework is Lajos (2021), who explored the intra-cultural variation of the conceptualization of EYE based on interviews with senior villagers of Csíkszentdomokos (collected by Balázs 2009) on traditional views of sexual life in villages. She found that the EYE is primarily extended to MORALITY and CONTROL, which shows that the monitoring and enforcing moral standards and confrontation with their violation were central to the community. She also unveiled a culture-specific version of the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor: (IMMORAL) KNOWLEDGE IS EYE/VISION because the expression 'one's eyes opened up' was used by the interviewees partly linked to the disapproval of sex education in schools and partly to the condemnation of new norms of behaviour that go hand in hand with social development, which was viewed as a threat to values of the traditional world (Lajos 2021: 226).

The second pillar, sacrality and Hungarian folk culture, has been investigated by Szelid (2021), who observed the traditional folk model of LOVE in peasant communities and found that it is morality-based due to the conceptualization of LIFE as having the transcendental and the terrestrial spheres inseparably united, where the continuity of life was a central element. It followed from this that at the heart of the traditional folk model of love was the need to ensure the continuity of life, which was understood on two levels: in the procreation and in the attainment of eternal life as the reward of a virtuous life. Love and marital love were, therefore, inextricably linked to HOLINESS.

The third theme, the nexus of body and sacrality, has not been addressed in Hungarian. Although SPIRITUALITY, a highly cultural concept, is described with far less frequency in the embodiment literature (Pattillo 2023), there are some remarkable results concerning other cultures. Some studies explored the locus of SPIRIT/SOUL and found it in the HEART in various languages (for a summary, cf. Baranyiné Kóczy and Sipőcz 2023: 32–33), including Old English (Geeraerts and Gevaert 2008), Turkic languages like Kazakh (Abdramanova 2023), Serbian (Prodanović Stankić 2023), but also in the BELLY in Kuuk Thayorre (Gaby 2008). Furthermore, the HEART was identified as the SEAT OF SPIRITUALITY in Christianity (Pattillo 2023) and in Islam (as opposed to secular usages in Tunisian Arabic and Persian; cf. Maalej 2008, Sharifian 2008). Using a corpus of Christian music, Pattillo (2023) highlights substantial

1 Tánczos (2015) provides a list of metaphorical body-related expressions collected in Csíkszentmihály (Mihăileni, Romania).

differences between the modern American English Christian model of the HEART and its secular usages (cf. Niemeier's (2000) categories for HEART metaphors), showing that the basic distinction is that in Christianity, the HEART is God-oriented, symbolizing both the humanity and sacrificial love of Jesus Christ (commonly referred to as the *Sacred Heart*). In contrast, in secular usage, the HEART is either self- or love-oriented, being symbolic of romantic love. Furthermore, instead of EMOTIONS dominating in *heart* metaphors, within Christian music, CHARACTER dominates, where emotions associated with the heart are primarily positive. She draws on the example of 'burning heart', which has a negative meaning in secular English, but in the Christian model, it stands for experiencing God's presence in humans' lives.

Following the discussion of the interconnectedness of body, sacrality, and culture, the goal of this paper is to pinpoint the cultural conceptualizations of the body in Hungarian archaic prayers (belonging to the Hungarian folk subculture) by focusing on two body parts, HAND, and HAIR, and to find out how they correspond to secular Hungarian. The aim is to identify further how culture plays a role in embodied cognition and answer the following research questions:

a. How are HAND and HAIR conceptualized in the archaic prayers?

b. What differences exist in HAND and HAIR conceptualizations in religious and secular usages?

c. How do these findings contribute to understanding culture's role in embodiment?

3. Corpus and methodology

The corpus data of the study comprises prayers from Erdélyi's collection (2013 [1976]) *Hegyet hágék, lőtőt lépék. Archaikus népi imádságok* [I climbed a mountain, I stepped into a valley: Archaic folk prayers], which includes 321 texts selected from approx. 6,000 prayers collected between 1968 and 1972. The ethnographer Erdélyi claims that the prayers exhibit a mixture of "magic, religion, myth, archaic beliefs, Christianity, medieval, baroque, east-west; Byzantium, Rome; canonical, apocryphal, deviant, heretical" (2013 [1976]: 13). The texts are divided into three categories according to the belief system they represent:

1) mixed consciousness (spells/incantations, protection spells, apotropaic spells);

2) Christian consciousness (grouped by the stages of the Passion of Christ);

3) texts with links to medieval ecclesiastical literature.

In the prayers, because of the diversity of their archaic and dialectical forms, the lexemes *kéz* 'hand' and *haj* 'hair' were manually selected and conceptually analysed. Due to the limited scope of the study, only the main branches of cultural conceptualizations are presented via a few text examples.

For a brief overview of the secular usages of HAND and HAIR, I have collected phrases, idioms, and proverbs from two dictionaries (Bárczi and Országh 1959–1962, Szemerkényi 2009) in order to identify the main trends of figurative usages of HAND and HAIR. Apart from locating the specific cultural metonymies and metaphors (which are presented in the A FOR B form referring to their metonymical grounds, and generally metaphtonymic – a transition between metaphor and metonymy-status; cf. Goossens 1990), I also grouped them to name the generic target concepts (domains) of conceptual metaphors and metonymies following Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980).

4. Data analysis

4.1. Metaphorical and metonymical extensions of HAND and HAIR in secular Hungarian

Based on the two dictionaries, in secular usage, the HAND is commonly extended to an INSTRUMENT OF ACTIVITY/WORK, HELP/CARE, POSSESSION, CONTROL, FIGHT/CONFLICT, INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP, and EMOTIONS (*Table 1*). These metaphors/metonymies are similar to the ones found in various languages: HAND IS AN INSTRUMENT FOR POSSESSION, HELP, WORK, POWER/CONTROL (Kraska-Szlenk 2014: 29–30), but some of the cultural metaphors and the expressions themselves are specific to Hungarian, e.g. *kéz alatt elad* 'selling sth below hands' utilizes the HAND FOR SECRET ACT metonymy, where the visibility of the transfer is mapped onto the overtness of the action, and vice versa.

Table 1. *Metaphors and metonymies of* HAND *based on Bárczi and Országh (1959–1962) and Szemerkényi (2009)*

Target domains	Metaphors and metonymies	Hungarian example	English translation
ACTIVITY/WORK (CAUSE FOR EFFECT)	HAND FOR ACTIVITY	*ölbe tett kézzel* *vér tapad a kezéhez*	hands on one's lap = inactive blood on one's hands
	HAND FOR WORK	*ügyes kezű* *lyukas a keze* *minden arannyá válik a kezében*	dexterous hands having a hole in one's hand everything turns to gold in one's hands
	HAND FOR FREEDOM (OF ACTION/DECISION)	*meg van kötve a keze* *szabad kezet kap*	one's hands are tied getting free hands
	HAND FOR SECRET ACT	*kéz alatt elad*	selling sth below hands
	(CLEAN) HAND FOR MORAL ACT	*mossa kezeit*	washing one's hands
HELP/CARE	HAND FOR HELP	*a jobb keze valakinek*	being one's right hand
	HAND FOR CARE	*leveszi a kezét vkiről/vmiről*	taking one's hands off sb or sth

Target domains	Metaphors and metonymies	Hungarian example	English translation
POSSESSION	HAND FOR POSSESSION	*kiengedi a kezéből* *lecsapja a kezéről*	letting sth out of one's hands slapping sth off one's hand
CONTROL	HAND FOR CONTROL	*ráteszi a kezét a vagyonra* *kézben tart valamit* *kezébe veszi a sorsát*	putting one's hands on the asset keeping sth in one's hand taking one's fate in sb's hands
FIGHT/CONFLICT	HAND FOR FIGHT	*fel a kezekkel* *kezet emel rá*	hands up (command) raising one's hand to sb = hitting sb
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	HAND FOR AGREEMENT, COMRADESHIP, RECONCILIATION, MARRIAGE/UNITY	*kéz a kézben* *kezet rá!* *békülő kezet nyújt* *kézfogó*	hand in hand = in agreement take my hand! giving a forgiving hand hand-holding = engagement
	HAND FOR GREETING	*kezet nyújt neki* *kezet csókol*	gives him a hand kisses her hand
EMOTIONS	HAND FOR SURPRISE, ANGER, GRATITUDE, ANXIETY	*összecsapja a két kezét* *ökölbe szorítja a kezét* *összeteszi a két kezét* *tördeli a kezét*	claps his two hands together clenches his fists clasps his two hands together wrings his hands
PHYSICAL SPACE	HAND FOR PROXIMITY	*keze ügyébe esik*	falls into his hands

The conceptualizations of HAIR are connected to FIGHT/CONFLICT, FORCE, EMOTIONS, PERSONALITY TRAITS, TIME, and AMOUNT (*Table 2*). It should be highlighted that the HAIR FOR PERSONAL TRAITS is the most productive, where the quality of one's hair signifies one's age, gender, or internal characteristics.

Table 2. *Metaphors and metonymies of* HAIR *based on Bárczi and Országh (1959–1962) and Szemerkényi (2009)*

Target domains	Metaphors and metonymies	Hungarian example	English translation
FIGHT/CONFLICT	DAMAGING ONE'S HAIR FOR FIGHT/CONFLICT	*Haja szála sem görbül meg*	Not a strand of one's hair curls
	GRABBING ONE'S HAIR FOR FIGHT/CONFLICT	*Hajba kap valakivel*	grabbing someone's hair
FORCE	PULLING BY THE HAIR FOR FORCE	*hajánál fogva előráncigált*	dragged by the hair = artificially made up [argument, objection]
	LOSING HAIR FOR MENTAL EFFORT	*nem sok haja hullott ki a tudományokért*	he hasn't lost much hair for the sciences = for learning
EMOTIONS	GREY HAIR FOR ANXIETY	*Sok ősz hajat szerez a bú-gond*	Sorrow brings much grey hair
	TEARING ONE'S HAIR FOR ANNOYANCE	*Tépi a haját*	tearing one's hair

Target domains	**Metaphors and metonymies**	**Hungarian example**	**English translation**
PERSONAL TRAITS	FRIZZY HAIR FOR DISHONESTY (HAIR FOR BEAUTY)	*Fodor a haja, sík a szája*	His/her hair is frizzle, and his/her mouth is flat
	LONG HAIR FOR WOMEN (WOMEN FOR POOR LOGIC SKILLS)	*Hosszú haj, rövid ész*	Long hair, short brain
	HAIR FOR LUCK	*Haja nőne, ha kopasz lenne is*	His hair would grow even if he were bald
	HAIR FOR AGE	*Az ősz haj dudazaj, de a ránc már nem tánc*	The grey hair is a bagpipe, but wrinkles are no longer a dance
TIME	GROWTH OF HAIR FOR TIME	*Tar gyermeknek még megnő a haja*	A bald child will grow hair = there is still time for change
AMOUNT	AMOUNT OF HAIR FOR AMOUNT	*Annyi van, mint a hajam szála*	There are as many as strands of my hair

4.2. Cultural conceptualizations of HAND in the archaic folk prayers

Most of the figurative usages of HAND represent it as a spiritual bond between God and man, the saints and man, generally, between the terrestrial and celestial world. These archaic prayers concern the issue of man's desire to get into heaven and gain salvation. In this context, HAND is loaded with various figurative meanings depending on the event schema. In some texts, the event schema SALVATION is depicted, where the scenario is the following: a man approaches the Virgin Mary for her to extend her helping hand and lead him (the one who prays or another one) into heaven by holding their hands (1–2). Mary's HAND (and BOSOM also) represents her CARE for humans, which is further specified to THE HAND (OF A SACRED BEING) TO HELP MAN TO GET INTO HEAVEN.

(1)	*Nyiccs kaput, angyal,* *Nyújcs kezet, Mária,* *Hogy mennyek bé boldog mennyországba.*	Open the gate, angel, Stretch out your hand, Mary, That I may enter the happy heaven.[2]
(2)	*Szerelmes Szent Anyám,* *Boldogságos Szűz Mária,* *Ha olj kedves néked a bűnös lélek,* *Ereszd mennyországba,* *Örök boldogságba,* *Fogd szent kezedbe,* *Tedd szent kebledre,* *Vidd föl a Paradicsomba.*	My beloved Holy Mother, Blessed Virgin Mary, If the sinful soul be so dear to you, Let him go to heaven, To everlasting bliss, Take him in your holy hands, Place him on your holy bosom, Take him up to Paradise.

2 The translations from Hungarian literature are my own throughout the article, J. Baranyiné Kóczy.

However, Mary similarly approaches Jesus.

(3)	*Fiam, fiam, fényes fiam,* *Nyújcsd kezedet,* *Hadd mennyek* *Úr szine látni*	My son, my son, my shining son, Stretch out your hand, Let me go Before the Lord

HAND has other roles in the event schema of SALVATION: HAND holds the KEY TO HEAVEN/SALVATION (4) or HELL/DOOM (5). However, the KEY has different meanings in the examples; in (4), it is the assurance of SALVATION "bought" by repeating a certain prayer twice a day, and in this way, the key is given into the hand of man. This conceptualization can be linked to the secular metaphor HAND FOR POSSESSION, where the possessed entity is the abstract concept of ETERNAL LIFE (HAND FOR THE POSSESSION OF SALVATION). However, the KEY stands for JUDGMENT in (5), where St Peter as God's servant holds the key. This text indirectly represents the HAND FOR JUDGMENT extension because only God's hand can judge humans.

(4)	*Mondom, mondom, bizonnyal mondom,* *Aki ezt az imáccságot este, reggel elmongya,* *Kezibe adom a mennyország kú'csát,*	I tell you, I tell you, I certainly tell you, He who says this prayer in the evening and in the morning, I give into his hand the keys of heaven,
(5)	*Aki aptyát, annyát megverte,* *Én nem vertem meg, csak gondoltam,* *Fogd, Szent Péter, a kezedbe a kujcsokat,* *Mutasd néki a hosszú, széles, poros utakat,* *Amerre az ördögök a pokolba járnak.*	Those who beat his father or his mother, I didn't beat them, I just had it in mind, St Peter, take the keys in your hands, Show him the long, wide, dusty roads, Where the devils go to hell.

Similar to (5), THE HAND appears as a means of God's JUDGMENT, which is specified to the negative meaning of DAMNATION/DOOM in (6): while GOD'S HAND stands for DOOM, taking back his hand means MERCY. The conceptualization of judgment elaborates the HAND FOR CONTROL/POWER metonymy.

(6)	*Könyörülvén, Úristen,* *Ki mondád a népedet* *Öldöklő angyalnak,* *Vond vissza kezedet.*	Mercifully, O Lord, Who judged your people As slaying angels, Take back your hand.

Although related to doomsday and the theme of SALVATION, JESUS'S HAND has a different function from JUDGMENT in (7): it serves as a reference point for the RIGHT/LEFT SIDE and PROXIMITY of man to God. Being located on the right-hand side of

Jesus on the Day of Judgement is the equivalent of gaining salvation. In this event schema, the degree of proximity to Jesus is proportional to the degree of spiritual proximity to God. It follows from this that the concepts of SIDE and PROXIMITY are also interconnected with JUDGMENT.

(7)	*Engedd, Jézus,* *Hogy én a te választottid közibe számlálhassak az itélet napján is,* *Jobb kéz felől Mária, Krisztus anyja,* *Boldogságos Szűz Mária!*	Let me, Jesus, That I may be counted among your chosen ones on the day of judgment, On the right hand, Mary, Mother of Christ, Blessed Virgin Mary!

However, Jesus's HAND is often represented as providing CARE or PROVIDENCE for man throughout their lives. In (8), man seeks Jesus's help to look after him, his livestock, and his properties. The HAND is figuratively located above everything under God's care, providing PROTECTION like a shelter. The meaning of HAND can also be connected to CREATION (cf. the parallel of "*az ő keze alatt, / Teremtése alatt*" (everything under his hand, under his creation), where the HAND stands for CREATION (note that here God is substituted by Jesus), indicating that living beings or material properties of human needs under his hand are ensured providence because they are all God's creations.

(8)	*A Názáretbeli Jézus tartson meg münköt!* *A Szentlélekisten ereje oltalmajzon meg münköt!* *Hazánkot, határinkot, hajlékunkot, lakásunkot* *Családunkot, állatainkot és mindent ami az ő keze alatt,* *Teremtése alatt, őröjzön meg minden veszedelemtől.*	May Jesus of Nazareth keep us! May the power of God, the Holy Spirit, protect us! Our country, our borders, our dwelling, our home Our family, our animals, and everything under his hand, under his creation, keep us from all harm.

The metaphor HAND FOR CARE is observed when Jesus entrusts Mary to Apostle John to take care of her after His death. John takes Mary by the hand and leads her away from the spot that causes pain to her. Therefore, spatial distancing represents a decrease in sorrow (9).

(9)	*János, kedves tanítványom!* *Az én édesanyámra legyen gondod!* *Kezinél fogva messze vezesd el a keresztfától,* *Ne lássa, hogy mit szenvedek!*	John, my dear disciple! Take care of my mother! Take her by the hand and lead her far from the cross, Let her not see how I suffer!

Another metonymy is connected to the apostles' hands in (10). When Jesus commissions them to proclaim God's kingdom, they are commanded to hold a SWORD and a ROD in their hands on their mission; the first one is used to FIGHT for Christianity, and the second is to EVANGELIZE or teach people. The underlying metonymy is, therefore, HAND FOR ACTION.

(10)	*Szent Pál és Szent Péter,* *Ne szánakozzatok, ne bánakozzatok énrajtam,* **[…]** *Hanem fogjatok a jobb kezetekbe kardot,* *A balba pegyig pálcát,* *És menjetek a széles világra, hirdessétek:* **[…]**	St Paul and St Peter, Have no pity on me, have no sorrow for me, […] But take the sword in your right hand, In your left hand, a rod, And go into the wide world and proclaim:

Some cultural conceptualizations of HAND are connected to the event schema of JESUS CHRIST'S PASSION. Jesus is often depicted on the cross in a specific position with his head down, legs outstretched, and hands folded, showing his acceptance of sacrifice and surrender (11). Another variant is hands/arms outstretched, which depicts Jesus's sorrow more intensively (12). In both images, the hand can be linked to various figurative functions, the most obvious being HAND FOR (IN) ACTIVITY and HAND FOR SACRIFICE.

(11)	*Kire Krisztus Urunk szent fejét lehajtotta,* *Szent lábát kinyújtotta,* *Szent kezét összetette,* *Szent szemét béhunyta,* *Szent vérét kiontotta,* *Öt sebét kinyitotta.*	Onto whom Christ our Lord bowed his holy head, He stretched out his holy feet, His holy hands were folded, His holy eyes were closed, He shed his holy blood, He opened his five wounds.
(12)	*Feje lehajtva,* *Szive szomorodva,* *Két orcája meghervadva,* *Két keze ki van terjesztve,* *Öt mélységes sebe elejbe van terjesztve*.	His head down, His heart saddened, His two cheeks stiffened, His two hands outstretched, His five deep wounds spread in front.

In Jesus's Passion, the hands of the Jewish leaders who sought to arrest him are represented as a means for having power over him according to the HAND FOR POWER/CONTROL metaphor (13).

(13)	*Hirdessed az én keserves kénnyaimat, mert én holnap álla délkor pokolzsidók kezikbe adatom magamat.*	Proclaim my bitter pains, for tomorrow at noon I will deliver myself into the hands of the Jews of hell.

Overall, the HANDS represented in the archaic prayers belong to both terrestrial and celestial beings, and their current figurative meanings depend on the context, namely, the event schemas (MAN'S SALVATION, JESUS CHRIST'S PASSION). The two most essential target concepts are JUDGMENT and CARE, imbued with specific meanings in archaic prayers, such as DIVINE SALVATION/DOOM and PROVIDENCE.

4.3. Cultural conceptualizations of HAIR in the archaic folk prayers

In the cultural conceptualizations of HAIR, Jesus Christ's hair is depicted as part of his TORTURE and HUMILIATION during his Passion, while Mary's hair represents MOURNING, GLORY, or an OBSTACLE that prevented her from protecting his Son.

The torture of Jesus Christ is represented by some typical schematic elements, including ripping and pulling his hair out, which is both painful and humiliating (14). HAIR is a metonymical reference to his TORTURE (DAMAGING HAIR FOR TORTURE), which is interesting because this detail is highlighted in the whole process of torture.

(14)	*Mert megfogták Jézust* *A kegyetlen zsidók,* *Kőoszlophoz kötözték,* *Vasustorokva ustorozták,* *Szent haját szálanként szaggatták.*	For they have taken Jesus The cruel Jews, They tied him to a stone pillar, They scourged him with iron whips, They ripped his holy hair out strand by strand.

Another image is when Jesus is dragged by the hair (15), and his head is raked by an iron rake (16), both of which profile the painfulness of his Passion and which are only present in folk cognition but absent from the Bible. Using the rake instead of the comb indicates human rudeness, symbolizing the contrast between the holiness of Jesus and sinful man.

(15)	*Szent hajadnál fogva harminszor vonattál*	You [Jesus] were dragged by your holy hair thirty times
(16)	*Szent fejét vasgerebljével gerebljézik*	His holy head is raked with an iron rake

The hair is further represented along with the beard; both pulled during his torture.

(17)	*Jézus a Gecemáni kertbe,* *Vasvesszőkkel vesszőzik,* *Szent haját húzgálják,* *Szent szakállát típálják*	Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, They wave him with iron rods, They keep pulling his holy hair, They keep plucking at his holy beard

Mary's hair has an entirely different meaning in the prayers. First of all, it is much more figurative and has no Biblical evidence as a basis. One pivotal conceptualization is HAIR FOR VISUAL OBSTRUCTION, which is represented as a cause or excuse that prevented her from protecting Jesus (18).

(18)	*Mér sírsz, mér rísz, Boldogságos Szűz Mária?* *Hogyne sírnék, hogyne rínék,* *Mikor még a hajamat fésültem* *Szent Fiamat elvesztettem*	Why do you weep, O blessed Virgin Mary? Of course, I weep, of course, I weep, When I was combing my hair I lost my holy Son

According to the traditional folk belief (Kálmány 1885), when combing her hair, Mary let her hair down, which prevented her from seeing Jesus arrested by the Roman officers. There were several folk beliefs connected to Mary's hair washing on Holy Thursday:

"The Blessed Virgin always wore a bonnet, but only when she was washing her hair on Holy Thursday came the news from Mary Magdalene that Jesus Christ had been arrested; then, she could not even tie her head; in the meantime, her hair got stuck in a branch, so from then on she always wore the bonnet on her head" (Kálmány 1885: 10).

In other contexts, Mary is presented with her hair down, having three distinct meanings. In connection with death, it symbolizes her MOURNING at the death of Jesus (19), following the Hungarian folk customs of mourning, when women who wore their hair put up in a bun let their hair down as a sign of grieving (Dömötör 1990: 86).

(19)	*Szive szomorodvan* *vig kedve meg szegven* *szen füle meg fügesztven* *haja meg eresztven*	Her heart grieving her joyful mood disheartened her holy ears drooping her hair let down

Again, the following conceptualization is grounded in folk traditions, namely, ritual practices connected to burial positions. In her burial position and dressing, Mary's hair is let down, and her prayer book is in her hands (HAIR DOWN FOR DEATH). However, the hair spread around her body also serves as a robe of glory, which protects her from Satan's temptation (HAIR FOR PROTECTION). Mary had blond (*sárig* 'yellow') hair in the Hungarian tradition.

(20)	*Távozz, Sátán, távozz, ne kisérj te engem,* *Mer' ha én e' menek a fekete főd alá,* *Kiterjesztem sárig bodor hajamat,* *Kezembe veszem világzsoltár kiskönyvit* **[…]**	Go away, Satan, go away, do not tempt me, For if I descend under the black earth, I'll spread my yellow wavy hair, I'll take my little book of psalms into my hand […]

Finally, Mary's GLORY is represented by her blond hair let down in the highly mythical scenes of (21) and (22), where she is pictured while praying or reading the Bible. These texts emphasize the holiness of Virgin Mary, who is depicted as a queen, her hair surrounding her (again) as a robe of glory. Her blond hair and golden belt show her SHINING, metaphorically representing HOLINESS.

(21)	*Én kilépek én ajtómból,* *Ott találok egy kápolnát,* *Kivül fényes, belül irgalmas,* *Abban van a boldogságos Szüz Mária* *Arany haját leereszti,* *arany övét megoldozza*	I'm stepping out of my door, There I find a chapel, Bright on the outside, merciful on the inside, There's the blessed Virgin Mary She lets down her golden hair, She loosens her golden belt
(22)	*Fehér rózsa, Mária* *Ül a Paradicsomkertbe',* *Leereszti sárgaszínű bodor haját,* *Így olvassa a világok oltárját*	White Rose, Mary Sitting in the Garden of Paradise, Letting down her yellow wavy hair, She is reading the altar of the worlds

5. Discussion and conclusions

The overview of the cultural conceptualizations of body parts in archaic prayers shows that they have different linkages to metaphors and metonymies in standard Hungarian. Three basic classes can be identified: common ones, similar ones with specific instantiations, and culture-specific ones. An example of common conceptualization is the HAND FOR CARE, specifically in the sense of TAKING ONE'S HAND FOR CARING, as observed in the scene when Jesus entrusts Mary to the Apostle John. Another group is where the folk cultural conceptualizations are grounded in metaphor/metonymy present in secular Hungarian, but a more certain sense is given to them in the prayers. Such an example is the HAND FOR HELP, represented in the context of salvation and restricted to MARY'S HAND AS HELP FOR MAN TO GET INTO

HEAVEN. Another example is the metaphor GRABBING/DAMAGING ONE'S HAIR FOR FIGHT/CONFLICT in secular Hungarian, which is used in a more concrete sense in the folk prayers; namely, the CONFLICT is focused on Jesus's arrest and TORTURE, and his hair is not damaged with the intention of fighting or winning but to inflict pain and humiliation. The third cluster involves figurative usages only present in prayers, such as the cultural conceptualizations connected to the Virgin Mary's hair: HAIR (DOWN) FOR MOURNING/DEATH/GLORY.

Regarding the figurative usages of the HAND, as *Table 3* shows, they are varied, and they belong to various terrestrial and celestial figures. However, they are worth analysing primarily as anchored to particular event schemas. Most can also be linked to secular metaphors/metonymies of HAND. Apart from having a much more restricted and specified meaning, they are also interconnected in many ways; one example is HAND FOR SIDE/PROXIMITY, which also refers to JUDGMENT in the prayers

Table 3. *Figurative extensions of* HAND *in the archaic prayers, their corresponding extensions, and cultural schemas involved*

HAND belonging to...	**CULTURAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS IN THE ARCHAIC PRAYERS**	**CORRESPONDING SECULAR EXTENSIONS**	**EVENT SCHEMAS**
Virgin Mary / Jesus	HAND FOR HELP FOR A MAN TO GET INTO HEAVEN	HAND FOR HELP	SALVATION, LAST JUDGMENT
man	HAND FOR THE POSSESSION OF SALVATION	HAND FOR POSSESSION	
God (St Peter)	HAND FOR JUDGMENT HAND FOR DOOM TAKING BACK HIS HAND FOR MERCY	HAND FOR CONTROL/POWER	
Jesus	HAND FOR SIDE HAND FOR PROXIMITY	HAND FOR JUDGMENT HAND FOR SIDE HAND FOR PROXIMITY	
God/Jesus	HAND FOR CARE/PROVIDENCE	HAND FOR CARE	PROVIDENCE
	HAND FOR CREATION	HAND FOR ACTION	
Apostles	HAND FOR FIGHT (FOR CHRISTIANITY)	HAND FOR ACTION	EVANGELIZATION
Apostles	HAND FOR EVANGELIZING		
Jesus	HAND FOR (IN)ACTIVITY	HAND FOR ACTION	JESUS CHRIST'S PASSION
	HAND FOR SACRIFICE	? HAND FOR UNITY	
Jews	HAND FOR POWER/CONTROL (OVER JESUS)		

The cultural conceptualizations of HAIR show a rather different model. Only one of them has a corresponding secular version, which suggests that these conceptualizations, especially the ones related to Virgin Mary, are only grounded in Hungarian folk cognition. Moreover, some of these metonymies have a stronger link with a figure, i.e. the role schema of JESUS or MARY, rather than with an event schema.

Table 4. *Figurative extensions of* HAIR *in the archaic prayers, their corresponding extensions, and cultural schemas involved*

HAIR belonging to…	CULTURAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS IN THE ARCHAIC PRAYERS	CORRESPONDING SECULAR EXTENSIONS	ROLE SCHEMA	EVENT SCHEMA
Jesus	DAMAGING HAIR FOR TORTURE	DAMAGING HAIR FOR CONFLICT	JESUS	JESUS CHRIST'S PASSION
Virgin Mary	HAIR FOR (VISUAL) OBSTRUCTION		VIRGIN MARY	JESUS CHRIST'S PASSION
	HAIR (DOWN) FOR MOURNING			
	HAIR (DOWN) FOR DEATH			
	HAIR (DOWN) FOR GLORY			

The present study shows that the comprehensive analyses of the figurative extensions of body parts in secular and folk religious contexts are very different, not only in terms of their results but also in terms of their methodology. Not only can it be said that the cultural conceptualizations in archaic prayers are more specific than their general Hungarian counterparts, but they cannot be investigated as independent linguistic data only in relation to different cultural schemas (event schemas or role schemas). Furthermore, their different manifestations of the same conceptual category (e.g. HAND FOR CARE) are often filled with entirely different semantic content: CARE from God's perspective (i.e. providence) is far from John's taking care of Mary.

Another issue that could not be addressed in the paper is the concept of "figurativeness" in the folk prayers. Mary washing her hair on Holy Thursday or having it let down in her grave may be considered a reality and not a figurative expression for the members of folk communities. However, further analysis is needed to delve deeper into the conceptualizations of body parts in a folk religious context.

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An Analysis of Dialogic Positioning in Online Commentaries

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Abstract. The commentary as a journalistic genre that presents and comments on current events is characterized by intersubjective positioning, whereby the author constructs meaning, seeking alignment or, on the contrary, expressing disalignment with a putative audience. In line with the appraisal theory as developed by Martin and White (2005), which follows the Bakhtian dialogic perspective, according to which utterances and propositions are intersubjectively charged, the paper aims to describe the linguistic means of *engagement*, one of the central elements of this theory. Engagement is concerned with how the author expresses authorial voice and how s/he negotiates meaning with the readers, opening up (dialogic expansion) or, on the contrary, closing the dialogic space (dialogic contraction). In this sense, the linguistic means of engagement, such as modality, hedging and boosting devices, evidentiality, are understood to transcend the functions attributed to them within a truth-conditional framework, namely epistemic status and reliability of knowledge, and are seen as means by which the author entertains or rejects alternative voices and opinions. Taking this into consideration, the paper intends to analyse a few selected commentaries on the war situation in Ukraine found on the online platform of The Rand Corporation, a global policy think tank that performs research and conducts evaluations of various topics. It analyses the linguistic means of dialogic positioning, focusing on how the authors negotiate the dialogic space with the audience; while presumably all forms of intersubjective positioning can be found in the texts, it is expected that certain forms of engagement will outnumber others. As all commentaries can be found on the website of the above mentioned corporation, the question also arises as to what extent commentaries show similarity with respect to engagement, thereby expressing, albeit indirectly, a certain standpoint with respect to the Ukrainian warfare.

Keywords: commentary, engagement, dialogic positioning, corpus

1. Introduction

Commentaries are an integral part not only of newspapers but also of various news and research platforms that present and analyse specific topics. They are characterized by intersubjective positioning, the presence of linguistic devices by which the author takes a stance and seeks alignment with the points of view of a putative audience. While subjective positioning is traditionally captured under epistemic modality, which reflects the speaker's assessment of the truth value of the proposition, intersubjectivity takes a wider perspective, accepting or, on the contrary, playing down other viewpoints (Defrancq and De Clerck 2009). The mechanisms by which the author expresses an attitude towards propositions can be described by the dialogistic positioning of engagement, a central term in appraisal theory, developed in the 1990s and 2000s from the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Wei et al. 2015). Based on the appraisal theory put forward by Martin and White (2005), the paper analyses the linguistic means of engagement, focusing on the expressions of dialogic expansion and dialogic contraction in commentaries. More specifically, the paper examines a few selected commentaries on the situation in Ukraine that appeared on the website of the Rand research organization between 29 July and 28 November 2022.

The question that the paper seeks an answer to is how intersubjective meaning is expressed in the commentaries and to what extent dialogic expansion and dialogic contraction are negotiated throughout the texts. Analysing Thai online commentaries, Arunsirot (2012: 88) finds that stances of appraisal can be expressed not only by words and phrases but also clauses and even an entire paragraph. While the study does not analyse engagement, concentrating only on attitude and force: the other dimensions of appraisal, Arunsirot (2012) points out certain characteristics of Thai commentaries such as the increased use of metaphors as a way to create solidarity with the reader, and also the presence of quantification and intensification, strategies that strengthen rather than weaken evaluative meanings. At the same time, Arunsirot (2012) makes the observation that appraisal needs to be regarded as a social construct, rather than be universally valid, as different cultures might interpret a specific text differently even in terms of attitude (positive or negative).

2. Appraisal theory. The category of *engagement*

Bakhtin (1981: 259) states that "... verbal discourse is a social phenomenon – social through its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning" (as cited by Bailey 2007). Inspired by Bakhtin's dialogic perspective, which sees each verbal interaction as dialogic, Martin and White (2005) analyse discourse from a dialogic perspective. The appraisal theory put forward by them offers an intersubjective perspective on evaluation that goes beyond grammatical and lexical codification and patterning. Appraisal is understood as a result of the negotiation of meaning between real or potential interlocutors (the author/speaker and the audience), and it operates with three semantic domains: attitude, engagement, and graduation. These domains are interconnected, expressed explicitly or implicitly in a text and can be divided into several subcategories such as affect (an emotional reaction to state of affairs, appreciation (assessment of situations), judgement (assessment of human behaviour), and also force and focus (making the message more or less intense and/or modifying the focal point of the discussion). Regarding the domain of engagement, verbal interactions can be seen either as monoglossic (not allowing for dialogic alternatives) or as heteroglossic (engaging with dialogic alternatives). Statements are monoglossic when they are regarded as describing consensual knowledge or facts (White 2003) and are often expressed by bare assertions, claims without supporting evidence. Heteroglossic viewpoint, on the contrary, shows an indirect interaction with the audience, either trying to assert a point of view and thereby concur with that of the imaginary readers (dialogic contraction) or expressing an idea in a way that is open to alternative voices and opinions (dialogic expansion). The two categories can be further divided into various subcategories: thus, dialogic contraction consists of *proclaim* (indicating something clearly) and *disclaim* (refusing to acknowledge something) and includes the elements of *pronounce*, *concur*, and *endorse* as well as *deny and counter* (consider *Table 1* with the various forms of dialogic contractions summarized.) These categories are signalled, among others, by verbs such as *contend, affirm, state, declare*, adverbial phrases and locutions like *of course, indeed, naturally, obviously, as you know, needless to say, and it goes without saying, convincingly argued, compellingly propounded, successfully explained,* etc.

Table 1. *Dialogic contraction*

Dialogic contraction	
Proclaim	
Concur:	The Premier, *of course*, wants us to think what a fine anti-racist fellow he is.
Pronounce:	*I would contend* that this enviable level of tolerance is not the result of direct government laws or interventions.
Endorse:	*As Hastie (an Englishman of their own political persuasion) so compellingly argued*, “In any society racism will increase in direct proportion to the number of people who are given well-paid and prestigious positions to discover it.”

	Dialogic contraction
Disclaim	
Deny:	New or tougher legislation *is not going to solve* the problem.
Counter:	The Premier has stated that tougher anti-racial hatred laws are on the "drawing board". *But* we already possess laws against threatening behaviour and incitement to violence.

Source: White 2003: 272

Dialogic expansion also comprises two types: *entertain* (the author making an assumption and leaving it open) and *attribute* (the assumption is attributed to an external point of view). Entertain is often expressed by first-person CTPs (complement-taking predicates such as *I believe that*…), especially the ones that lack commitment, but also modal auxiliaries such as *may, might, can, could*, modal adverbs such as *perhaps, maybe, probably*, and meanings of evidence and appearance such as *it seems, apparently, reportedly*, *in our judgement, it's possible that*, *it's probable that*, non-rhetorical questions (as in example 1) below) that leave a matter open for interpretation, etc. (*Table 2* gives an overview of the elements of dialogic expansion). An interesting case within this category is the CTP construction *I think*…, which can express dialogic expansion but also dialogic contraction, depending on the context (White and Motoki 2006, Pöldvere et al. 2016, Aijmer 1997). Thus, while example 2) merely expresses a point of view and so is an example of dialogic expansion, example 3) with an accented "do" gains the force of a conviction and can be interpreted as a form of dialogic contraction.

1) Does Premier Peter Beattie want us to think what a fine anti-racist fellow he is? (White 2003: 265)

2) Everybody wants a scalp and it's good fun, it's good sport but *I think* that the underlying issue is much more serious […] (White and Motoki 2006: 7).

3) *I think*, some people do want companionship (White and Motoki 2006: 10).

The other subcategory of dialogic expansion is *attribute*, where the author shows the viewpoint of an external voice, which is seen as one possible, contingent, and individual position. An instance of this is example 4), where the proposition is interpreted as one specific viewpoint.

4) *A former Orthodox priest named Ivan Okhlobystin proclaimed that* the "special military operation" should, in fact, be called a "holy war" (www. rand.org).

Table 2. *Dialogic expansion*

	Dialogic expansion
Entertain	If we are really witnessing an increase in racial intolerance; *perhaps it is time to ask* whether the whole anti-racist apparatus that has grown up in the past couple of decades is counter-productive.
Attribute	
Acknowledge:	*The Premier has stated* that tougher anti-racial hatred laws are on 'drawing board.'
Distance:	*The Queensland Anti-Discrimination Commissioner and her comrades claim*…

Source: White 2003: 274

3. Journalistic commentaries

Commentary journalism is a type of opinion-based journalism that includes not only the presentation of facts but also the assessment and analysis of current events, providing a forum for various perspectives and opinions. News commentaries are "a tool of explanation and interpretation" (Topchii 2020: 1420), having "the function of contributing to the formulation of certain 'preferred' viewpoints about the world" (Lavid et al. 2012: 5). They are considered to be analytical, evaluative, and persuasive and are often characterized by a distinctive and sometimes authoritative voice (Lavid et al. 2012, Marín Arrese and Núñez-Perucha 2006).

The objective of commentaries is to address and discuss a certain issue, showing possible consequences of actions and events and predicting their outcome. Commentary journalism is characterized by intersubjective positioning expressed by the author's attitude towards a particular matter (through the illocutionary force of utterances) and the potential audience (Šandová 2015). Through the wordings they choose, including markers of intersubjective positioning, such as means of modality, modal verbs and adverbs, cognitive verbs, hedging and boosting devices, or evidentiality, authors create personae or identities throughout the text through which they negotiate a dialogic space with the imaginary/created reader (Martin and White 2005: 1). Showing similarities to news reports, the two genres are also different: while news reports are objective and use neutral language in presenting various opinions and sources (White 1998), commentaries often contribute to the formulation of a preferred viewpoint. The two genres are also different with respect to thematic roles as Lavid et al. (2012) note, more specifically the thematic head that Lavid et al. define as "the first nuclear experiential constituent within the main clause" (2012: 9) expressed by the subject or the complement in the preverbal position of the main clause and carrying experiential roles such as *actor*, *carrier*, *recipient*, *attributor*, *sayer*, etc. Based on the findings, both genres have a high frequency of *Actor* as an experiential role, yet there is a higher percentage of the thematic role of *Sayer* in news reports, as compared to commentaries, where the thematic role of *Carrier* prevails. The two roles imply different approaches to the text: the experiential role of *Sayer* attributes information to an outer source and thereby attempts to maintain objectivity and factuality, whereas *Carrier* allows the authors to become impartial and to detach themselves from an outer source. Concerning the internal structure of thematic heads, the noun groups in news reports tend to be clarified through the use of appositions, and shorter ones than in commentaries, that contain longer and more complex noun phrases, with cases of nominalization, a grammatical device by which authors can express impartiality (Lavid et al. 2012: 18). Commentaries are also more abundant in textual themes (used to link, argue, and relate to context) and interpersonal ones (conveying the author's attitude towards the message of a clause) than reports (that tend to use paragraphing instead). Examples of interpersonal themes found in the analysed texts are clauses such as 'of course', 'admittedly', and also cases of verbal and adverbial modality, like 'apparently', 'certainly', CTPs (*I think/I believe/they say that*, etc. followed by a complement clause) and evaluative lexis. Pöldvere et al. (2016) assert that interpersonal meanings result, on the one hand, from the predicates themselves and, on the other hand, from the linguistic, textual and situational context, being part of a discourse that can be understood as "a complex multimodal event of interaction and communication" (Van Dijk 2008: 272).

In order to explore the linguistic elements of engagement in commentaries, a short corpus consisting of ten selected texts (around 12 thousand words) has been compiled. An important criterion in the selection process has been to select texts written on the same topic (the Ukrainian warfare) and by different authors in order to have an overview of the way engagement is expressed in the texts, considering the fact that they all appear on the website of the Rand Corporation, an American research organization. The online sphere adds new dimensions to the texts, differentiating them from the print media through multimediality (various media platforms for covering/commenting on stories and events), interactivity (allowing and giving the public the possibility to react and respond to what has been written), and hypertextuality (connecting a story to its resources and also other stories). It also changes the way commentaries can be accessed and reacted upon to a great extent (while multimodality and hypertextuality are often present, interactivity may be more or less restricted depending on the platform commentaries appear on), commentaries themselves being considered a type of "free genre" (Topchii 2020) due to the fact that they are flexible and prone to change. This flexibility is present at various levels – verbal, visual, audio, iconic, at the composition level and style – so that authors can choose the elements they wish to include in the text. As they often give room for further comments and reactions from the audience, the text will not be perceived as a complete whole, rather as something open for multiple interpretations (also including the interpretation of the additional comments).

4. Methodology

The paper analyses a few selected commentaries on the Ukrainian warfare found on the online platform of *Rand Corporation*, an American research organization that provides research-based analysis on current events and topics. Created in the aftermath of World War II, with the goal of connecting military planning with research and development decisions (https://www.rand.org/about/history.html), the organization works with highly qualified experts in various fields (more than half of them having a master's and/or doctoral degree (https://www.rand.org/about/glance.html)). *Rand*, with its head office in Santa Monica, California, is globally present, having offices in Cambridge, the UK, and Belgium (Rand Europe) and also Australia (Rand Australia), and it defines itself as a non-profit and strictly non-partisan organization, with focus on facts and evidence. Regarding commentaries, *Rand* shares articles found in several newspapers and online platforms, most of them of American origin, such as *The Hill*, *Foreign Affairs*, *War on the Rocks*, *The National Interest*, *Los Angeles Times*, but also foreign sources like *The Moscow Times*, in addition to their own (some commentaries appear originally on the website).

The analysis comprises ten commentaries (more than 12 thousand words in total), written by different authors. Taking into consideration the sensitivity of the topic and the fact that all the commentaries have been published on the website (despite the fact that most of them have originally appeared elsewhere), it is expected that a certain form of engagement prevails in the texts, which indirectly reflects the standpoint of the organization towards the topic discussed.

5. Results

In the texts, examples of both monoglossic and heteroglossic linguistic expressions can be found, as it has been expected. Monoglossic statements were found to be expressed by the present tense (e.g. *A hybrid war is a zero-sum game and such scenarios are often modeled using wargaming or game theory* – www.rand.org) and also other tense forms in the indicative mood, modal verbs (*can, will*) expressing general truth, as well as the construction *there is/are (there is/are* turned 21 hits in total in the texts). Consider examples 5) and 6) with the monoglossic expressions in italics:

5) *there are many models* for the various tactical and technical aspects of warfare [..];

6) many new leaders in comparable circumstances *have decided to keep fighting* an ongoing war.

In addition, adjectival and noun phrases that describe specific situations/states of affairs have a factive value and can be considered monoglossic. There are quite a few examples of such constructions in the texts, e.g., *horrific costs, at an acceptable cost, an eternal* struggle, *nuclear sabre-rattling*, *nontrivial possibility, massive retaliation, compelling evidence of* (example 7), etc. These adjectival phrases, some of them with a strong philosophical content (*nihilistic violence*, *apocalyptic ideology*) also express the author's attitude towards the described state of affairs.

7) There is also the *compelling evidence* of Putin's wealth-maximizing rule for the past 20 years…

Nevertheless, in the case of commentaries, heteroglossic expressions outnumber monoglossic ones, regardless of whether they close down or open up the dialogic space. In the first case, the author asserts his/her voice, proclaiming commitment to a view that is not only considered the only valid one (hence it closes down the dialogic space), but it also matches that of the readers' (and is often seen in opposition to a specific standpoint). As the findings show, monoglossic statements are often used in combination with heteroglossic ones. Such is the case in example 8), where the statement "the leadership is more vulnerable to attacks […] and more susceptible to backstabber and sellout" can be regarded as a bare assertion, a claim with no supporting evidence. What comes next is a heteroglossic statement, containing an example of *counter* (introduced by *but*) and *deny* (*is no easy task*). Similarly, in example 9) the monoglossic statement "Russia has achieved many of its foreign policy objectives" is followed by a *counter*-statement (*and yet*…,) and *pronounce* (*call …into question*). In example 10), *counter* (*however, these arguments*…) is preceded by *endorse* (*most arguments show*) and *pronounce* (*arguments are implicitly predicated*…):

8) Absent this support, new political leadership *is more vulnerable to attacks* by hawkish elements of the political opposition and *more susceptible to backstabber and sellout accusations. But garnering military leadership backing for military withdrawal in such a scenario is no easy task*.

9) In the same period, Russia has achieved many of its foreign policy objectives at a relatively low cost. *And yet*, the mounting costs and mistakes of this war *call the rational-actor assumption into question*.

10) *Most arguments show* that using nukes would not help Russia achieve its objectives at an acceptable cost. *However*, these *arguments are implicitly predicated on the assumption that* Russian President Vladimir Putin's decisions are motivated by a basic cost-benefit analysis […]

11) Based on my research, *I argue that* new leaders behave as if they are at risk of punishment for a failed war…

The category of *counter* has been frequently found in the texts, often accompanied by other categories, such as *pronounce* or *endorse* (also consider example 11) as a further example of *pronounce*); these formulations are heteroglossic in the sense that the textual voice often opposing a specific standpoint intends to concur with the point of view of an external source or that of the imaginative reader.

Finally, there are examples of adverbials that express relations of consequence or indicate that something is self-explanatory such *of course* (7 hits), *indeed* (4 hits), *thus* (7 hits), *clearly* (1 hit), *certainly* (4 hits). By using these adverbials, the author concurs with the point of view of the imaginary audience (sentence 12)):

12) Russia can, *of course*, inflict greater damage and cause more horrifying deaths with the weapons it does have.

Nonetheless, despite the presence of various forms of dialogic contraction, cases of dialogic expansion seem to be more prominent. Examples of dialogic expansion are non-rhetorical and open-ended questions, modal verbs and evidentials such as *it seems*, *likely*, *probably, potentially, perhaps, if clauses*, etc. (example 13)). All these linguistic expressions can be found in abundance in the analysed texts.

13) The politics of blame can have a powerful impact on war termination decision-making and *potentially* drive new leaders to keep fighting.

Concerning the questions found in the texts, they can either open up or close the dialogic space between the author and the readers. Out of the queries returned (16 questions in the ten texts), only a few of them (4 in number) imply self-evident answers, where the author acknowledges the voice of the imaginary audience – consider examples 14) and 15), both containing examples of *concur* and implying that the self-evident answer to the questions is *no, we shouldn't do that*. The majority of the questions open up the dialogic space, making the answers less self-evident and allowing/entertaining alternative voices (examples 16–18).

14) Why send untrained mobilized soldiers into battle if Russia's main problems are poor tactics, low morale, and persistent logistical issues?

15) Why make negotiations impossible while losing ground?

16) How does one negotiate for peace with a state that has proved itself irrational?

17) Should Ukraine consider input from the West?

18) Could it be worthwhile to try to retake Crimea militarily?

The texts are abundant in epistemic modality that are also intersubjectively charged. The number of modal verbs is high, especially that of *may/might*, but also of *could* and *would*; they often appear as part of *if* clauses, as is also the case in example 19). Contrary to this sentence, which opens up the dialogic space, sentence 20) with the modal verbs *cannot* and *must* does not allow for alternative viewpoints:

19) *If the gamble fails* and Ukraine continues to fight on with Western support, the West *may conclude* that it still can fight through Russian nuclear use—albeit at horrific costs.

20) The war in Ukraine features two different types of competing societies: open and closed. However, the critical characteristics of this competition *cannot be captured* using a single analysis framework. Instead, *multiple tools must be integrated* to help generate a robust policy response to modern hybrid threats.

Table 3 shows the number of instances of modal verbs in the texts. Some of them express dialogic contraction (e.g. *cannot, should, must* in their deontic and epistemic sense), while others (*would, may/might*, *could*) entertain several possibilities and viewpoints, opening up the dialogic space:

Table 3. *Instances of modal verbs in the texts and their value*

Modal verb	***Number of instances***	***Value expressed***
Would	56	Epistemic/prediction
May/might	43/39	Epistemic possibility
May not/might not	8/7	Epistemic possibility
Could	53	Epistemic possibility
Cannot	5	Epistemic impossibility
Should	17	Deontic obligation/strong recommendation
Must	2	Deontic obligation/strong recommendation

In addition to modals, other hedging devices, such as introductory verbs (*seem, tend, look like, appear*) and certain lexical verbs (*believe, assume, suggest*), can also entertain alternative viewpoints and thereby weaken the probability of a statement (sentences 21–23). Other constructions that returned hits were *likely* (23 instances), *unlikely* (7), *perhaps* (3), and *seem/s, seemingly* (5).

21) *There appears to be no single analytical framework* that can generate robust strategies and policy responses to evolving hybrid threats.

22) *The notion that Russia, a nuclear superpower, could use its nuclear weapons* in a war of choice against Ukraine […] *seems absurd.*

23) To be sure, support for Russia and its war has persisted among many religious conservatives in both Russia and the United States, *though in the latter case supporters tend to be fewer*, and farther to the political fringe.

The number of *attribute* is quite high in the texts; the external voice is present and is often understood as one possible voice (that not necessarily concurs with the textual voice) such as: *Russian Gen. Alexander Lebed declared to the* *media* […]; *According to Mathieu Boulègue, a researcher at Chatham House* […]; *Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky has taunted that the "occupiers have started fleeing" across the Kerch Strait Bridge to southern Russia*. By using these formulations, and also reporting verbs, such as […] *calls, says, condemns*, the author manages to gain distance from the external voice.

All in all, findings seem to point to a higher number of dialogic expansion as compared to dialogic contraction. The authors manage to present the facts and formulate their observations clearly, yet the ideas are often formulated as suggestions rather than statements with a declarative value. This is also reflected by the relatively high number of non-rhetorical questions, of modal verbs (especially *would* and *may*, expressing prediction and future possibility), and of other hedging devices, which are meant to invite the readers to formulate their own opinions and ideas about the facts presented.

6. Conclusions

The present article analysed the category of engagement in a few selected commentaries on the Ukrainian war published on the website of the Rand organization between 29 July and 28 November 2022. While the data are by no means exhaustive and further analysis would be necessary to come to more conclusive results, the following tendencies can be observed: the commentaries, in addition to presenting the facts related to a specific topic, intend to open up the dialogic space and invite alternative viewpoints. While various examples of dialog contraction could be found (especially that of *counter* combined with *pronounce* and/or *endorse*, but also forms of dialogic contraction together with categories of dialogic expansion), the most common strategy that has been found in the text tends to be *entertain*: the increased use of open-ended questions, epistemic modality, and other hedging devices are prevalent and show that the authorial voice is but one among the possible voices. This, I believe, reflects the mindset of this organization: namely, to critically present current events and states of affairs and offer an analysis that highlights the actions and their consequences from various angles (hence the relatively high number of *concur*), at the same time giving room for alternative voices and viewpoints.

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Research Report: Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database (TOHDD): A Dictionary for Hungarian Varieties Spoken in the Carpathian Basin[1]

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Abstract. The Termini Online Hungarian–Hungarian Dictionary and Database describes the lexicon of the Hungarian language as spoken in the countries neighbouring Hungary. It is considered to be a general dictionary of present-day Hungarian. Each entry contains authentic example sentences to illustrate the use of the headword, making it possible to examine the special use of a word or construction in a grammatical and pragmatic context. The lexicographical database is edited online in eight countries. The editors of the dictionary are members of the Termini Hungarian Language Research Network. Online editing makes it possible for the dictionary to expand – even simultaneously – as a result of activity in eight countries. In the present study, the authors review the novelties and peculiarities of the dictionary in some detail, touching on the following topics: dictionary structure, IT support, database character, multimedia elements, and labelling system.

Keywords: Hungarian language, Termini, dictionary, lexicography

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Introduction

The linguistic communities of minority Hungarians beyond the present-day borders of Hungary came into being in 1920, when significant parts of the Hungarian language area were annexed to newly formed non-Hungarian states as a consequence of the Treaty of Trianon (1920). The number and share of Hungarian-speaking people in some of the countries neighbouring Hungary are still significant this day: 1,248,623 in Romania (2011) (6.2% at the state level, 17.9% in Transylvania) (Péntek and Benő 2020: 59, 61), 458,467 (8.5%) in Slovakia (2011) (Horony 2016: 47), 254,000 (3.9%) in Serbia (2011), about 141,000 in Ukraine (2015) (11.28% in Subcarpathia)[2] (Kapitány 2015: 234–236). The number of Hungarian speakers is around 10,000 in Austria (in Burgenland and in Vienna, the latter being home to Hungarian immigrants), 14,408 in Croatia, and 5,544 in Slovenia (Kapitány 2015: 236–237). As a consequence of the minority situation, most Hungarian speakers living in these seven countries are bilingual: they speak Hungarian as their mother tongue and also the official language of the state, which is the native language of the majority group (Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbian, etc.). Their active bilingualism creates a language contact situation which makes the lexicons of these varieties special, affected by language contact phenomena, a greater number of regionalisms, and lexical conservatism as a tendency to preserve older administrative terms. (For an exhaustive sociolinguistic description of these Hungarian-language varieties, see Fenyvesi 2005).

The Treaty of Trianon did not only divide the Hungarian-language community with political borders, creating linguistic minority groups in their own historic homeland but also led to divergent development in the use of the Hungarian language in Hungary and in the states neighbouring Hungary (Huber 2020: 17). The various *state varieties* of Hungarian formed different *standard varieties* and varying norms of speech of these minority language communities due to the close links to each respective majority culture, institutional and legal system. Therefore, Hungarian can be regarded as a *pluricentric language* (Lanstyák 1996, Csernicskó and Kontra 2018: 104). But this pluricentricity characteristic of minority varieties of Hungarian is "lacking the appropriate status" (Muhr 2012: 33) since the codification of lexical items used in regional standard function is not fully recognized due to the dominant prescriptive and exonormative model of codification in Hungary (Huber 2020: 23–25).

In November 2001, at the initiative of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, linguistic research centres were established in Hungarian-speaking areas

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2 Data from the census of 2021 are still unavailable for this region. For this reason, we use data from the previous censuses.

neighbouring Hungary in Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Serbia. In the same year, linguistic individual study bases came into being in Austria, Slovenia, and Croatia.[3] The tasks of these linguistic research centres include the sociolinguistic study of Hungarian spoken in the regions neighbouring Hungary, its varieties, lexicological and terminological issues, analysis and exploration of language problems in the context of language planning and language management.

Based on this network organization, these linguistic offices established the Budapest-based Termini Association in 2013, creating a legal framework for the already existing one-decade-long cooperation (http://termini.nytud.hu).

From the very beginning, one of the main research topics of these research centres was the collection and study of the special vocabulary of the Hungarian minority varieties. As a result, the Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database (TOHDD) was established in 2007, and it has been continuously developing ever since.

The lexicographic database supplies lexical data concerning contact phenomena (widespread direct and indirect loanwords) and independent lexical creations present in the minority varieties of Hungarian. In addition to these items, the dictionary also contains common regional lexical elements characteristic of these regions and vernacular words as well. Since lexicalized forms are not limited to certain geographical and social dialects or registers only, the dictionary can be considered a general dictionary of today's Hungarian language. By documenting older linguistic forms used today in minority situations, the online dictionary reflects linguistic tradition, and by presenting neologisms, it registers current linguistic change and renewal.

The dictionary also functions as a digital database. The lexical data are placed in a relational database so that virtually any statistical analysis can be performed on them. Various glossaries and statistical statements ensure rich processing opportunities. In addition, the large number of example sentences forms a structured living language corpus that offers many additional research opportunities for digital word processing (Benő et al. 2020: 156–158).

The concept of the dictionary is based on treating the Hungarian language as unified, disregarding political borders (defragmenting the language, as it were). The aim of the linguistic defragmenting or de-bordering programme is to collect

3 Actually, these language centres started operating in 2002: the Attila Szabó T. Language Institute in Cluj/Kolozsvár, Romania; the Gramma Language Office in Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely, Slovakia; the Antal Hodinka Institute in Beregovo/Beregszász, Ukraine; and the Hungarian Scientific Research Society in Subotica/Szabadka, Serbia, whose role was later taken over by the Verbi Language Research Workshop. The other neighbouring countries (Slovenia, Austria, Croatia) also had at least one locally-based researcher closely collaborating with them. This linguists' network was later expanded to include Imre Samu Language Institute, which studies the language use of Hungarian communities in Slovenia and Austria, and, most recently, the Glotta Language Institute in Croatia.

and enter elements from the entire Hungarian language area into new dictionaries (Péntek 2009: 104–105), since until the political changes of 1989 the codification of standard Hungarian did not take into account the regional standard varieties of Hungarian spoken outside Hungary by more than 2.5 million Hungarian native speakers.

In this respect, lexicographic antecedents of TOHDD are those Hungarian dictionaries that display lexicographic data from the varieties of the Hungarian language spoken in regions neighbouring Hungary. The second edition of *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* [The Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian] (Pusztay 2003) indicates a commitment in this direction since the lexical data of the dictionary had been expanded to include representative Hungarian words and meanings used in the Hungarian spoken in Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine.[4] Since 2003, other Hungarian dictionaries have been expanding their lexicographical data taking into account the lexicon of Hungarian speakers living in minority situations in the countries neighbouring Hungary. Such a lexicographical work is the Hungarian orthographic dictionary (Laczkó and Mártonffy 2004), which displays place- and institution names used in the minority varieties of Hungarian. The dictionary of recent lexical borrowings [*Idegen szavak szótára*] (Tolcsvai 2008) also makes use of the loans collected by linguists of the Termini Hungarian Linguistic Network in the regions outside Hungary. Thanks to further collaborations, new entries, meanings, and synonyms used in bilingual contexts were proposed for *Értelmező szótár*+ [Hungarian explanatory and etymological dictionary] (Eőry 2013).[5]

The lexical database has *practical benefits*. It makes it possible for Hungarian speakers to learn the words and phrases of the regional varieties used in different countries neighbouring Hungary.

The words included in the dictionary are *legitimized* in a sense, but "legitimizing" should not be confused with their *codification* (with their incorporation into the standard variety). Legitimatization here means the acknowledgment of the existence of these lexical items, but it does not mean that all such words would be used in high-level, formal-style writing.

In addition to lexicological and semantic research, the lexicographical database can also be used in *morphological*, *syntactic*, *pragmatic*, and *translation* studies since the lexical items appear in context.

The *theoretical significance* of the research programme cannot be neglected either. It is important to examine how a language adapts to the specific needs of

4 Approximately 250 Hungarian words and meanings were included from Slovakia, 91 from Romania, and 38 from Ukraine (Kiss 2004).

5 According to M. Pintér (2017: 166), these dictionaries contain entries from TOHDD in the following distribution: Hungarian explanatory and etymological dictionary: 55 entries, 115 meanings, 850 synonyms; the concise explanatory dictionary of Hungarian: 273 entries; Hungarian orthographic dictionary: 739 words; the dictionary of recent borrowings: 1,501 headwords.

speakers living in eight different countries, what types of contact phenomena are introduced in each community, what it is that can enter easily into the receiving language system, and what enters only with certain modifications (Lanstyák et al. 2010: 56–58).

Technology in the editorial process

Digital lexicography is considered to be part of digital humanities: lexicographic work is nowadays driven by computer-assisted technology supporting the so-called computer-assisted lexicography (see Wooldridge 2004: 69). In the case of TOHDD, digital humanities are used to build the elements of microstructure or build connections between entries or producing glossaries from the datasets. With the help of database structure, human lexicon is described as a structured text enhanced with several functions. For this reason, semi-structured mark-up languages (such as XML) and databases are used to store the envisaged elements. As described in Dziemianko (2012: 319), these characteristics of the digitized texts were outlined at the beginning of the era of electronic dictionaries (see De Schryver 2003).

TOHDD is technically driven by the phpMyAdmin database management software using an SQL-database, which enables queries of selected data or searches in entries, providing user dictionaries based on selected datasets. This solution has proved to be useful, as structured data and multiuser data access are used. The database is connected by the PHP programming language to a web GUI and handles the user rights of the clients (registered and unregistered users), enables simple browsing, creates lists, statistics, and edits the entries. A user interface built for editors is straightforward to use, helping editors with dropdown lists and simple technical issues. The webpage is in Hungarian, no localizations have been done, as the dictionary covers only Hungarian lexical data (except for etymological information).

Because the database is distributed, editors can edit entries and add descriptive suggestions seen only by other editors (the database also enables sending emails to other editors – with the embedded HTML version of the chosen entry). This feature is useful, as the dictionary is edited from eight different countries. Modifications appear in the dictionary immediately after editing, which distinguishes digital lexicography from the "classic" one. The technical background used in TOHDD is nowadays widely used in terminography and lexicography, but at the time of its beginnings (in the early 2010s) it was still unique in Hungary.

The database and the online interface are not only useful for quick editing and effective cooperation between editors, but they have also proved to be good for providing statistics and data mining – this is a feature that is not available in paper dictionaries. As TOHDD is used online, multimedia data, such as images and audio files, can be linked to its entries. The database setup allows providers to gain information on lexical data, trying to collect the most exhaustive information on lexical and conceptual content.

The dictionary can be used by two types of user profiles: registered and non-registered users. Non-registered users have fewer options for queries than registered users (editors and linguists). Non-registered users can only use the *Search* function (*Keresés*), allowing them to set the search in three ways. First, users can set restrictions to the position of character strings (characters typed into the edit box): they can be searched in the headword list, meaning field, or example sentences. Second, strings can be searched as a beginning of a word, as a set of characters in the middle of a word, or as a set of characters at the end of a word. Third, users can define the number of example sentences to be shown to the user: zero, all, or only two sentences. In contrast, registered users can view a more detailed setting of the search tool, making the dictionary much more interactive, but this setting does not contain all fields represented in the database either, only those which contain important linguistic data. Linguistic information to be used in lexicology, lexicography, sociolinguistics, or data mining will only be visible after the query of represented data (e.g. the log data remain covered).

Technology has changed the way a dictionary is compiled: the process used for compiling a dictionary is conducted in a distributional database where all modifications can be viewed immediately in the dictionary, and modifications leave footprints in the statistics and the log files (entries can have their own "history"; their versions can be viewed in their "life period"). Editors can be informed about the changes through the database, and changes can be done anytime, as there is no paper format consuming extra costs for printing.

Interactive dictionary

As Lew states, the efficiency of e-dictionaries can be measured only according to the expectations towards them, and paper dictionaries are as useful as the digital ones: the differences between them are mostly based on the conditions of the needs of a particular user in a particular situation (Lew 2012: 344, 360). However, access to data is quicker and more effective (in comparison to the paper dictionaries), and additional materials linked to entries (such as hyperlinks and multimedia material) are also enabled.

TOHDD is not simply a dictionary but rather a database of language use, varieties, morphological data, and lexicon – it can be used for data mining, and its content can be visualized according to several criteria. TOHDD makes it possible to create glossaries and lists, and the classical dictionary view can also be generated.

The user interface determines the queries in various ways. Users can gain data (make their own dictionaries) and information with the help of three views. Its speed depends on the local computer, browser, and Internet connection, i.e. on circumstances independent of the dictionary and its system. Views (query interfaces and possible formats of the dictionary entries assigned to users) are connected to user rights and registration. Registered users can exploit the database more deeply and view more options in queries. The interface built for non-registered users offers only the basic options, enough for browsing data and reading the lexicographic information as described above (*Keresés*/Search function).

The enhanced search tool *Szójegyzékek* (Glossaries) is built for registered users (especially with linguists in mind) and serves as a tool for data mining or helps dictionary editors in the editorial process. Queries facilitated through dropdown lists can be done in any part of an entry. *Glossaries* can provide four types of lists, focusing on specific data within the entries. Selected entries can be organized into glossaries according to the time period of the creation/modification (*Időszak*/Time period), entries listed connected with any editor (*Kutatási listák*/ Editorial lists), parts of the microstructure rendered as lists for editorial work (*Fejlesztési listák*/Development lists), or glossaries to view the work of any editor (*Dokumentációs listák*/Documentation lists). The structure of entries or lists presented in the Glossaries section can be set according to data in microstructure or metadata in entries.

As has been mentioned above, editors can add comments to any entry (and send them to any other editor for further correction). Comments can be viewed only by the editors (as they are written for work purposes – this feature is hidden from the public, only editors can use it). Unfinished entries can be set as hidden entries viewed only by editors – in the *Glossaries* function, editors can generate a list showing all hidden entries and work on them.

Lists and glossaries are generated for the lexicographic enhancement of the entries, and they also provide information on varieties of Hungarian spoken outside Hungary. As the database and its front end (user interface) are flexible, any glossaries and lists used for quantitative research can be changed or new options for generating lists/glossaries can be added according to the needs of the editors.

With the help of lists and views, users and editors of the dictionary can select the information they want to see, while all the other, distracting information is excluded. Data in the entries are rendered with the help of colours, font types, and tool tips, helping editors and readers access the most accurate linguistic information.

TOHDD is a unique lexicographic tool in Hungarian lexicography. Its uniqueness concerns the coverage of varieties, its detailed microstructure and editorial process allowing simultaneous compilation from eight countries. The database-based dictionary is especially built for online use, although its entries were published in several monolingual Hungarian dictionaries published by major publishers. TOHDD is the only dictionary focusing on the varieties of Hungarian spoken outside Hungary.

Multimedia elements

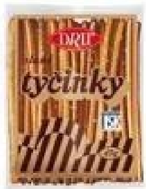
Today, the growing popularity of digital dictionaries is undeniable. Their biggest advantage is that access to information is easy and fast. Furthermore, information can be accessed from anywhere at any time. Digital storage also enables a wide range of multimedia tools to be used, so dictionary users can not only read the "traditional" dictionary entries found in paper dictionaries, but visual and acoustic elements are also incorporated. The use of the image as an element supporting the description of meaning is a traditional feature in the history of dictionaries (cf. picture dictionaries). If we look back at the history of Hungarian dictionaries, we find Comenius's pictorial "dictionary" as early as 1653, which is a great forerunner of the use of visual possibilities (P. Márkus 2019). Another good example is the first edition of The Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian (*Magyar értelmező kéziszótár*, Juhász et al., 1972), which explained certain headwords not only through definitions but also by means of pictures. Pictorial illustrations in dictionaries are incorporated in order to assist the user with the process of decoding meaning. They were considered typical in encyclopaedias and, therefore, encyclopaedic by nature since illustrations are concerned with the world, not with linguistic signs (Rey-Debove 1971). However, modern dictionaries include not only linguistic but encyclopaedic information as well. The latter type of information can be provided in written and visual form.

In TOHDD, pictures which can be inserted separately for each meaning in the dictionary entry are mostly used to represent nouns and concrete objects, especially for culture-specific ones. Captions and the sources of the illustrations can also be added. The captions do not necessarily repeat the lemma but are useful for descriptive and explanatory purposes. This can be seen in the entry for *blokk* 'block of flats', 'apartment block', where under the equivalent 'block of flats' the caption reads "Typical socialist-era block of flats in Szered".

Following Hupka (1989), who classifies visual elements into several types, TOHDD uses three main types. The first type includes images which show just one specimen of a kind (*single illustration*). In these cases, it is recommended to choose the most typical elements. The illustration in the entry of *baklazsán* 'aubergine', 'eggplant' is a good example, where the shape, form, and colour of the vegetable are sufficient for interpretation. The dictionary also contains brand names, which can also be included in this group. Images of brand-related products can be used to present these products in a clear and concise way (e.g.

ticsinki ‘salty sticks’, where the packaging and appearance of the product speak for themselves).

ticsinki (fn)
(Gaszt) Fv *(ált)* *(közh)* *(biz)* ropi ♠ Fv *én viszek magammal mexicornt, ticsinkit,* sajtostekercset (ez olyan anyukám féle finomság). szerintem valamit kifelejtettem :-). (http://zene.sk/forum) ♠ Fv *Természetesen azok, akik nem szeretik, ha labdával futkároznak a férfiak, akik egy pillanatra sem ültek le férjük, vőlegényük, udvarlójuk, szeretőjük mellé, hogy „ticsinkit”* rágcsálva drukkoljanak a képernyő előtt ennek vagy annak a csapatnak. (http://mek.oszk.hu; Bodnár Gyula: Szappanopera a medencében)



In the next type, the object is presented in its normal surroundings (*structural illustration*). This type can provide the reader with a lot of extra information (e.g. *dodávka* ‘van’, where the vehicle can be seen in front of a warehouse entrance, in the driveway, illustrating its commercial vehicle character).

dodávka (fn) ~´k, ~´t, ~´ja
(Gépk) Fv *(ált)* *(közh)* *(biz)* furgon ♥▪ Fv *Dodávkával hozták az árut.* (ht-kut) ♥▫ Fv *Dodávkával hozatta haza a szőnyeget, a személyautójába nem fért bele.* (f.n.)

The third type of images shows the object in operation (*functional illustration*), since the meaning is best illustrated with the demonstration of the function (e.g. *bublifuk* ‘soap bubble blower’, where a child is blowing soap bubbles).

Because of the typological characteristics of the TOHDD, it does not use other types of images, such as nomenclatural illustrations, which are particularly common in learner’s dictionaries, as they support vocabulary development. There is also no need for the type illustrating actions and processes of various kinds (*sequential illustration*). Sequential illustrations are used to graphically explain different types of processes such as the stages of insect development in encyclopaedias.

In addition to the visual content, the dictionary also includes audio material, as some of the example sentences in the entries illustrate spoken language usage. The audio recordings are selected from the editors' collections. They can be read as written examples and listened to as audio files in the entries. The dictionary contains relatively little audio material since it is a new area of development and is still in an experimental phase.

Editorial and structural details

Entry structure

The microstructure of the dictionary comprises three parts, which are typographically distinct from each other in the dictionary: the head, the body, and the foot. There are two types of elements in the head: elements that are included in all the dictionary entries (obligatory elements: headword, part of speech specification, and inflected forms) and elements that are only included in certain types of entries (optional elements: spelling variants or pronunciation).

The dictionary indicates the pronunciation or spelling variant(s) of the headwords that have been borrowed in their unchanged form during language contact. Spelling variants, listed in round brackets after the headword, are pronounced as the corresponding lemma, differing only in their written forms. The dictionary only indicates the pronunciation of the headword if it differs from the written form or if it does not follow the pronunciation rules of the Hungarian language. Pronunciation is presented after each headword in square brackets. A pronunciation variant is provided for headwords if there is a sound absent from the Hungarian sound system or the spelling of the sound is different from that used in Hungarian (e.g. the specific speech sounds of Serbian and Ukrainian or the diacritical marks of Slavic languages). Because pronunciation is less regulated than spelling, there may be more than one spoken form of a headword, and these are indicated in the entry of the standardized headword.

The versatility of the microstructure is demonstrated by the richness of the information in the main body of the entry, which contains two separate sets of information: information needed to understand the entry word and example sentences to illustrate its use and meaning. The interpretation of the lemma is aided by the elaboration of the meanings and senses as well as the 46 status labels (subject, regional, temporal, and stylistic labels). Status labels are used to specify the scope of the use of a headword or a meaning.

TOHDD being a monolingual, explanatory dictionary with etymological references, it has two main types of definitions: synonym definitions and lexicographic definitions (cf. Svensén 2009). The dictionary's example sentences are also a means of presenting meanings as accurately as possible since meaning can be clarified through example sentences. Furthermore, the stylistic and linguistic value of the headword can be demonstrated through the different types of example sentences, which are increasingly moving away from literary texts towards real-life examples. Earlier Hungarian dictionaries abound with examples from literature, while today's dictionaries try to draw not only from literary texts but also from real-life language use. Corpora can be a great source in this process because corpus-based dictionaries are no longer an unattainable dream but have become one of the hallmarks of modernity; as TOHDD is a dictionary of language use, utilized primarily for sociolinguistic (and lexicological) research, and the primary classification of example sentences is based on their authenticity. The editors aim to use authentic – spoken or written – example sentences and avoid the use of lexicographer's made-up examples. In this respect, example sentences in the dictionary are of three types: (1) authentic written language example sentences, (2) authentic spoken language example sentences, and (3) non-authentic example sentences (whose sources cannot be verified). These categories are further subdivided into subcategories, specifying the extralinguistic circumstances in which the example sentence was created. Based on the above, the types of example sentences in the dictionary present the following typology (see April 2022; statistics in brackets): authentic written language (52,654); authentic spoken language (2,703); undocumented and thus not authentic (204); meta-linguistic, authentic written, lay speaker (3,150); meta-linguistic, authentic written, linguist speaker (588); meta-linguistic, authentic spoken, lay speaker (691); meta-linguistic, authentic spoken, linguist speaker (91); constructed by a lay speaker (18,220); constructed by a linguist (7,253); translated text (115); other (447).

An authentic example sentence is one that is not taken from an elicited speech event, i.e. it is a statement that has been published in writing (either in an online forum or in a literary work) or is a documented oral statement made by a speaker. Another interesting feature of the labelling of example sentences is that the editors indicate not only the regional affiliation of the word but also the regional affiliation of the speaker and, in the case of authentic example sentences, the source.

The references in the foot of the entry include three types of information (each in a separate line): variants in the same region, analogous words in other regions, and other words of the dictionary from the same word family, regardless of their occurrence.

The dictionary is primarily intended for sociolinguists, but researchers from other fields of linguistics, such as contact linguistics, descriptive linguistics, as well as translation theory and practice, also use it. In addition, it is also important for a variety of practical uses: the editors of the dictionary are particularly interested in enabling lay language users to learn specific words and meanings of other varieties of Hungarian (Lanstyák et al. 2010: 44). The lexicological (temporal, regional, and stylistic) and lexicographic description of the vocabulary (e.g. the structure of the entry) provides "layers of use" for the dictionary in several ways: as an explanatory dictionary of the Hungarian language, a general dictionary, a dictionary of foreign words, as well as a source of language statistics and data mining.

The wordlist of the dictionary aims to reflect primarily synchronic language use – this is one of the reasons why it also includes neologisms. In addition to the present-day Hungarian vocabulary, there are also some typical words from the interwar period and from the socialist era. Headwords or meanings marked *Hu*, i.e. elements used as archaic in Hungary are used in various varieties in bordering regions – explaining the archaic nature of marginal dialects. Although reflecting a synchronic situation, the obsolete, old-fashioned or somewhat old-fashioned *Hu* headwords in the dictionary are now commonly used words or meanings in some regions. As the wordlist of the dictionary is not in any way linked to a particular language variety, its general dictionary character is also obvious. The criterion headwords need to meet to be included in the dictionary is that the word, word combination, or meaning has to have widespread use (it should not be limited to a small geographical area or to any stylistic variety or register). As the entry words and meanings included in the dictionary typically originate in a state language but have become an integral part of the Hungarian language usage of the given region, the dictionary can also be seen as a kind of dictionary of recent loans (called foreign words, *idegen szavak*, in the Hungarian linguistic tradition). Among the headwords, there are some that are also used in Hungary but with a meaning that is specific to the given minority language variety and different from the Hungarian one. The vitality of TOHDD lies precisely in the fact that it functions as a database: users access the headword or meaning they are looking for through queries. The database feature of the dictionary has several advantages (which is perhaps why the editors do not plan to publish the dictionary as a book), providing easier editing and simpler, more customized presentation. This can guarantee the continued success of the dictionary.

Labelling system

The labelling system used in the dictionary is based on the linguistic labels of *T Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* [The Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian] – we tried not to deviate too much from them, as most Hungarian dictionary users are familiar with the labels of this dictionary and encounter them in other dictionaries, so users can interpret them most easily. The stylistic value of each vocabulary item or meaning was defined along various sociolinguistically definable categories – these are the dimensions. The system currently consists of five main dimensions. In defining the dimensions, we have taken as our starting point the linguistic reality, but we have also been influenced by M. A. C. Halliday's classification (Halliday et al. 1964). The following dimensions are used:

1. The labels of the dialectal dimension refer to the stylistic value of lexemes as a result of their use being specific to certain geographical regions and social groups. Regional dialects are referred to as "regional". Examples of labels referring to social dialects are "educated" and "uneducated" – referring to the level of education of the language user – and "child language" and "youth language", which refer to the age group.

2. The register dimension is largely made up of the stylistic values under which headwords associated with certain specialized activities can be classified. This category includes, for example, "technical", "literary", and "slang". The fact that a word or a meaning is not linked to any specialized register but can occur in discourse belonging to any register is referred to by the qualification "commonly used".

3. The stylistic variation dimension consists of registers defined by the formality of the speech situation; the stylistic value of individual headwords is determined by whether they are generally used in formal or informal speech situations. Examples include the style labels "formal" and "informal". Words that are not associated with a style but can be used in any speech situation are labelled "neutral".

4. In the dimension of temporality, there are labels such as "old-fashioned", "obsolete", and "historical". Since most of the headwords and meanings do not refer to temporality, for the sake of simplicity we do not refer to these with any special label.

5. The labelling system also includes, of course, "real" stylistic classifications, which express the speaker's emotions and positive or negative attitudes towards the reality indicated by the headwords. This dimension includes labels such as "euphemistic", "humorous", "ironic", "taboo", "pejorative", and "rude".

6. Finally, in addition to the dimensions mentioned above, in some specific cases, the frequency of words is also indicated by the label "rare", and the regional affiliation of the headwords is also marked.

Conclusions

TOHDD is a unique lexicographical project work in Hungarian lexicography. It is unique in terms of the varieties covered, unique in the elaboration of its microstructure, and unique in the process of its production since it is a database dictionary edited by linguists, done as an electronic dictionary of special varieties of Hungarian. This dictionary is the only Hungarian dictionary to provide lexical elements and meanings of the Hungarian language used beyond the borders of Hungary, employing a highly sophisticated lexicographic and lexicological apparatus and information and communications technology.

Using the online interface dictionary, users can create their own dictionaries on the fly and compile glossaries and statistics by using its sophisticated query system searching the database in the background. The material of the dictionary is used and exploited not only by "lay" language users but also by linguists and researchers of Hungarian varieties, providing the basis for numerous quantitative and qualitative analyses. Although not intended for linear reading and not published as a book, it is useful for those who wish to learn more about the meanings and usage rules of specific vocabulary of the state varieties of the Hungarian language in the Carpathian Basin. The dictionary aims to provide a detailed picture of the lexical and conceptual content behind headwords.

Work on the dictionary is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The annual projects focus primarily on the development of micro- and macrostructure, the correction and improvement of the dictionary entries, and the implementation of documentation activities to support the development work.

The TOHDD can be used in almost all areas of linguistic research into present-day Hungarian, as it is a systematic and easily searchable database of the living language since its data come from actual language use and communication.

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