Acta Universitatis Sapientiae

Philologica

Volume 16, Number 2, 2024

STUDIES ON LANGUAGE, LINGUISTICS AND CULTURE

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania Scientia Publishing House

Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica is indexed by the following main databases:
Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL) ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences) Genamics JournalSeek NSD (Nordic Scientific Database) SCImago (SJR) SCOPUS

Contents

Pre-service Teachers' Perceptions of TBLT and the Introduction of Rap Battles in Foreign Language (FL) Teaching
Zsuzsanna DÉGI, Ágnes T. BALLA An Ideal Classroom as Depicted by Pre-service English Teachers
Iva KOUTSKÁ, Petra PELDOVÁ How ELT Teacher Trainees Formulate Aims
Imola Katalin NAGY, Gabriella KOVÁCS Text Choice Adequacy in a Romanian Language Textbook for Hungarian Minority Students
Mária CSERNOCH, Attila IMRE Grammar Practices in the Digital World
Enikő BIRÓ, Balázs KATÓ Exploring Enjoyment and Flow among Monolingual and Bilingual Learners of English
Erzsébet BALOGH Email Excuses and Their Acceptability by Hungarian University Students
Nuengruthai PANKAEW, Supakit BUAKAW Understanding Conversational Interruptions in Thai News Interview Programmes: An Analysis of Functions and Participant Objectives
Ákos GOCSÁL, Nafiseh TADAYYON-CHAHARTAGH The Role of Different Intonation Contours in Social Perception
Magdalena BATOR, Marta SYLWANOWICZ Arteries and Veins or Bowels and Vessels – On Lexical Fixedness in the Eighteenth-Century Medical Texts
${\it Liudmyla~HRYZHAK} \\ {\it Semantic~Variability~of~the~Word~`Creature'~in~Elizabethan~Prose~Fiction.~. 176}$
Marta LACKOVÁ, Brigita BERNÁTHOVÁ Semantics of Idioms Containing Names of Body Parts in English, Slovak, and Hungarian (A Comparative Study)
Boróka-Emese SALAMON The Evolution of Toponyms in a Bilingual Context. Original and Current Forms of Oikonyms in Covasna County, Romania

Enikő PÁL, Judit PIELDNER Walking a Tightrope between Languages: Challenges in Translating Atwood's Hag-Seed. A Case Study on the Romanian and Hungarian Translations	
Zsuzsanna AJTONY Literature for Children in Translation: The Hungarian Public Encounters Michael Bond's A Bear Called Paddington	



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0013

Pre-service Teachers' Perceptions of TBLT and the Introduction of Rap Battles in Foreign Language (FL) Teaching

Noelia Mª GALÁN-RODRÍGUEZ

Universidade da Coruña (A Coruña, Spain)
Department of DIDES & MIDES
noelia.galan@udc.es
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6662-7269

Abstract. The latest educational trends have put emphasis on a communicative approach to FL teaching and learning, focusing on meaning, functionality, and the integration of skills (Richards and Rodgers 2015). Therefore, it is necessary that FL teachers become acquainted with methodologies which follow an integrated-skills approach such as TBLT. This article analyses pre-service teachers' uptakes on TBLT and the use of rap battles in FL teaching in primary education through an exploratory analysis. After having taken a one-week course on TBLT in a TEFL module, a questionnaire was given to participants. Results show that pre-service teachers understand the importance of integrating all language skills in FL lessons for primary school students as well as the 4 Cs on learning and innovation skills (*Partnership for 21st-Century Learning 2011*). Furthermore, they report that rap battles are motivating and creative resources which could be exploited in FL lessons, although they also point out some challenges.

Keywords: FL teaching, perceptions, pre-service teachers, TBLT, teacher training

1. Introduction

The latest educational trends have put emphasis on a communicative approach to FL teaching and learning the focus of which relies on meaning and functional aspects of language (Richards and Rodgers 2015) as well as a more active learner's role emphasized by the action-oriented approach established by the *Common European Framework of Reference* (Council of Europe 2001) and its *Companion Volume* (2020). Therefore, this would cater to a learner-centred approach that emphasizes meaning and functional aspects of language as well as learning by doing practice such as task-based language teaching (from now on, TBLT).

TBLT is based on the completion of tasks by students. However, it should be noted that these have to result in real-world outcomes and be meaning-focused. Language learning becomes an organic and gradual process focused on learners' internal factors while seeking to answer the "information gap" in activities "that involve 'noticing' or 'consciousness-raising' while maintaining emphasis on meaning" (Richards and Rodgers 2015: 181). Due to its practice-based style, task-based instruction provides an opportunity to integrate the communicative skills in the FL lesson while putting emphasis on lexis and speaking (2015: 393).

Despite the fact that the integration of skills in the classroom is not new, teaching professionals need to become aware of how to introduce them, bearing in mind the importance of skill transfer, and also how to avoid compartmentalized learning. It goes without saying that pre-service teachers have preconceived notions which may influence their teaching behaviours (Li and Zou 2022: 509). Therefore, previous perceptions and the training they receive may affect their possible implementation of TBLT and their overall teaching practice. It is because of this that pre-service teacher training needs to prepare future teachers for this crosscurricular reality and the 21st-century learning and innovation skills established by the framework of Partnership for 21st-Century Learning (2011). Furthermore, the introduction of rap as a genre in education answers to "the need for critical and culturally relevant pedagogies" (Kumar 2018: 211); however, no research (to the author's knowledge) has been carried out in regard to the use of rap in FL teaching and pre-service teachers' perceptions of said phenomenon. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to analyse pre-service teachers' perceptions on TBLT and the use of rap battles as a way to integrate skills and cross-curricularity in FL teaching at the primary school level.

2. Literature review

According to Pica (2008: 527), "[w]ith their multiplicity of uses and flexibility of roles, tasks have made it possible to address educational issues that arise in the everyday lives of teachers, and to offer an approach to the contexts, processes, and outcomes of L2 learning". Considering that education-based research caters to the educational reality, understanding this TBLT approach is crucial for inservice and pre-service teachers due to (1) the fact that it is a well-documented on-going practice, (2) the several benefits this approach would bring to the language classroom considering that communication is a key concept, and (3) the fact that integration of skills resonates with authentic language use, as "using a single language skill is very rare in everyday life" (Pardede 2020: 72).

In the past couple of years, studies have been carried out with regard to FL students' (Hadi 2013, González-Lloret and Nielson 2015), in-service EFL/EAP

teachers' (Jeon and Hahn 2006, Xiongyong and Samuel 2011, Douglas and Kim 2015, Luo and Xing 2015), and pre-service teachers' (Li and Zou 2022) perceptions on TBLT. Regarding students' perceptions on TBLT, students report that one of the main advantages of the approach is that "it addresses their real world needs" (González-Lloret and Nielson 2015: 539), it encourages learners' progress, collaboration, and inherent motivation, and it is suitable for small group work as well as improving learners' interactive skills (Hadi 2013: 108–109). However, they also reported some drawbacks such as (1) teacher's level of proficiency, (2) lack of confidence/unease due to prior experiences, and (3) inappropriateness of the textbook (Hadi 2013: 108).

Similarly, literature on in-service teachers' perceptions on TBLT states both positive and negative views of said approach, which are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. In-service teachers' views on TBLT (Jeon and Hahn 2006, Xiongyong and Samuel 2011, Douglas and Kim 2015, Luo and Xing 2015)

Reasons why using TBLT	Reasons why not using TBLT
Beneficial for group work.	Possible disciplinary problems.
Motivating nature.	Self-perceived lack of knowledge of
Practicality ("authenticity").	TBLT.
Learner-centred.	Textbook materials not properly
It enhances students' interactive	designed.
strategies.	Lack of classroom time.
Collaborative learning environment.	Excessive instructor preparation.

In regard to pre-service teachers, few studies have been published (focused on secondary education)¹ in these last years: Li and Zou's (2022) study on preservice teachers' perceptions of TBLT after an 8-week TBLT module focused on theoretical aspects of said approach in a Chinese context. This study finds that participants have gained a basic (although limited) understanding of the theory, and they have overall positive and neutral responses towards TBLT, which is said to be fun and to improve communicative competence through meaningful communication. Nevertheless, they also mention negative counterpoints such as the examination-driven teaching system and the difficulty of engaging all learners. Overall, the authors of the study mention that the general answers participants gave could be due to their "lack of practical experience and lack of rich theoretical knowledge" (Li and Zou 2022: 516). This opens up the idea of further studies in which an inductive approach (such as the one used in this research) is used to train pre-service teachers in TBLT.

¹ To the author's awareness, no study on pre-service primary school teachers' perceptions of TBLT has been published so far.

Hence, training on the principles of TBLT has an impact on pre-service teachers' perceptions of said approach and its possible implementation in their own lessons. Therefore, TBLT training needs to be suitably implemented in teacher training programmes. Likewise, Hadi (2013: 109) points out the need to include this approach in teacher training in issues such as planning, implementation, and evaluation.

This goes in line with the idea of a skill-focused teacher training which would cater to the skill-integration nature of TBLT as well as the 21st-century skills, particularly the 4 Cs of learning and innovation skills. It is important that teachers be equipped with the tools to implement an integrated skills approach bearing in mind these skills, as communication, critical thinking, creativity, and collaboration have been found to be what "differentiates students who are prepared for more and more complex life and work environments in the 21st century, and those who are not" (Pardede 2020: 72).

- Communication: as one of the main objectives of a FL lesson is to enable the learner to communicate, this is of utmost importance not only as a 21st-century skill but also in order to achieve course-specific goals. Digital, interpersonal, written, and oral communication (Pardede 2020: 74) need to be taken into account in this case.
- Critical thinking: although there are several definitions of this concept (Pithers and Soden 2000, Anderson and Krathwohl 2001, Pineda-Báez 2004, Facione 2011), there are overlapping similarities which deal with the ability to self-regulate, apply, evaluate, interpret, and infer.
- Creativity: Pardede (2020: 76) defines creativity as "the products, processes or interactions that generate new ideas, thoughts, and objects" and as a much-needed skill for professional and personal success. Learning a foreign language enhances creativity and vice versa.
- Collaboration: this stems from the idea of learning as a social process where students work jointly to achieve a common goal and to purposefully engage (Pardede 2020: 75).

Similarly, 21st-century education has put emphasis on the need for interdisciplinary proposals to breach the gap between subjects and/or areas of knowledge, avoid compartmentalized learning, and foster collaboration. Due to the flexible nature of FL learning and the instrumental nature of language, FL courses are propitious environments to implement cross-curricular issues.

In fact, the use of music in FL learning has been studied in regards to its benefits concerning language acquisition, although "the use of music in the language-learning classroom appears to be rather occasional" (Degrave 2019: 412). According to Zeromskaite (2014), music training and its introduction into language acquisition processes may help with foreign language pronunciation, receptive phonology, and reading skills (Zeromskaite 2014: 85). Similarly, Degrave (2019) distinguishes between linguistic and non-linguistic benefits when implementing

music in the FL classroom. Concerning these language-related benefits, the author mentions vocabulary, writing fluency, listening abilities, phonetic skills, and other language-focused skills (e.g. pronunciation, grammar, listening comprehension) in similar lines to other studies such as Ludke's (2018). On the other hand, the use of music in a FL classroom may address different learning styles as well as reduce anxiety (Dolean 2016). Furthermore, an increase in motivation, sustained attention, and the introduction of cultural knowledge of the target language are some of the reported benefits (Degrave 2019: 415). Hence, FL teacher training should account for the implementation of music in these lessons, especially considering the fact that teachers "believe music can be beneficial for foreign language acquisition, for language skills as for motivational or cultural aspects" (Degrave 2019: 412).

Culture-wise, the introduction of music in these lessons provides a comprehensive background of FL's contextual factors. For instance, Kumar (2018: 213) advocates for the use of rap in teaching and learning: "Since rap is a culturally and linguistically rich art form which often addresses critical social and political issues, many scholars claim that it can be used to facilitate culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP)." Furthermore, this study on pre-service teachers' perceptions on the use of rap for instructional purposes states the following benefits: (1) rap can be used to bridge home and school cultures; (2) it may improve students' attitudes and behaviours; (3) it facilitates instruction; (4) it can be an instructional tool; (5) it can be a source for youth culture (Kumar 2018: 215). However, it is significant that the use of rap resides in content areas such as English, social studies, and science (Kumar 2018: 211). Additionally, Mu'thi and Indah's (2021: 30) study on tongue twisters and rap also adds that rap and tongue twisters improve fluency (pronunciation and speaking), as learning pronunciation is interesting and fun to students, and pronunciation is made clearer and correct (e.g. drilling).

However, limited knowledge of the genre (Kumar 2018), limited knowledge of adapted materials (or the creation of materials), as well as lack of theoretical grounding which could help in the integration of music in the FL classroom are some of the drawbacks teachers mention in this implementation (Degrave 2019: 412). This, along with the need to provide training on TBLT to future teachers and the importance of teachers' perceptions are the moving forces of this study.

3. Method

3.1. Research questions

In order to reach the aforementioned aim, the following research questions have been addressed:

- RQ1: What do pre-service teachers think about TBLT?
- RQ2: What do pre-service teachers think about the use of rap battles in FL teaching at the primary school level?
- $-\,RQ3$: What are the reported advantages/disadvantages of using rap battles in the FL classroom using a TBLT approach?

3.2. Participants

The participants of this study are 101 pre-service teachers in their third year of an undergraduate programme (Degree in Primary Education) at a Spanish university. At the time of the study, they are enrolled in a mandatory 10-week module on TEFL. This module is the first time participants have a course related to FL teaching, and most of them do not have any prior experience concerning the teaching of a FL.

3.3. Procedure

The study took place during one week of the TEFL module, which was dedicated to TBLT. The followed lesson planning aimed at providing participants with a brief theoretical overview of the approach, as the main aim was for participants to understand it through an experiential and inductive approach. In order to do so, to gather and carry out an exploratory analysis of the collected data, the ensuing stages were followed:

Stage 1: Theoretical underpinnings

Participants were given a lecture on integrated skills approaches as well as CLT. Then, the concept of TBLT was introduced and contextualized. The main principles of TBLT were mentioned, but participants were made aware they would expand said knowledge on the practical application.

Stage 2: Practical exploitation of TBLT

Participants were provided a practical exploitation of a rap battle following Richards and Rodgers' procedure (2015: 190–191) on how to implement TBLT by means of rap battles (previously adapted to students' level) so they could see first-hand how to structure a task in order to integrate language and the learning and innovation skills (4 Cs). Participants had to produce a rap battle (in groups) as the final task. The creation of said task was carried out taking into consideration Pica's (2008) features of effective tasks for teaching and research.

Stage 3: Data collection

After carrying out the task, participants answered a questionnaire (see section 3.4.) on their perceptions of TBLT and the use of rap battles in FL teaching for primary school education. Then, the data was exported to an Excel spreadsheet to facilitate its subsequent analysis.

Stage 4: Data analysis

The data was analysed using two software programs: *SPSS* for the quantitative data (e.g. Likert-scale items) and *Atlas.ti7* for the qualitative data (e.g. openended answers).

3.4. Instrument

A questionnaire adapted from Hadi (2013) was used to gather the data necessary to answer the research questions. It was divided into three sections: (1) personal data, (2) opinion on TBLT, and (3) opinion on the use/implementation of rap battles in FL teaching. In order to gather this information, several types of items were used: multiple-choice questions, Likert-scale items, and open-ended questions.

4. Results

The following data analysis seeks to answer the aforementioned research questions. In order to do so, it has been divided into three sections: 4.1. Opinion on TBLT, 4.2. Opinion on rap battles in FL Teaching, and 4.3. Advantages and disadvantages of TBLT and rap battles.

4.1. Opinion on TBLT

Participants were asked about the theoretical underpinnings of TBLT. Concerning whether TBLT promotes the use of communicative skills, all participants answered positively (71.3% "strongly agree"; 28.7% "agree"): this means participants classify TBLT under the broad umbrella concept of the communicative approach. Furthermore, all participants agree on the importance of integrating the communicative skills in FL teaching in primary education (91.1% "strongly agree"; 8.9% "agree"). It is worth mentioning that there is a significant correlation (chi-square test: p > 0.001) among these two data points, which establishes the importance participants attach to the communicative skills (and its integration) in the FL classroom in primary education.

In regard to whether they believe this approach to be student-centred, 50.5% strongly agreed and 49.5% agreed on this issue: having carried out the chi-square test, a strong correlation (p > 0.001) is found between this data and whether participants believe TBLT promotes the use of communicative skills. They perceive that the use of skills in the FL classroom caters to the use of said skills by students, which would result in a more student-focused lesson. This is reinforced by the results on participants' beliefs as to whether TBLT focuses on

meaning over form: as seen in *Figure 1*, most participants (cumulative percent: 87.1%) perceive this approach to focus on meaning, hence emphasizing the communicative and skill-focused nature of TBLT (p > 0.053).

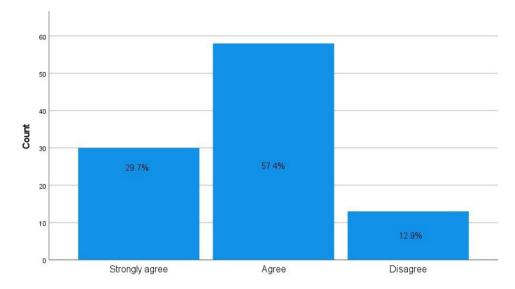


Figure 1. TBLT focuses on meaning over form.

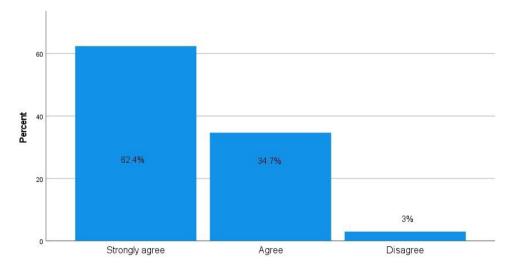


Figure 2. TBLT creates a relaxing atmosphere which promotes language use.

As classroom dynamics and classroom environment are factors which influence the teaching and learning experience, it is significant that most participants (cumulative percent: 97.1%) believe TBLT to create a relaxing atmosphere which promotes language use (see *Figure 2*). This bodes well for the introduction of said approach in order to foster collaboration and to lower prospective students' affective filter (to be discussed later).

Furthermore, as teacher factors influence teachers' perceptions (Luo and Xing 2015) and lack of preparation time has been reported to be one of the drawbacks towards using this approach (Douglas and Kim 2015), it is interesting to see that pre-service teachers in this study are on the fence about this issue: although 66.3% of the participants (cumulative percent; see *Table 2*) believed that more preparation time is needed for TBLT than other FL teaching methods, 33.7% disagree on that. Interestingly, there is a correlation between this and whether participants believe TBLT to be meaning-focused (p > 0.011); hence, pre-service teachers seem to consider skill-based (meaning) activities to be more time consuming (in terms of preparation) than those which focus on form, although further studies should be carried out.

Table 2. TBLT requires more preparation time in contrast with other approaches.

	N	%
Agree	38	37.6
Strongly agree	29	28.7
Disagree	33	32.7
Strongly disagree	1	1
Total	101	100

As TBLT was introduced to participants through an inductive approach, it is noteworthy that most participants (see *Figure 3*) believe that having carried out said task helped them understand the theoretical underpinnings to TBLT. Likewise, 99% of participants (see *Table 3*) reported they would like to use rap battles in their FL primary school lessons, which is related to the inductive approach followed to introduce TBLT (p > 0.001). Therefore, having used rap battles as an example of TBLT has influenced pre-service teachers towards implementing said approach in the future.

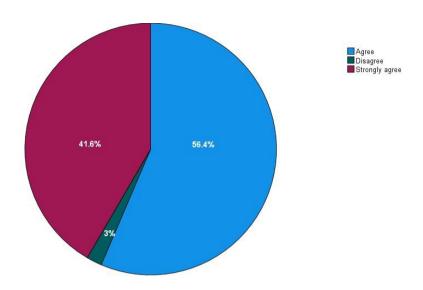


Figure 3. I understand TBLT better after having carried out the rap battle task.

Table 3. I would like to introduce rap battles in my FL primary school lessons.

	N	%
Yes	100	99
No	1	1
Total	101	100

4.2. Opinion on rap battles in FL teaching

According to the participants, the implementation of rap battles in FL promotes the 4 Cs (see *Table 4*). Communication and creativity seem to be the two skills participants believe to be worked the most when using rap battles in FL teaching (78.2% "strongly agree" and 95% "strongly agree" respectively), with no participants disagreeing or strongly disagreeing on these two items. Similarly, collaboration in order to reach a common goal (in this case, the creation of a rap battle) is reported to be highly fostered (cumulative percent for "agree" and "strongly agree": 96%), which bodes well for the idea of purposeful engagement within collaboration (Pardede 2020). Concerning critical thinking, it is the only learning and innovation skill which presents different results: 22.8% of participants (cumulative percent) do not believe rap battles to boost critical thinking; however, results are overall positive, with 77.2% of the participants believing otherwise. This may have to do with participants' perception of what critical thinking entails, as there is a significant correlation between collaboration

(e.g. possible mediation among participants) and critical thinking (e.g. ability to self-regulate) with a chi-square significance of p > 0.009.

	Communi- cation	Collaboration	Critical thinking	Creativity
	%	%	%	%
Agree	21.8	35.6	49.5	5
Strongly agree	78.2	60.4	27.7	95
Disagree		4	21.8	
Strongly disagree			1	
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 4. Participants' perceptions of the 4 Cs in the rap battle

Overall, there is a significant correlation among the 4 Cs (p > 0.05) except for the relationship between creativity and critical thinking (p: 0.16), which may be due to the misconception of seeing these two notions as independent from each other, as found in Wechsler et al. (2018). All in all, the strong relationship among the 4 Cs points at an integrated view of these learning and innovation skills.

Regarding the integration of communicative skills in rap battles, participants believe this task to integrate all the skills (see *Figure 4*), which resonates with their positive perceptions on whether TBLT promotes the use of communicative skills (p > 0.001).

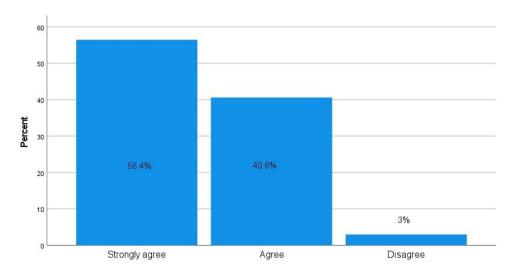


Figure 4. The task (rap battle) integrates all the communicative skills.

In regard to the introduction of rap battles in FL teaching in primary education, there is a positive tendency towards their introduction by pre-service teachers: 68.3% strongly agree and 27.7% agree on the fact that it is possible to introduce rap battles in primary education. Likewise, when asked about their future teaching practice, most participants said to be willing to introduce rap battles in their FL lessons (see *Table 3*), which bodes well for the introduction of music and CRP (Kumar 2018) in primary school contexts.

Bearing in mind the importance of affective factors, it is important to highlight that most participants (80.2%) strongly agreed that this type of task would motivate students, while only one participant disagreed on this issue (see *Table 5*).

	N	%
Agree	19	18.8
Strongly agree	81	80.2
Disagree	1	1
Total	101	100

Table 5. Rap battles are motivating tasks for students.

Interestingly, after carrying out chi-square tests, a relationship between motivation and three of the Cs is found: motivation and creativity are statistically the most correlated ones (p > 0.001), followed by motivation and collaboration (p > 0.007) and motivation and communication (p > 0.01), critical thinking being the only one of the 4 Cs not significantly related to this affective factor (p: 0.16). This could be read as participants believe that some of the issues which entail creativity (e.g. thinking outside the box), collaboration (e.g. social interaction), and communication (e.g. expressing oneself) are strongly related to the concept of motivation.

4.3. Advantages and disadvantages of TBLT and rap battles

Collaboration (f: 22)

After carrying out the codification process, the following table compiles the codes found in regard to pre-service teachers' beliefs on the advantages and disadvantages of TBLT and rap battles:

AdvantagesDisadvantagesMotivating and entertaining (f: 52)Stage fright (f: 38)Creativity (f: 41)Competitiveness and conflict (f: 21)Relaxing atmosphere (f: 30)Language issues (f: 18)Integration of skills (f: 26)Low level (f: 18)

Classroom management (f: 8)

Table 6. Advantages and disadvantages of using TBLT and rap battles

Advantages	Disadvantages
Syntactic and lexical items (f: 21)	Time consuming (f: 6)
Communication and interaction (f: 18)	No disadvantages (f: 5)
Orality (f: 17)	
Innovative (f: 10)	
Student-focused (f: 8)	
Musicality and intonation (f: 7)	
Total: 172 (f)	Total: 96 (f)

Overall, according to the data, the advantages (f: 172) surpass the disadvantages (f: 96), which is in line with the previous results on participants' positive attitude towards TBLT and rap battles in FL teaching.

Similarly, the most frequent category concerning advantages is their reported motivating and entertaining nature as it has been mentioned by 52 participants: this resonates with the questionnaire item on motivation (see *Table 5*). Concerning this advantage, it is interesting to highlight the following comment:

Participant 15: "I personally believe that TBLT and rap battles are strategies that teachers should use to motivate their students to learn a foreign language, as they include all the language skills. Also, this type of perspective and task would allow kids to be more engaged in the activities that they are going to develop in class".²

Motivation is found to be one of the main reasons for implementing rap battles due to their engaging nature and their catering to students' interests. It is also noteworthy that this concept is linked with creativity (f: 41) in the comments (similarly to the correlation between the items of motivation and creativity in the quantitative analysis). It is also interesting that the lexical family of 'creativity' has one of the highest frequencies (f: 58) found in the answers, which shows the importance participants give to this issue.

Participant 49: "This type of activity is very motivating for students, and it boosts their creativity. They see it as a challenge and not like an activity, an artificial exercise they have to do and submit. Furthermore, they work with different skills, integrating creation, listening, and presentation".

The affective component is further enhanced in the "relaxing atmosphere" category (f: 30), where participants point out that the use of TBLT and rap battles creates a comfortable environment which helps students feel at ease to use the language:

Participant 100: "It helps students not to be shy, as it is a ludic activity. This way, kids will feel encouraged, and they will 'unblock' their communicative skills in the FL".

² Comments were edited for clarity. Most of the comments were translated into English by the author of the present article.

The idea of communication (one of the 4 Cs) and interaction is also present in participants' answer (f: 18) while emphasizing the importance of collaboration (f: 22) among peers as one of the main advantages:

Participant 25: "It increases all students' participation, even interacting among them and cooperating".

Participant 47: "I think TBLT is beneficial for primary school students, as it fosters creativity, communication among equals, and it helps learn new vocabulary".

This close relationship between these two Cs (communication and collaboration) is further supported by the previous quantitative data (chi-square test: p > 0.001). Collaboration and cooperation among students are concepts often repeated in the answers: group work, pair work, and idea exchange are some of the issues mentioned as advantages.

The integration of skills (f: 26) is also mentioned when implementing TBLT, which goes in line with participants' beliefs in the importance of integrating the skills in FL teaching in primary education (as mentioned above). However, it should also be noted that the advantage related to "orality" (f: 17, in this case, their speaking skills) has been frequently reported, more likely due to the oral nature of the rap battles rather than this being an assumption on TBLT.

Participant 55: "In my opinion, it can improve students' verbal fluency in the classroom and also work with students who are shy in order to improve their oral expression in front of an audience while working with the language at the same time".

Additionally, participants report this type of task and approach would help students learn syntactic and lexical elements (f: 21), especially those related to vocabulary (f: 35):

Participant 67: "An increase in vocabulary, syntactic structures, intonation, etc.". Surprisingly, although participants reported TBLT to be highly student-centred, only eight of them mentioned this to be an advantage while emphasizing that it promotes autonomous learning, which may be due to their conception of the rap battle as a group work task. However, issues such as catering to students' interests and paying attention to their context are also mentioned by several participants, which can also be considered "student-focused":

Participant 89: "Students are protagonists of their own learning, and they can use their previous knowledge and daily life experiences to carry out the task as well as apply their new knowledge to their daily lives, that is, it is reciprocal".

Other reported advantage is the innovative nature of TBLT and rap battles (f: 10): **Participant 87**: "It's a different and new way to work with primary school students".

Furthermore, musicality and intonation (f: 7) are also mentioned by pre-service teachers, focusing on the cross-curricular nature of music and FL and the benefits

music may have on students' pronunciation (as seen in Zeromskaite 2014, Ludke 2018, and Degrave 2019):

Participant 36: "With rap battles, students can learn more vocabulary and improve their pronunciation and fluency".

Participant 89: "I am convinced it is a great tool, especially for the interdisciplinary nature of English and Music".

Concerning the disadvantages, most of them are related to the use of rap battles rather than TBLT. For instance, the most common disadvantage found was "stage fright" (f: 38), as participants believed shy students would not feel comfortable carrying out this task. However, some of them also point out the need to tackle this issue:

Participant 6: "Students may be shy, but that's not a disadvantage due to the fact that [it] is good that they lose their fear to talk in public, their fear of people [...] laughing [at them], and it provides communication and social interaction skills".

Another issue concerning the disadvantages is the possibility of this creating conflicts and fostering competitiveness (f: 21) among students due to the inherent nature of said rap battles:

Participant 11: "Students may interpret the task as a competition and not as a means to an end (in this case, learning), hence leading to conflicts in the classroom".

Furthermore, in the same line as the previous disadvantage, participants also reported possible use of bad words and problems to find the right expressions (f: 18). Similarly, low level of proficiency (f: 18) is also pointed out as a drawback when carrying out rap battles:

Participant 64: "Depending on the academic year, they may have difficulties with the vocabulary to create, for instance, rap battles".

Additionally—and similarly to the reviewed literature—, classroom management (f: 8) and excessive time preparation (f: 6) are some of the disadvantages related to TBLT and rap battles. Concerning classroom management, pre-service teachers state the importance of providing clear instructions and sticking to the rules so the class does not become chaotic. In regard to timing, both teacher preparation time and the execution of said task are mentioned:

Participant 15: "As I see it, one of the main disadvantages teachers would have to face in TBLT, particularly rap battles activities, would be the noise and distraction that this kind of activities can produce".

Participant 84: "It requires lots of preparation. It takes time in its execution".

All in all, the analysis of the open-ended questions provides an overview of pre-service teachers' uptakes on the advantages and disadvantages of TBLT and rap battles, where advantages seem to surpass the disadvantages of implementing this approach and this type of task in FL teaching in primary education.

5. Discussion

According to the *CEFR* (2001, *CV* 2020), language teaching and learning ought to be based on an action-oriented approach which focuses on the learner as a social being, whereas the language learning process "should be directed towards [...] accomplishing tasks of different natures" (2020: 29). This calls for the introduction of TBLT, an integrated skills approach seeking real-world outcomes, in pre-service teacher training. As mentioned, pre-service teachers' perceptions may depend on several factors such as their training.

Concerning the first research question, it has been proved that pre-service teachers have truly positive attitudes towards TBLT, which is somewhat in line with Li and Zou's (2022) study where participants reported positive or neutral attitudes towards this approach. An overall understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of TBLT, such as the promotion (and integration) of the communicative skills, its focus on meaning over form, and the fact that this is a student-centred approach, have been reported by participants in categorical positive numbers. Furthermore, it is significant that all of them believe it is important to integrate all communicative language skills in the FL primary school classroom, which bodes well for the implementation of integrated skills approaches in their future teaching careers.

Other issues, such as whether TBLT creates a relaxing atmosphere which fosters language use, have also been stated: most participants believe this to be true (see *Figure 2*), which is in contrast with Jeon and Hahn's (2006) study, where less than half of the participants agreed on this issue. Nevertheless, it has been found that more than half of the participants believe TBLT to take more preparation time than other approaches, which is similar to the results found in Xiongyoung and Samuel (2011). All in all, the positive answers to the items on TBLT show that pre-service teachers have a positive attitude towards TBLT and its general underpinnings: they report having understood this approach thanks to the implementation of TBLT (by means of a rap battle task) in the classroom (see *Figure 3*), which is related to the inductive approach followed in the seminar.

In regard to the second research question, participants have truly positive attitudes towards the use of rap battles in FL teaching at the primary school level, with all but one participant reporting to be likely to introduce rap battles in their future classes (see *Table 3*) and believing this to be possible (cumulative percent: 96%). Motivation is one of the main traits participants report concerning rap battles (see *Table 5*), which is in line with one of the benefits of using TBLT reported by Xiongyong and Samuel (2011) and the use of music in FL courses (Degrave 2019). It should also be noted that motivation is also the most reported advantage of using rap battles and TBLT (see *Table 6*), which shows the importance pre-service teachers give to this affective factor.

Likewise, the presence of the 4 Cs in the rap battle and the importance of integrating them (Pardede 2020) have been noticed by participants (see *Table 4*). Rap battles are reported to integrate all the communicative skills and promote collaboration (one of the benefits of TBLT found in Xiongyong and Samuel 2011). Furthermore, in line with Li and Zou's (2022) results on pre-service teachers' perceptions of TBLT, communication is one of the skills participants believe can be worked with rap battles the most, whereas critical thinking is the least reported "C" to be used in this task: as mentioned before, this could be related to participants' own conception of critical thinking.

As to the third research question, creativity is the "C" found to be the most significant skill to be worked with rap battles, this being one of the most reported advantages (see *Table 6*). This is due to a certain extent to the use of music, as cross-curricularity and the creation of a task which focuses on both language and rhythm are some of the benefits participants mention. The use of music in the FL is reported to bring several benefits such as improving pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and different receptive and productive skills, as well as reducing anxiety (Zeromskaite 2014, Ludke 2018, Degrave 2019). Similarly, participants report that using rap battles would create an entertaining and relaxing atmosphere in the classroom, where the use of skills (especially "orality") and students' vocabulary range ("syntactic and lexical elements") would be improved (see *Table 6*). Furthermore, pronunciation is one of the reported advantages explicitly related to the rap battles that participants mention, which goes in line with Mu'thi and Indah's (2021) study.

Interestingly, although participants believe the advantages clearly seem to surpass the disadvantages when it comes to TBLT and rap battles, the most commonly reported disadvantages have to do with the latter: possible "stage fright" and "competitiveness and conflicts" are the most stated disadvantages, which contrasts with the positive results found in regard to the relaxing classroom atmosphere that participants mention concerning language use. It could be that although participants believe this approach and this task to promote a comfortable environment for language use (e.g. collaboration, interaction, fluency over correctness), the nature of the task (verbal "battle" in a public setting) could be a detriment. Furthermore, some reported disadvantages found in previous research concerning TBLT, such as "classroom management" (found in Jeon and Hahn (2006) as disciplinary issues) and "time consuming" (Jeon and Hahn 2006, Douglas and Kim 2015), are also accounted for in this study; however, their frequency is quite low (see Table 6). It is worth mentioning that issues such as assessment and lack of materials are not reported by participants as being detrimental to implementing TBLT, which is in contrast with previous studies (Xiongyong and Samuel 2011, Douglas and Kim 2015, Li and Zou 2022). It could

be hypothesised that, by seeing TBLT in action (with adapted materials and assessment guidelines), participants did not take these issues into consideration.

The implications of this study shed light on the need to implement TBLT in teacher training programmes and to carry out research on pre-service teachers' perceptions on teaching methodologies which focus on an action-oriented approach and skill integration. So far (to the author's knowledge), no study on these issues have been carried out in the Spanish context, and only one study researches pre-service teachers' perceptions on TBLT in China (Li and Zou 2022), focusing on theoretical aspects. Bearing in mind that education laws such as the Spanish one (BOE 2020) and the Council of Europe (2001, 2020) emphasize the use of skills in an integrated way and considering that teachers' perceptions have a huge role in their teaching practices, pre-service teacher training needs to cater to this reality and provide future teachers with theoretical and practical knowledge of these approaches. Therefore, it is important to research whether an inductive approach (such as the one taken in this study) to TBLT in teacher training has an impact on pre-service teachers' perceptions. Further lines of research to be considered are the benefits of rap battles in FL teaching bearing in mind cross-curricularity and Spanish in-service teachers' perceptions of TBLT and rap battles in the FL classroom.

References

- Anderson, Lorin–David R. Krathwohl, eds. 2001. A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. New York: Longman.
- BOE. 2020. Ley Orgánica 3/2020, de 29 de diciembre, por la que se modifica la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación. BOE no. 340, 30 de diciembre de 2020.
- Council of Europe. 2001. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— 2020. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment – Companion Volume. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Degrave, Pauline. 2019. Music in the foreign language classroom: How and why. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 10(3): 412–420.
- Dolean, Dacian. 2016. The effects of teaching songs during foreign language classes on students' foreign language anxiety. *Language Teaching Research* 20(5): 638–653.

- Douglas, Scott Roy-Marcia Kim. 2015. Task-based language teaching and English for Academic Purposes: An investigation into instructor perceptions and practice in the Canadian context. *TESL Canada Journal* 31: 1–22.
- Facione, Peter. 2011. Critical thinking: What it is and why it counts. *Insight Assessment* 1: 1–23.
- González-Lloret, Marta–Katharine B. Nielson. 2015. Evaluating TBLT: The case of a task-based Spanish program. *Language Teaching Research* 19(5): 525–549.
- Hadi, Atefeh. 2013. Perceptions of task-based language teaching: A study of Iranian EFL learners. *English Language Teaching* 6(1): 103–111.
- Jeon, In-Jae–Jung-Won Hahn. 2006. Exploring EFL teachers' perceptions of task-based language teaching: A case study of Korean secondary school classroom practice. *Asian EFL Journal* 8(1): 123–143.
- Kumar, Tracey. 2018. The battle for rap: Problems and possibilities in teacher education. *Teaching Education* 29(2): 211–220.
- Li, Jie-Weicheng Zou. 2022. A study of pre-service teachers' perceptions of task-based language teaching via metaphor analysis in a Chinese context. *Journal of Education for Teaching* 48(5): 508–520.
- Ludke, Karen M. 2018. Singing and arts activities in support of foreign language learning: An exploratory study. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching* 12(4): 371–386.
- Luo, Shaoquian—Jiaxin Xing. 2015. Teachers' perceived difficulty in implementing TBLT in China. In Michael Thomas—Hayo Reinders (eds), *Contemporary Task-Based Language Teaching in Asia*, 139–155. London: Bloomsbury.
- Mu'thi, Nizar Indra—Rohmani Nur Indah. 2021. Tongue twister rap: Bringing joy to EFL pronunciation class. *English Language in Focus (ELIF)* 4(1): 25–32.
- Pardede, Parlindungan. 2020. Integrating the 4Cs into EFL integrated skills learning. *Journal of English Teaching* 6(1): 71–85.
- Partnership for 21st-Century Learning. 2011. Framework for 21st-Century Learning. https://www.battelleforkids.org/networks/p21/frameworks-resources (Last accessed: 9 April 2023)
- Pica, Teresa. 2008. Task-based teaching and learning. In Bernard Spolsky–Francis M. Hult (eds), *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics*, 525–538. UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Pineda-Báez, Clelia. 2004. Critical thinking in the EFL classroom: The search for a pedagogical alternative to improve English learning. *Íkala, Revista de Lenguaje y Cultura* 9(15): 45–80.
- Pithers, Robert T.—Rebecca Soden. 2000. Critical thinking in education: A review. *Educational Research* 42(3): 237–249.
- Richards, Jack C.–Theodore S. Rodgers. 2015. Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching (6^{th} ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Wechsler, Solange. M.–Carlo Saiz–Silvia F. Rivas–Claudette Maria Medeiros Vendramini–Leandro S. Almeida–Mari Celia Mundim–Amanda Franco. 2018. Creative and critical thinking: Independent or overlapping components? *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 27: 114–122.
- Xiongyong, Cheng–Moses Samuel. 2011. Perceptions and implementation of task-based language teaching among secondary school EFL teachers in China. *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 2(24): 292–302.
- Zeromskaite, Ieva. 2014. The potential role of music in second language learning: A review article. *Journal of European Psychology Students* 5(3): 78–88.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0014

An Ideal Classroom as Depicted by Pre-service English Teachers

Zsuzsanna DÉGI

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Human Sciences

degizsuzsanna@uni.sapientia.ro

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2845-3883

Ágnes T. BALLA

University of Szeged (Szeged, Hungary)
Department of English Language Teacher Education and Applied Linguistics
tba@ieas-szeged.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3767-8803

Abstract. Recently, more and more studies have focused on analysing the development of teacher trainees in order to examine the influence of their past experiences on learning and teaching, to follow trainees' professional identity development, and to see how teacher training courses and actual teaching experiences contribute to trainees' transformative learning.

The present article discusses teacher trainees' envisioning of their ideal future lesson. Data was collected in February 2022, at a time when teacher trainees were still ahead of their English teaching methodology course. Trainees' visual and written narratives reveal that they are able to visualize a future ideal class most often relying on their previous language learning experiences. Trainees' narratives were analysed focusing on the way they see themselves as teachers, how they imagine an ideal learning environment, and how they depict classroom interaction.

The obtained results imply that the main aim of trainees' ideal lesson is to create a pleasant, stress-free learning environment so that their learners not be anxious or afraid to share their ideas and express themselves.

Keywords: teacher trainees, transformative learning, visual narratives, teacher identity

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, a growing body of research has focused on teachers' beliefs and teacher identity development. Previous studies (see Borg 2009,

Arshavskaya 2017, Kalaja et al. 2018, Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020, Doró 2020, Maijala 2023) on teacher beliefs and identity all agree that trainees' prior experiences as learners have a significant impact on their beliefs about teaching. Therefore, studies focusing on teacher trainees aim to reveal their beliefs and try to trace the development of pedagogic thinking, namely how teacher trainees' perspective as learners gradually turns into a teacher's perspective.

As beliefs and thinking cannot be directly observed, researchers have used narratives of different types (written, oral, visual, etc.) in order to elicit teachers' and teacher trainees' views and beliefs about teaching. More and more studies focusing on teachers' beliefs and identity tend to collect multimodal data where photos or drawings serve as prompts for later writings or discussion (see e.g. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008, Kalaja et al. 2008, Dufva et al. 2011, Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020, Maijala 2023, etc.). Visual data is often used to elicit or provide a stimulus for further data collection and to create other modes of narratives. Johnson and Golombek (2011) also highlight that narratives are not just research tools to elicit beliefs and views but, since they provide a context in which teachers or teacher trainees can express their thoughts and reflect on these, they enhance and contribute to teachers' development, have a "transformative power" (Johnson and Golombek 2011: 491).

Moreover, in an interview with Birello (2012), Borg suggests that longitudinal studies are more valuable when focusing on teacher development, as they can provide insights into teachers' or teacher trainees' process of learning over time. Since teacher trainees face several different experiences along their way of becoming teachers (prior experiences as learners, teacher-training courses, teaching practice, etc.), longitudinal studies are more recommended in order to trace their development and learning trajectory.

The aim of our study is to follow, over the course of four years, teacher trainees' learning trajectory, their transformative learning when teacher cognition, beliefs, and their teacher identity is undergoing continuous transformation. The present article shares the results of the first step of this longitudinal study, where teacher trainees were asked to depict their ideal future lesson before they received any methodological training or had any prior classroom teaching experience.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of transformative learning is based on Mezirow's (2006, 2009) transformative adult learning theory, in which the author refers to the process during which adults adopt a new perspective or frame of reference on a life-changing event that they experienced. This theory also takes into account the emotions and feelings occurring along this process of learning since when

dealing with feelings a person might have an increased sense of critical reflection. The theory of transformative learning has been used to analyse adult learning processes, which was adopted and used in the context of teacher education as well (see Weinberg et al. 2020, Arshavskaya 2017). According to Mezirow (1998: 190), "learning may be understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience".

As Tillema (1997: 209) also pointed out, the aim of teacher training programmes or courses is not only to offer future teachers the necessary tools, techniques, and methodological knowledge in order for them to be able to hold a lesson in the future but also to change their beliefs. Therefore, teacher training must firstly acknowledge trainees' beliefs and then needs to offer and discuss alternative conceptions which they can use to further develop their teacher identities and professional selves. "Acknowledging the relevance of beliefs in initial language teacher education thus implies the need to: i) uncover, discover and recover beliefs about teaching and learning of FL; and ii) activate, connect and affirm prior experiences, in order to facilitate the envisioning of the future professional self" (Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020: 9).

2.1. Teacher cognition, beliefs, and identity

According to Borg (2009: 163), "the study of teacher cognition is concerned with understanding what teachers think, know, and believe". In teacher training, it is impossible to properly understand teacher trainees' experiences of learning to teach without taking a look at the mental dimension of this learning process.

One key issue discussed within teacher cognition is the influence of previous language learning experience on teacher trainees. Prior experiences that teacher trainees have accumulated as learners can shape their beliefs about teaching. As Borg says, "[a]t the start of teacher education pre-service teachers will already have strong beliefs about teaching, and there is much evidence that these ideas have a persistent influence on trainees throughout their initial training and beyond" (Borg 2009: 164). Thus, teacher trainees' concepts or ideas regarding teaching and learning that they bring to teacher education are shaped and influenced by their prior learning experiences; even later, teachers' classroom practices are said to be strongly influenced by "long-standing perceptions and belief systems" (Herrera 2016: 2). Michaela Borg (2005) conducted a case study on the development of pedagogic thinking of a pre-service teacher and found that during her subject's initial training some complex changes could be observed regarding beliefs, thinking, and knowledge. Even if teacher trainees enter such pedagogical training programmes with a strong set of beliefs, teacher education programmes are still the context in which such prior beliefs can be reflected

upon, confirmed, reassured, or transformed. It is a transition period in which the previous learner perspective changes into teacher perspective.

Some researchers even say that since teacher training in many countries lasts only for a short period of time (one or two years), it might be difficult for trainers to observe and discover teacher trainees' conceptions, let alone change these. Therefore, these researchers (see e.g. Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020, Maijala 2023) argue for the necessity to examine teacher trainees' prior beliefs about teaching and learning.

As Miller (2009) points out, Borg's research on teacher cognition does not mention teacher identity; however, teachers' beliefs, thinking, and practices are all part of their teacher identity, which is continuously formed and transformed through interaction and context. Identity is thus understood not as a fixed entity but rather as constantly changing and being shaped by a person's previous and current experiences. Barkhuizen (2017) defines teacher identity as something including teachers' beliefs and theories combined with their practical experiences (observation, student feedback) which help teachers make sense of their teaching practices.

Similarly, in a later study, Barkhuizen and Mendieta (2020) point out that teacher identity is understood as socially constructed, re-constructed, continuously changing, and embedded in a certain context and argue that it is possible to have several different parallel identities or selves.

Studying teacher trainees' envisioning their future ideal lesson means that these students have to imagine themselves as teachers before gaining any practical experience. This future image depicting them as future teachers is a possible self which might involve parts of students' 1) current selves (their present-day beliefs, attitudes, and characteristics), 2) their ideal self (how they would like to become), and possibly 3) their ought-to self (what they think others might expect from them) (Kubanyiova 2009, Dörnyei and Kubanyiova 2014).

Doró (2020) points out that for first-year students it is difficult to construct a teacher identity since they are still ahead of their teaching practice, so classroom experiences or learners' reactions, feedback are missing at this point. Their teacher identities are thus imagined rather than professional or practical identities (Doró 2020: 27).

Studying teachers' identity and beliefs poses some difficulties for researchers as well because beliefs are not directly observable, unlike behaviour, for example. The methodological challenges are to find a way to elicit teachers' beliefs. One way would be to ask them directly; however, one might not be able to share their views in such a direct manner. In an interview with Birello (2012), Borg concludes that direct strategies are most often the least productive ones, and thus he suggests visual strategies as indirect strategies to access teachers' beliefs.

2.2. Narratives as double agents

In teacher education, narratives have been used both for teacher inquiries and to elicit teachers' thoughts and beliefs; however, as Johnson and Golombek (2011) mention, narratives have also been recognized as means through which teachers can reflect upon their beliefs and experiences, thus constructing their identities and making sense of who they are and what they do. Nevertheless, little research has been carried out on the process itself, namely how the act of narrating can help teachers' development. Johnson and Golombek (2011: 486) argue that narratives are not just research tools, but they also function as "mediational tools" since they externalize and verbalize teachers' thoughts and beliefs and thus foster teachers' professional development. Narratives can offer teachers a context in which they can interpret and reinterpret their own prior and current experiences.

Based on Johnson and Golombek's (2011: 491) study, it can be said that narratives and narrating contribute to teachers' development and have a "transformative power". Moreover, the authors suggest that researchers and teacher trainers should examine the cognitive processes that come up during narrating since these cognitive processes might lead them to discover the "qualitative transformation" in teachers' professional development (Johnson and Golombek 2011: 491–492).

In recent years, however, researchers and scholars have turned to multimodal narratives in learner and teacher inquiries instead of using a single source of narrative data (for example, oral or written). Multimodal narratives, following Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), can be defined as narratives constructed in more than one mode (for example, written narratives embedded with photos or drawings). More and more studies focusing on learning processes and development tend to collect multimodal data where photos or drawing serve as a point of departure or prompts for later writings or discussion (see e.g. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008, Kalaja et al. 2008, Dufva et al. 2011, Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020, Maijala 2023, etc.). Visual data is often used to elicit or provide a stimulus for further data collection and to create other modes of narratives. We can even speak about a visual turn in language education, which has become a useful and powerful tool to provide researchers with new insights into beliefs, emotional landscapes, and lived experiences (Kalaja et al. 2018, Melo-Pfeifer and Chik 2020).

Dufva, Kalaja, and Alanen (2011) conducted a study on language teacher trainees at the end of their teacher education programme in Finland by asking them to draw a portrait of themselves as teachers and to provide a short explanation or interpretation of their portraits. These findings show three emerging patterns, namely that teacher trainees emphasized more their educational expertise than their language knowledge; participants also focused on communication, interaction, collaboration, oral skills, and even culture besides focusing on grammar and vocabulary. Moreover, teachers' roles were highly emphasized at the expense of classroom interaction, as

teacher trainees often depicted themselves without learners around (50% of the self-portraits) or without any other teaching aids. For teaching aids, books were the most commonly drawn materials along with music, which was depicted by drawing notes or CDs. The authors conclude that the large number of drawings in which teacher trainees portrayed themselves alone reflect a learning and teaching process that is centred on the individual, not on interaction or dialogue (Kalaja et al. 2013: 120).

As reported in Kalaja, Dufva, and Alanen (2013), in another study (Alanen et al. 2012) the researchers asked teacher trainees to depict a future foreign language class they would hold. Their aim was to find out whether in this case there would be learners in the classroom or not and how teacher trainees visualize the language classroom, what artefacts they include in their drawings (e.g. textbooks, multimedia tools, etc.). Their findings show that in most drawings teacher trainees drew human figures, but there were also some highly metaphoric visualizations such as flowers basking in the sun. In this study, the authors focused on the ways human figures were depicted - with facial features or blank faces and in which direction the figures were looking (for example, at the viewer or at each other). The authors concluded that drawings which included human figures with facial features gave a sense of a more active and dynamic interaction in contrast to the images showing blank faces or highly symbolic human figures. The authors also focused on the location of the teacher (central or marginal), the learning environment (presence or absence of a board), and the presence of textbooks and other media. The results showed that in the images which contained a board, the classroom itself was depicted as a more structured one with learners sitting at desks, though not necessarily in traditional rows.

Doró (2020) also examined future teacher selves, but unlike the two previous studies presented, she focused on first-year undergraduate students before they attended any subjects within the teacher education programme. The author used a mixed-method analysis to examine students' written narratives (essays). Her findings show that some of the commonly occurring patterns in students' writings were reflecting upon personality, teacher self, student—teacher interaction, teaching skills and abilities, becoming members of the teacher community and other, more altruistic goals that go beyond teaching (e.g. helping, motivating their learners).

Two studies, Melo-Pfeifer and Chik (2020) and Melo-Pfeifer (2021), discuss the use of multimodal linguistic biographies to reconstruct teacher trainees' (future French and Spanish teachers') beliefs about languages and multilingual language learning in initial teacher education. Their study aimed to discover whether target language and migrant background influence the ways in which trainees visualize the multilingual repertoire and the process of becoming a multilingual. Their results show that there were almost no differences in the images, except that migrant-background students had a greater number of languages presented in their drawings. The authors explain this homogeneity by "the common language learning and

teaching ideologies and teaching methodologies student teachers have been exposed to during their language education path (from primary school to higher education), designated as similar professional socialization trajectories" (Melo-Pfeifer 2021: 24).

Maijala's (2023) study is also based on multimodal postcards that teacher trainees addressed to their future selves. The aim of the research was to examine teacher trainees' learning process throughout a one-year-long teacher-training programme at a Finnish university. The author focused on the changes in beliefs during this period of one year in order to observe the transformations in the trainees' learning process. Maijala (2023) concludes that teacher trainees' visions and beliefs changed over the course of the training programme. These changes were mostly related to teacher trainees' self-confidence and a more positive attitude towards teaching. At the end of the teacher-training programme, students had to respond to their postcards, which allowed a certain interaction or dialogue with one another and a chance to critically reflect on their development (Maijala 2023: 12).

In an interview with Birello (2012), Borg also highlights the importance of longitudinal studies, saying that "[i]f you are working with a group of teachers in a teacher education context and you want to see the development or change in learning in some aspect of their work or their practices, their beliefs, their knowledge, it is unrealistic to expect to see that in the short term" (2012: 93). Longitudinal studies are thought to be more valuable because they can provide insights into teacher trainees' learning process and development over time.

3. Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to observe, over the course of four years, teacher trainees' development, their transformative learning when teacher cognition, beliefs, and their teacher identity is undergoing continuous transformation. The present article discusses the results of the first step of this longitudinal study, where teacher trainees' visual and written narratives were analysed in order to examine how they see their future teacher selves, the classroom interaction, the learning environment and what teaching aids they would use. Nevertheless, as data was collected before trainees attended any teaching methodology courses or teaching practice, their visions about their ideal future lessons is strongly based on their prior experiences as learners.

4. Data collection

The data was collected drawing on Kalaja and Mäntylä's (2018) idea. Sixty-four teacher trainees participated in the study, 16 from Sapientia Hungarian University

of Transylvania in Miercurea Ciuc (Romania) and 48 from the University of Szeged (Hungary). They were all studying to become English language teachers. The participant trainees were asked to create a picture (either by drawing by hand or by using computer software or cuttings out of newspapers/magazines, etc.) entitled "An English lesson of my dreams", creating a visual image of a prospective future lesson. The participants were also asked to provide a brief written explanation of what is taking place in the lesson and give reasons why their lesson would be as depicted by them. The task was set as a homework assignment, and the students had two weeks to complete it. Also, they were informed that the task was not going to be graded for quality, the only requirement being to hand it in.

The collected data consists of 64 images and descriptions altogether provided by teacher trainees prior to any training on the methodology of teaching English as a foreign language. The images vary in elaboration and in representation techniques, starting from relatively simple pen or pencil stick-figure drawings through using a variety of colours to collages and computer images. Also, the descriptions vary in lengths and elaboration, but in most cases, they are excellent supplements to the images. Dégi and T. Balla (2022) have previously analysed the data for possible differences rooted in the various socio-cultural backgrounds of the students studying in two different countries; however, in agreement with Melo-Pfeifer's (2021) data on French and Spanish teachers, they found that the socio-cultural background does not seem to have an influencing impact on the ideas about trainees' depictions of their ideal lessons, but it is rather the teacher trainees' own learning experiences from their school years that form their vision of the perfect classroom.

This time, the participant teacher trainees' pictures were examined for emerging patterns; however, based on previous research results (Alanen et al. 2012, Kalaja et al. 2013, Doró 2020), the present study focused on the different ways students depicted themselves as teachers (facial features, personality, location – central vs marginal), how they envisaged the learning environment (board, desks, etc.), how they depicted classroom interaction (be it teacher–student or student–student interaction), the teaching aids they presented in their pictures (textbooks and other media). Moreover, reading teacher trainees' written explanations provided us with an insight into topics that were less visible or could not be depicted such as their ideas on what areas of the language they would focus on more, teaching skills and teaching objectives, or even goals that might go beyond teaching the language (helping, motivating learners).

5. Results and discussion

5.1. Imagined teacher selves

Looking at the 64 images created by the participants, we can see empty classrooms (N=3), abstract images with no identifiable figures or roles (N=3), classrooms with students only (N=6), and also ones where both the teacher and the students are depicted (N=47) and an image with the teacher represented only (N=1). We find that the location and the position of the teacher is a great indicator of the relationship between the trainees' imagined teacher selves and their future students. In the different images, we can often see the teacher standing in front of the classroom or at any other location but still in a prominent position, while in other images teachers are depicted as participants, e.g. sitting in a circle or standing among the students.



Figure 1. The teacher in prominent positions and among the students

The teacher figures appear as standing, sitting, even kneeling, with the bodies turning, or often leaning towards the students, in one image even holding the hand of a young student. If we take a look at the facial representations of the teacher figures, we can see a lot of smiles as an indicator of positive classroom atmosphere, helpfulness, and a desire to maintain a friendly rapport.



Figure 2. The teacher kneeling among the students, leaning towards them, and holding their hands

When the teachers are represented in a prominent position, they tend to stand in front of the classroom, often in front of the board, or standing at the side of the classroom as an observant monitoring the students. Other than monitoring, teachers are depicted while providing explanations and participating in activities and discussions. At the same time, students are also depicted while engaging in a variety of activities, such as discussions, games, listening attentively to the teacher, acting out role-plays, raising their hands to indicate that they know the answer. In images where faces are recognizable, students often appear smiling, seemingly enjoying the class. A recurring pattern in the short descriptions provided by the trainees is the positive classroom atmosphere, in which the students are active participants ("The best lesson would be if the students participated in it. While paying attention to what I say.") and where they learn useful things ("My class would be the place where my students can learn important skills, and it would be the place where they can think uniquely..."). Further examples include references to both having a good time in the classroom as a teacher ("I imagine myself as a teacher who teaches English with pleasure.") and making sure that the students are having fun ("Hands reaching towards the ceiling, smiles and good marks would be some great feedback to my work, and this is what my goal is. To teach, educate, and make children happy." "I would like to hold enjoyable and memorable lessons."). Some trainees express willingness to be "confident, competent, and fair with the children", some to the extent that they actually become friends with their students ("I would want the children to see a friend in me.").

5.2. Classroom interaction

The trainees' ideas about classroom interactions in their ideal classroom can be seen in the way they represent communication in their images. We can see many examples for both student—student interactions, such as pair work, group work, role-play, etc., and teacher—student interactions, for example, the teacher standing in front of the class giving a frontal explanation (often pointing at or writing on, or standing in front of, the board), monitoring students and providing help while the students are engaged in various activities, acting as a participant, or providing help otherwise. In many images, speech bubbles are drawn to make clear not only that there is actual communication taking place but also to provide an insight into the nature of the communication.

The descriptions provided by the trainees reinforce the visual representations, and we can read about multiple work forms and activity types. Many trainees lay great emphasis on the necessity to provide students with a variety of tasks and that the tasks should be interesting. The idea that classroom instruction should be centred on communication and interactive tasks occurs frequently in the descriptions, e.g., "In my lesson, my students and I are discussing some very

interesting topics." Teacher trainees' written explanations were analysed and checked for keywords related to interaction such as discuss, talk, conversation, speak, communicate, etc. It was found that 27 explanations out of the 64 contained some kind of reference regarding communication in the target language. Speaking and fluency are the main focus of the lesson in many cases. As one trainee wrote, "I'll be really happy if the students talk and communicate with me and with each other fluently, that is the main goal."

Other frequently occurring ideas are using mind maps, making the students discover grammar rules on their own, watching movies and videos, playing games, etc., but traditional elements, such as reading and writing tasks, are also mentioned. Focus on culture also appears in the case of some trainees (N=4), who emphasize the importance of teaching the target language culture, e.g., "My main purpose in teaching English is educating students for new cultures." As far as the work forms are concerned – although we can often see the teachers positioned in front of a blackboard or whiteboard –, trainees emphasize the importance of working in pairs and in small groups.

Moreover, teacher trainees' written accounts reveal that communication and speaking in the target language can most likely occur within a safe and motivating learning environment. When describing the classroom atmosphere, many trainees expressed thoughts in connection with attempting to create a safe classroom setting ("The environment is also good, the students are feeling safe to be here, and they know that they can share their ideas and opinions with the others and me. They know that they can trust me, and they will not be judged by me about who they are."), in which anxiety is reduced to the minimum ("We sit in a circle so that no one feels excluded." "A friendly and playful environment can provide a sense of security and confidence.") and learning is taking place in a motivating and calm environment, where everyone is included and encouraged to express their ideas ("I aim to create a stress-free atmosphere in which every individual could express themselves freely.").

5.3. The learning environment and teaching aids

As reported in an earlier study (Dégi and T. Balla 2022), most of the images created by trainees depict traditional classroom environments. Although the images vary in the degree of elaboration, the majority contains the seemingly compulsory elements of a traditional classroom setting such as a board, a teacher's desk, students' desks arranged in all sorts of manners from orderly rows to U-shapes or circles. The more elaborate ones include wall decorations, clocks, cupboards and shelves with books and plants, and even beanbags to provide a cosy environment.



Figure 3. Examples for classroom environments

The descriptions provided by the trainees underpin the idea of a comfortable classroom: "I think that sitting on soft cushions, in a more relaxed way (with low tables) would improve the class's atmosphere. This unusual sitting arrangement would be especially beneficial for kids who have some kind of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder."

There is an overwhelming richness both in the visual images and in the descriptions of the teaching aids. Apart from books on bookshelves and decorations on the walls (such as posters and flags) mentioned above, we can find textbooks, computers, music, books, and maps. Interestingly, realia (in that particular case, different fruits) only appear in one of the images. The importance of tablets and smart or interactive boards becomes evident from the written explanations of the trainees.

Looking beyond the physical teaching aids, the data contain ample references to various work forms, as well as activity types, and even teaching purposes. Rather than frontal teaching, smaller groups are emphasized, e.g., "I would also do pair works and group works in a lesson because it can make a lesson more interesting." "Having a welcoming environment that encourages teamwork is also important; I will try to involve students as much as possible and minimize frontal teaching." The importance of cooperation as an important social skill also appears: "I would instruct the students to work in groups because I think it is really important to develop the so-called '21st-century skills' such as cooperation". Trainees also have a good sense of the necessity to isolate and work on the different skills such as reading, listening, note taking, pronunciation, and communication - e.g., "I would like my students to get acquainted with original English texts, so I plan to assign occasional readings for them as well. I consider it important that their listening skills are appropriate, so the radio will be used regularly in my lessons." "I will try to include many exercises that involve listening to music and paying attention to lyrics, watching short videos, and reading interesting stories that will capture their attention." "We will focus on practising and taking short but useful notes that they can look back on when revising." [it is important that] "students have the opportunity to speak with each other and with me too. The speaking sessions are loosely organised in a sense that I would give the students certain situations or even roles to play, but I would not point out any inaccuracies while the students understand each other, and the communication is more or less fluid". Moreover, the idea of paying attention to the students' needs is also present: "I would like to choose the main topics and build the curriculum over it to fit the students' needs and interests while also challenging them (in vocabulary and in form, grammar)." All these statements lead us to conclude that teacher trainees bring a variety of ideas and ideologies to their training, and even prior to actually starting to study subjects related to teaching English as a foreign language, many of them have a clear mindset about the teaching profession.

6. Conclusions

Our paper aimed to present the first step of a planned longitudinal study, namely teacher trainees' vision of their future ideal lesson. The analysed data provide colourful and pertinent evidence that teacher trainees arrive in the teacher training programme with relatively resolute ideas about their future teacher selves, what their teaching environment should look like, what teaching aims they would like to realize with what methods, and what rapport they would like to build with their students. As Dégi and T. Balla (2022) have already concluded that "teacher trainees' previous learning experiences have a great impact on their vision of the perfect classroom", this can be established from the experience that the depicted classrooms seem very similar to the ones attended by the trainees back in their school years, rather than ideal, imaginary ones. In the same vein, their current ideologies are shaped by their own experiences as students. Some of these ideologies seem to be rooted in positive experiences and are thus mentioned as examples to follow, while some, on the other hand, are based on dissatisfaction and negative experiences, where a lack of proper teaching and/or a worthy teacher personality is mentioned.

All in all, teacher trainees seem to have – even prior to their training in language teaching methodology – solid ideas about the kind of teacher they would like to become, as well as a wide range of ideas about what circumstances (environment, aids, methods, personal style) will help them achieve that aim.

This study contributes to the greater understanding of teacher development and provides the starting point for further research and analyses regarding teacher trainees' transformative learning and professional development.

References

Alanen, Riikka–Paula Kalaja–Hannele Dufva. 2013. Visuaaliset narratiivit ja valmistuvien aineenopettajien käsitykset vieraiden kielten opettamisesta

- [Visual narratives and beliefs about language teaching held by pre-service teacher trainees]. *AFinLA-e Soveltavan kielitieteen tutkimuksia* 5: 41–56.
- Arshavskaya, Ekaterina. 2017. Becoming a language teacher: Exploring the transformative potential of blogs. *System* 69: 15–25.
- Barkhuizen, Gary, ed. 2017. *Reflections on Language Teacher Identity Research*. New York and London: Taylor and Francis.
- Barkhuizen, Gary–Jenny Mendieta. 2020. Teacher identity and good language teachers. In Carol Griffiths–Zia Tajeddin (eds), *Lessons from Good Language Teachers*, 3–15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birello, Marilisa. 2012. Teacher cognition and language teacher education: Belief and practice. A conversation with Simon Borg. *Bellaterra Journal of Teaching & Learning Language and Literature* 5(2): 88–94.
- Borg, Michaela. 2005. A case study of the development in pedagogic thinking of a preservice teacher. *TESL-EJ* 9: 1–30.
- Borg, Simon. 2009. Language teacher cognition. In Anne Burns–Jack C. Richards (eds), *The Cambridge Guide to Second Language Teacher Education*, 163–171. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dégi, Zsuzsanna-Ágnes T. Balla. 2022. Teacher trainees' vision of their future English classes. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 14(3): 77–91.
- Doró, Katalin. 2020. Imagined future teacher self at the point of entry to teacher education. *EduLingua* 6(1): 25–46.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán–Magdalena Kubanyiova. 2014. *Motivating Learners, Motivating Teachers: Building Vision in the Classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dufva, Hannele–Mari Aro–Riikka Alanen–Paula Kalaja. 2011. Voices of literacy, images of books: Sociocognitive approach to multimodality in learner beliefs. *ForumSprache* 3(2): 58–74.
- Herrera, Socorro G. 2016. *Biography-Driven Culturally Responsive Teaching*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.
- Johnson, Karen E.–Paula Golombek. 2011. The transformative power of narrative in second language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly* 45(3): 486–509.
- Kalaja, Paula—Ana Maria F. Barcelos—Mari Aro. 2018. Revisiting research on L2 learner beliefs: Looking back and looking forward. In Peter Garrett—Josep M. Cots (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Language Awareness*, 222–237. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kalaja, Paula–Hannele Dufva–Riikka Alanen. 2013. Experimenting with visual narratives. In Gary Barkhuizen (ed.), *Narrative Research in Applied Linguistics*, 105–131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kalaja, Paula–Katja Mäntylä. 2018. "The English class of my dreams": Envisioning teaching a foreign language. In Sarah Mercer–Achilleas Kostoulas (eds), Language Teacher Psychology, 37–70. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

- Kalaja, Paula–Vera Menezes–Ana Maria F. Barcelos. 2008. *Narratives of Learning and Teaching EFL*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kress, Gunther–Theo van Leeuwen. 2006. Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kubanyiova, Magdalena. 2009. Possible selves in language teacher development. In Zoltán Dörnyei–Ema Ushioda (eds), *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*, 314–332. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Maijala, Minna. 2023. Multimodal postcards to future selves: Exploring preservice language teachers' process of transformative learning during one-year teacher education programme. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching* 17(1): 72–87.
- Melo-Pfeifer, Silvia. 2021. Exploiting foreign language student-teachers' visual language biographies to challenge the monolingual mind-set in foreign language education. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 18(4): 601–618.
- Melo-Pfeifer, Silvia–Alice Chik. 2020. Multimodal linguistic biographies of prospective foreign language teachers in Germany: Reconstructing beliefs about languages and multilingual language learning in initial teacher education. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 19(4): 499–522.
- Mezirow, Jack. 1998. On critical reflection. *Adult Education Quarterly* 48(3): 185–198.
- —— 2006. Musings and reflections on the meaning, context, and process of transformative learning: A dialogue between John M. Dirkx and Jack Mezirow. *Journal of Transformative Education* 4(2): 123–139.
- 2009. An overview on transformative learning. In Knud Illeris (ed.), Contemporary Theories of Learning. Learning Theorists ... in Their Own Words, 90–105. London and New York: Routledge.
- Miller, Jennifer. 2009. Teacher identity. In Anne Burns–Jack C. Richards (eds), The Cambridge Guide to Second Language Teacher Education, 172–181. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nikula, Tarja—Anne Pitkänen-Huhta. 2008. Using photographs to access stories of learning English. In Paula Kalaja—Vera Menezes—Ana Maria F. Barcelos (eds), *Narratives of Learning and Teaching EFL*, 171—185. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tillema, Harm H. 1997. Stability and change in student teachers' beliefs. *European Journal of Teacher Education* 20(3): 209–212.
- Weinberg, Andrea E.—Carlie D. Trott—Wendy Wakefield—Eileen G. Merritt—Leanna Archambault. 2020. Looking inward, outward and forward: Exploring the process of transformative learning in teacher education for a sustainable future. Sustainability Science 15(6): 1767–1787.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0015

How ELT Teacher Trainees Formulate Aims

Iva KOUTSKÁ

Technical University of Liberec (Liberec, Czech Republic)
English Department
iva.koutska@tul.cz
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8909-9913

Petra PELDOVÁ

Technical University of Liberec (Liberec, Czech Republic)
English Department
petra.peldova@tul.cz
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3236-8585

Abstract. Stating an aim is a vital skill for planning effective teaching. Nonetheless, it is a skill one has to develop consciously. Teacher trainees learn how to formulate aims during their teacher training and validate their aim design in their teaching practice. Yet, they face several problems when stating an aim. The thematic analysis of aims written by English language teaching (ELT) bachelor and master teacher trainees at the Technical University of Liberec is used to define clusters of aspects that their aim designs consist of. The thematic analysis is followed by subsequent Spearman's correlation coefficients' statistics and Excel computations to analyse the frequency of those aspects in order to compare ELT bachelor and master teacher trainees' aim designs and the potential impact of teaching experience on the ability to design an aim. These results are contrasted to a preferable aim design description according to the theory. The study results show that the aspects the respondents struggle with most are concreteness and student-orientedness, i.e. their aims are stated in vague language and are teacher-centred.

Keywords: aim, objective, lesson/activity planning, teacher training

1. Introduction

Whatever we do in our lives, we need to know why we are doing it. Knowing our aim gives us a clear-cut goal we are trying to reach, be it to win a gold medal in the Olympics or, in the case of English language teachers, to scaffold one's English language learning. Setting an aim is an integral part of any planning,

and the same applies to lesson planning. Formulating aims, however, is not as easy as it seems. Our aims can be vague, fantastic, unrealistic, hidden in our subconscious, or too selfish for implementation in the classroom. Formulating a clear, achievable aim needs training, and it is discussed and trained in English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher training course, especially within English language teaching (ELT) methodology classes.

The study strives to define the most problematic issues in formulating aims by ELT students at the Faculty of Humanities, Science and Education, Technical University of Liberec (FP TUL), Czechia, and to determine whether a preferable aim design achievement is or is not influenced by the students' relevant practical teaching experience. Two groups of respondents are used for the comparison, namely those with (ELT master's students, MA) and those without teaching experience (ELT bachelor's students, BA) gained during the teaching practice within teacher training study programmes at FP TUL. The ultimate goal of the study is to help teacher trainees (both BA and MA) to design clear, motivational, self-explanatory aims in their activity or lesson plans and to help teacher trainers to target those aspects that cause the teacher trainees' aims to be unsatisfactorily designed.

The research questions asked were:

- Q1 What are the components of a preferable aim design?
- Q2 What components do the chosen teacher trainees include in their aim design?

Further questions complemented the research:

- Q3 Is there some association/interrelatedness between the components?
- Q4 Is there a significant difference between the respondents bachelor's students without teaching experience and master's students with teaching experience gained via teaching practice during their studies?

2. Methodology

A literature review is used for the theoretical part of the text, with an analysis of various terms connected to expressing aims in education in general and in ELT methodology. Other studies on lesson planning and aims design are considered.

The empirical research is based on the qualitative thematic analysis of 128 bachelor's students' and 40 master's students' aim statements in their activity/ lesson plans written for ELT methodology classes or their teaching practice during their teacher training at FP TUL. The qualitative thematic analysis was done to find clusters and categories for subsequent coding to answer Q1. Firstly, the subquestion "What are the components of an aim?" needed to be answered. Secondly, Q1 was answered by stating what components, if included, define the preferable aim design. The authors used Spearman's correlation coefficients calculations

and Excel computations to answer Q2: "What components do the chosen teacher trainees include in their aim design?" and Q3: "Is there some association/interrelatedness between the components?" Q4: "Is there a significant difference between the respondents – bachelor's students without teaching experience and master's students with teaching experience gained via their teaching practice during their studies?' was answered with the help of Excel computation.

The validity of the research was enhanced by the fact that the ELT teacher trainers at FP TUL varied over time. Therefore, the results are not connected to one "lecturer" and to their choices in the topic coverage, representation, and realization of ELT methodology courses within the relevant research groups' study programmes but can be seen as more universal.

2.1. The research respondents

The students, or research respondents, are teacher trainees from the Faculty of Science, Humanities and Education, at the Technical University of Liberec, in the Czech Republic (FP TUL), from two study programmes: the bachelor's study programme in English as a foreign language for education and the master's study programme in teaching English as a foreign language at lower secondary schools (ca. 11–15-year-olds as the target group) and in teaching English as a foreign language at lower secondary and secondary schools (ca. 15–19-year-olds as the target group). The respondents consented for the data to be used in the research, and they represent a chosen sample. The difference in the number of respondents is caused by the total number of students in the relevant study programmes.

Bachelor's students' aim statements were collected from 2018 to 2021. Master's students' aim statements were collected from 2019 to 2021. The two groups were chosen to potentially show the development in the formulation of aims with their growing methodological knowledge and practical teaching experience.

3. Theory

The challenge that had to be overcome in the research is the ambiguous terminology connected to aims: should we teach how to formulate "goals", "aims", "objectives", "purposes", a broader "context", or a "rationale", or are we talking about "motivation", and how exactly should a well-written and satisfactorily designed aim be stated? The article tries to map the current understanding of the terms, focusing on whether there is some hierarchy between them (Schubert 1987 qtd. in Noddings 2007, Gordon and Lawton 2005, Noddings 2007), or whether one of the terms can cause potential misunderstandings, e.g. the term "objective" representing too prescriptive a design concept (Celce-Murcia 2001),

the term "goal" being too general (Spafford Sullivan et al. 1998, Celce-Murcia 2001, Scrivener 2011, Süral 2019) or used in a specific field of study such as in traditional grammar (Richards and Schmidt 2010: 248).

Regardless of this lack of clarity in term coverage and usage (see the discussion below), it can be said that the terms mainly used in planning (lesson planning included) are a "goal", an "aim", and an "objective", and that other terms, e.g. "targets" (Chappuis and Stiggins 2008) or "standards" (Noddings 2007), are exceptional. Nevertheless, while stating an aim, other terms can be explored as well, such as "purpose", "wider/broader context", "requirements", "ends", "motives", "motivation", "outcomes", or "targets"; see: "the use of learning targets is a powerful means through which teachers can provide themselves and their students with a clear understanding of the lesson's objectives" (Chappuis and Stiggins 2008, as argued in Cuñado and Abocejo 2018: 403).

To discuss the issue of ambiguity in term coverage and usage in more detail, it needs to be stated that the individual terms listed above are connected with different usage and values amongst experts. For example, Noddings (2007) says, "aims and goals are often brushed aside in favour of objectives because the first two are 'vague' and the last can be cast in a language conducive to measurement" (Noddings 2007: 8). Gordon and Lawton (2005) state the same, "aims became unfashionable with educational theorists in the 1960s and were avoided [...] but in the 1980s philosophers returned to the concept" (Gordon and Lawton 2005: 14). The exact opposite can be found in Celce-Murcia (2001), who writes, "the objectives approach has been criticised over the years [...] valuable learning outcomes cannot be accurately specified in advance [...] the pre-specification of precise and detailed objectives prevents the teacher from taking advantage of instructional opportunities occurring unexpectedly in the classroom" (Celce-Murcia 2001: 59). The most frequent strategy in activity/lesson planning theory is, however, to mix the terms. To use the terms simultaneously or interchangeably, see, for example, the summary by Noddings (2007): "while the terms 'aims', 'goals', and 'objectives' of education are sometimes used interchangeably, philosophers of education often describe three distinct activities related to 'purpose': Aims, Goals, Objectives = AGO" (Noddings 2007 in Chazan 2022: 16).

Closely looking at the terms without judging their importance, one can say that *goals* are, "broad, general purposes for learning a language" (Celce-Murcia 2001: 58) or "a level of accomplishment to strive for in the future" (Spafford Sullivan et al. 1998: 116). The term "goal" is used mainly as an umbrella term (Spafford Sullivan et al. 1998: 188, Süral 2019: 1, Scrivener 2011: 31). In the AGO framework, the goals refer to "a second stage, which is derivative from aims and focuses on contents and topics that should be studied so as to enable students to understand and actualize core ideals explicit in aims. Goals translate aims into specific contents or stepping-stones that should be part of the educational

process" (Chazan 2022: 16) but are not to be used or confused with the term "goal" as used "in traditional grammar: [...] refer[ring] to the person or thing which is affected by the action expressed by the verb" (Richards and Schmidt 2010: 238).

An *aim* is "a statement of intent by a teacher [...], encapsulating what they are setting out to achieve in a lesson [...] phrased in such a way as to make it clear that they refer to the purpose of the lesson [...] [and] should not be confused with 'objectives', which are statements of what the learner will achieve and are constructed with the learner as the subject" (Wallace 2008: 13–14). The function of aims is "to provide a model for language or thinking and to stimulate it, [... or] to encourage self-expression" (Ur 1999: 103). The main reason for "writing main and subsidiary aims for the lesson as a whole as well as writing aims for each step or stage in a lesson [is that it] can help you to think carefully about what you are trying to achieve with your students" (Languages International 2009 in Enríquez O'Farrill et al. 2021: 152). According to the AGO framework:

Aims refer to the most general ideals, values, or principles which a person, institution, or society regards as the ultimate desideratum of education. Aims are value statements which designate certain principles or values as the ultimate aspiration. Aims describe both the ideal target of an educational institution as well as its ultimate desired outcomes or achievements. Educational aims ultimately frame the overall direction of an educational system or institution. (Chazan 2022: 16)

Omitting the level of aims can be caused by using Tyler's (1949) model of rational-linear framework, resulting in "the first step of lesson planning [...being] to specify objectives" (Farrell 2009 in Richards and Renandya 2009: 31) because "objectives are much more specific than goals and numerous objectives will be specified for any given goal" (Celce-Murcia 2001: 58). Gordon and Lawton (2005: 170) also warn about the terminology ambiguity of the term "objective" by saying, "there are a number of different interpretations of this word (objective) in an educational context and [...] for teachers [it is important] to distinguish between the short-term and the long-term objectives they wish to achieve." According to these authors, some concepts, especially setting behavioural objectives, are criticized as "too deterministic [...with] the outcomes [...being] trivial" (Gordon and Lawton 2005: 170). A solution to the terminology ambiguity problem is suggested by Thornbury (2011: 11), "Rather than defining the aims in terms of pre-specified outcomes, trainees should be encouraged to think in terms of the desired learning opportunities, or what van Lier calls 'affordances'." Chazan (2022), on the other hand, attributes specific usage to the term "objective", as it "refers to the most practical stage, which is the actual teaching materials—books textbooks, maps, videos, and visual aids—used in the classroom each day, week,

and month in a year. Objectives are these infamous 'lesson plans' which are an hour-by-hour mapping out of how teachers will spend every single day in the classroom" (Chazan 2022: 16).

Again, without judging the importance of each concept or aiming at redefining the terms to ensure terminological unambiguity, one can say that the formulation of aims depends on various factors:

- on curriculum design e.g. do we follow a process- or product-oriented approach?
- on course design e.g. do we apply content-based learning/instruction, task-based learning, project-based learning, notional syllabi, structural syllabi, skill-based learning or situational syllabi, and/or communicative approach?
- on the needs analysis e.g. what are our conditions, who are our learners, who are we as teachers, what methods do we want to use, what materials and what content?
- on the lesson plan stage e.g. is our aim connected to presentation, practice, or production? Are we formulating aims as part of reflexive teaching? Etc.

The formulation of aims is influenced by many factors synchronically and diachronically. The aim can be valid for a specific time point or a more extended period in the past, present, or future. The hierarchy of aim statements can also be expanded from the most general to the most specific. One can have various aims at a particular moment with varying importance, i.e. deliberately distinguishing between different grades of generality (Gordon and Lawton 2005, Noddings 2007) or deliberately distinguishing between different degrees of importance (Schubert 1986, qtd. in Noddings 2007).

Previous studies on the ability of teacher trainees to formulate "why" mirror this terminology ambiguity/mixing as in some objectives are described (Gafoor and Farooque 2010, Rodriguez and Abocejo 2018). In others, no distinction is made, and the studies talk about lesson planning as such (Gülten 2013, Süral 2019). The presented study does not aim at solving the terminological discrepancy but tries to address the concept behind it, i.e. stating an aim in such a preferable design.

To sum up the research on the ability to formulate clear and well-designed aims, one can say that "pre-service teachers could hardly make clear learning objectives" (Rodriguez and Abocejo in Cuñado and Abocejo 2018: 398) because 'pre-service teachers [...] find themselves in difficulty bridging the gap between university studies and pre-service teaching practice commitments" (Jones et al. 2009 in Cuñado and Abocejo 2018: 399). The difficulties described are caused by, e.g., the fact that "lesson planning is demanding, and it is [therefore] observed that teacher trainees have great challenges within this process such as determining the objectives of a lesson and selecting and organizing activities that will be appropriate to both students' level and interests" (Gülten 2013: 1409). The other described difficulties are "choosing appropriate learning experiences, deciding

and allotting time properly, identifying and developing proper learning aids, sequencing the lesson, and specifying instructional objectives" (Gafoor and Farooque 2010: 1409–1410). In other words, pre-service teachers try to link the learnt knowledge about setting aims gained in their teacher-training context to their teaching practice and fail significantly; see also Süral (2019: 11): "pre-service teachers can easily prepare a lesson plan in theory when asked to do it, while they barely apply a lesson plan in practice". On the other hand, when given a clear structure to follow, e.g. the S.M.A.R.T. model, the ability to formulate aim increases, as in Cuñado and Abocejo (2018), who state that "94% [of pre-service teachers] affirmed that they can follow 'specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and time-bound (SMART)' learning objectives" (Cuñado and Abocejo 2018: 401).

A summary of the most commonly described problems in stating well-designed aims is offered by Languages International (2009 in Enríquez O'Farrill et al. 2021: 153): "You need to be sure you are stating an aim and not just describing what the students are going to do." or in Thaine (2010: 33): "The aim describes the task but doesn't state the aim./ There is not enough information about the context of the language./ The aim is vaguely worded and doesn't contain enough detail./ The aim doesn't include enough linguistic information."

A preferable aim design is suggested by, e.g., James (n. y.):

Aims and objectives both consist of two essential parts: an action verb and a subject content reference. They are written from the perspective of the learner; they are what the learner can do upon completion of the learning. A simple example would be, "Upon completion of the class, the learner should be able to repair a dripping tap" ... Aims are broad general statements of what students are expected to learn ... Aims may include abstract concepts such as "professional qualities" or "appreciation of the classics", learning that may be difficult to measure but which is nevertheless important. (James n. y.: 1)

The preferable aim design followed in the research combines the theory described above and adds the results of a qualitative thematic analysis of existent aim statements conducted in the empirical phase in order to clarify the complex picture of theory being at odds with the practical realization, as can be seen below.

4. Research results

Q1 (What are the components of a preferable aim design?) aimed to analyse the components of an aim and to state what a preferable aim design looks like.

A qualitative thematic analysis was carried out to define such an aim, i.e. a well-designed aim, and resulted in clusters of aspects representing variables for coding and the data for subsequent analysis:

- structure-orientedness (Did the aim focus on teaching language systems?);
- skill-orientedness (Did the aim focus on teaching skills?);
- learner-centeredness (Was the learner taken into consideration and how?);
- communicativeness (Did the aim promote communication?);
- management (Did the aim say, e.g., whether it was individual work/group/pair work?);
 - reasoning (Did the aim say why the activity was necessary?);
 - contextualization (Was the context given?);
- concreteness (Was the aim specific in terms of what kind of activity was used, such as controlled/semi-controlled/free/matching, filling in/defining, etc.?)
 - clarity (Was the language of the aim flawless?).

Other possible approaches were questioned such as whether to follow a specific phase design, as in Bloom's taxonomy revised by Anderson and Krathwol (Wilson 2016: 2–4), i.e. remembering, understanding, applying, analysing, evaluating, and creating. The specific models were also revisited for their potential usefulness. These include the "GROW model (Grant, 2022) – goal, reality, opinion/options, wrap up/will (do)/way (forward), I-GROW (Breen, 2018) – issues, goal, reality, options, will/way forward, online mentoring (Bishop, 2015), REGROW or TGROW (Grant 2022) – topic, goal, reality, options, will" (Mogonea 2022: 63). The strategy of following specific factors' involvement was, however, chosen over these, and tables 1–4 display all the analysed aspects.

In answer to Q2 (What components do the teacher trainees include in their aim design?), by using a contingency table, it was detected that the most frequently written aim is structure-oriented, clear, concrete and includes information about the context – see example (1). Such aim is, however, assessed as average, including 6–4 components. The second most frequent version – see example (2) – is assessed as poor (no components/low number of components included (3–0)), and, compared to the previous aim statement, it also lacks information about the context.

- (1) Revision and practising present simple and present simple yes\no and whquestions (from last lesson) and also vocabulary "My life".
 - (2) To practise formation and usage of conditionals.

Aims considered successful, which included all / almost all required components (6–9) were found scarcely; see example (3):

(3) To practise speaking and vocabulary connected with the topic animals, to try to understand (from the context) vocabulary which may be on a higher level, practising of present continuous.

The results for all analysed aspects using Spearman's correlation coefficient statistics are visualized in *Table 1*.

BA + MA	structure- orientedness	skill-orientedness	learner-centredness	communicativeness	management	reasoning	contextualiza- tion	concreteness	clarity
structure-orientedness	1.00	-0.47	0.10	-0.11	0.01	-0.23	0.08	0.14	0.02
skill-orientedness	-0.47	1.00	0.17	0.21	0.03	0.32	0.03	-0.04	0.12
learner-centredness	0.10	0.17	1.00	0.18	0.11	0.36	0.22	0.14	0.06
communicativeness	-0.11	0.21	0.18	1.00	0.13	0.36	0.15	0.11	0.04
management	0.01	0.03	0.11	0.13	1.00	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.03
reasoning	-0.23	0.32	0.36	0.36	0.08	1.00	0.07	0.11	0.06
contextualization	80.0	0.03	0.22	0.15	0.08	0.07	1.00	0.39	-0.04
concreteness	0.14	-0.04	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.11	0.39	1.00	0.17

Table 1. Spearman's Rank Order Correlation for BA and MA students' aims

Table 1 shows that the most frequently missed aspects by both groups are skill-orientedness, reasoning, and communicativeness; the respective results for BA and MA are depicted in *Table 2* (BA students) and *Table 3* (MA students); the red numbers represent the most distinctive results. The discussion that follows is interlinked with the answer to Q3 (Is there some association/interrelatedness between the components?).

0.06

0.04

0.03

0.06

-0.04

0.17

1.00

0.02

0.12

clarity

Notably, when BA teacher trainees focus on teaching skills in their aim design (skill-orientedness), they are more successful at stating the context (contextualization), reasoning, and including the communicative aspect (communicativeness). It seems that the students can visualize the individual learners more (learner-centredness) when focusing on skills (skill-orientedness; in our case, reading comprehension skills). They also tend to be more concrete (concreteness) and include information about how the aim is to be achieved (management). When MA students formulate aims with a focus on skills (skill-orientedness), they include the learners (learner-centredness), and they describe the context (contextualization) and the reason why (reasoning). Frequently,

with aims focused on skills, the aim includes a communicative aspect (communicativeness) and information on whether the activity is run in pairs/groups, etc. (management).

When analysing BA students' aims with a focus on teaching language system items (structure-orientedness), as these are generally more frequent, such aim statements do not include communicativeness but are learner-centred in most cases. However, when MA students aim at teaching structures (structure-orientedness), their aims include all other observed aspects (i.e. skill-orientedness, learner-centredness, communicativeness, management, reasoning, concreteness, and clarity) except contextualization.

To answer Q4 (Is there a significant difference between the respondents – bachelor's students without teaching placement experience and master's students with teaching placement experience?), the aim designs were compared.

Firstly, the results are described separately for BA students (see *Table 2*) and for MA students (see *Table 3*).

ВА	structure- orientedness	skill-orientedness	learner-centredness	communicativeness	management	reasoning	contextualiza-tion	concreteness	clarity
structure-orientedness	1.00	-0.46	0.10	-0.12	0.06	-0.25	0.09	0.03	0.00
skill-orientedness	-0.46	1.00	0.15	0.13	-0.12	0.27	0.10	0.14	0.17
learner-centredness	0.10	0.15	1.00	0.17	0.07	0.38	0.20	0.15	0.06
communicativeness	-0.12	0.13	0.17	1.00	0.06	0.36	0.17	0.16	0.05
management	0.06	-0.12	0.07	0.06	1.00	0.07	0.16	0.20	0.05
reasoning	-0.25	0.27	0.38	0.36	0.07	1.00	0.10	0.17	0.08
contextualization	0.09	0.10	0.20	0.17	0.16	0.10	1.00	0.45	-0.05
concreteness	0.03	0.14	0.15	0.16	0.20	0.17	0.45	1.00	0.15
clarity	0.00	0.17	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.08	-0.05	0.15	1.00

 Table 2. Spearman' Rank Order Correlation for the BA students' aims

Table 2 offers a statistical insight into BA students' aims, indicating that BA students tend to focus on teaching language system items (mainly grammatical structures and vocabulary); see structure-orientedness. Predominantly, they also avoid including communicativeness and reasoning about why they teach a given item; see also example (1) above. On the other hand, it seems that though BA students prefer to write their aims on teaching structures, they are more successful when describing aims with a focus on skills.

MA students (see *Table 3*) seem to think that when management and context (contextualization) are mentioned, other information is unnecessary. The students often fail to provide information on which specific activities they are to use during the given activity or how (management), and vice versa. When they are specific in the nature of the activity/exercise, they do not see the need to supply the information about the context, as they might think that the context can probably be deduced from the nature of the activity itself.

Table 3. Spearman's Rank Order Correlation for the MA students' aims

MA	structure- orientedness	skill-orientedness	learner-centredness	communicativeness	management	reasoning	contextualiz-ation	concreteness	clarity
structure-orientedness	1.00	0.08	0.12	0.07	0.15	0.09	-0.20	0.28	
skill-orientedness	0.08	1.00	0.41	0.81	0.30	0.54	0.20	0.08	
learner-centredness	0.12	0.41	1.00	0.22	0.28	0.33	0.29	0.12	
communicativeness	0.07	0.81	0.22	1.00	0.43	0.31	0.16	0.07	
management	0.15	0.30	0.28	0.43	1.00	0.02	-0.01	-0.07	
reasoning	0.09	0.54	0.33	0.31	0.02	1.00	0.05	0.09	
contextualization	-0.20	0.20	0.29	0.16	-0.01	0.05	1.00	-0.20	
concreteness	0.28	0.08	0.12	0.07	-0.07	0.09	-0.20	1.00	
clarity									1.00

A comparison, visualized in *Table 4*, done via the BA results subtracted from the MA results, shows that the MA students generally seem to formulate aims more successfully than the BA students; see e.g. a structure-orientedness: skill-orientedness ratio that is 0.54 higher for MA students (0.08 in *Table 3*) than for BA students (-0.46 in *Table 2*). This means that MA students are able to include both aspects to some extent, and BA students are not. Similarly, a learner-centredness: management ratio that is 0.20 higher for MA students (0.28 in *Table 3*) than for BA students (0.07 in *Table 2*) means that MA students can focus on learners and include specific information on how to achieve the given aim in more cases than BA students can.

MA/BA comparison	structure- orientedness	skill-orientedness	learner-centredness	communicativeness	management	reasoning	contextualization	concreteness	clarity
structure-orientedness	0.00	0.54	0.02	0.18	0.10	0.35	-0.29	0.25	0.00
skill-orientedness	0.54	0.00	0.26	0.68	0.43	0.27	0.10	-0.06	-0.17
learner-centredness	0.02	0.26	0.00	0.06	0.20	-0.05	0.09	-0.03	-0.06
communicativeness	0.18	0.68	0.06	0.00	0.37	-0.05	-0.01	-0.10	-0.05
management	0.10	0.43	0.20	0.37	0.00	-0.05	-0.17	-0.28	-0.05
reasoning	0.35	0.27	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	0.00	-0.05	-0.08	-0.08
contextualization	-0.29	0.10	0.09	-0.01	-0.17	-0.05	0.00	-0.65	0.05
concreteness	0.25	-0.06	-0.03	-0.10	-0.28	-0.08	-0.65	0.00	-0.15
clarity									0.00

 Table 4. Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Comparison

We can detect some other tendencies when comparing BA and MA students' aims. BA students do not include the skill aspect when a structure-oriented aim is created, while MA students do. MA students also include communicativeness. Contrary to BA students, MA students fail to state the context of the structure-based aims. Both groups consider the learners more or less equally poorly; the aims are rather teacher-centred. MA students are able to master skill-based aims. They are also better at stating the communicative purpose, management, and reasoning. This finding could be connected with the teaching experience of MA students, as they can see at schools what skills are needed. Notably, BA students are, on the other hand, better at giving reasons than MA students. Communicativeness is included in the skill-oriented and structure-oriented aims of MA students. BA students are more reluctant to include such aspects, especially in their structureorientated aims. Theoretically, this could be caused by not being taught as much (via methodology classes or practical teaching experience) about the importance of communicativeness as MA students. MA students also know that management and reason for communicative lessons must be provided to run the activity/ activities smoothly.

Table 5. Differences in assessment of BA and MA aims

	BA	MA
poor	40.63%	32.50%
average	49.21%	60.00%
successful	10.16%	7.5%

To sum up the comparison of BA and MA teacher trainees' ability to formulate well-written/designed aims, *Table 5* shows the success rate in percentage.

Table 5 indicates that most MA students can write an average aim and can include most of the analysed components. However, a similar statement can be made about BA students. Very poor/poor aims appear less frequently among MA students than among BA students. Nevertheless, the almost 8 per cent difference cannot be considered significant. In other words, neither statistically nor by the representative sample was it proved that growing methodological knowledge and practical teaching experience have a significant influence on the ability to formulate well-written/-designed aims.

The answer to what a preferable aim design is, however, more difficult to simplify than the answer to whether BA and MA students' aim statements differ or not. The main question remains even after the research: Is a preferable aim design really the one consisting of all or almost all pre-defined components? Are the components even pre-defined?

5. Suggestions for improvement and discussion

The first suggestion is to teach all language aspects more communicatively (to include the aspect of communicativeness) and to train situation-based teaching, discourse, functions, and pragmatics to a broader extent than it is being done now. Teacher trainees should concentrate more on their students (to include the aspect of learner-centredness) and their needs to know why they plan and execute the stated aim (reasoning). The awareness of "reasons why" will help the trainee teachers to create motivating and meaningful aims.

Personalization is another aspect that has to be put in the spotlight. The tendency in Czech English-language classrooms is to focus on what a teacher wants to do or feels they must do to comply with the national curriculum rather than on what the students should achieve with the language.

The next suggestion is to train students to develop aims (and lesson/activity plans) that also deal with aspects other than grammar and vocabulary. The language system consists of phonetics and phonology + orthography, text and discourse, too. Especially the pronunciation needs to be added to the plans more frequently, as it is often neglected, or it is more likely to be "reactive to a particular problem that has arisen in the classroom than being strategically planned" (Kelly 2000: 13). Teacher trainees should develop skills as well as knowledge. They should keep a balance between skills and knowledge, and they should also strive to develop (21st-century) competencies. The current approach could be caused by a stereotyped view of teaching a foreign language at Czech schools. Despite a significant improvement in recent decades, the grammar–translation

method variations are frequently employed and widely accepted in schools due to various aspects. In such a stereotype, there is no need to state why you teach a grammatical structure or vocabulary as you just have to.

James (n. y.: 2) advises teachers "to think from the student's perspective; where appropriate, to draw examples from each of the three domains (of the action verbs), and to strive for higher-level verbs which go beyond knowledge or comprehension and which require analysis, evaluation or synthesis". Thus, the final suggestion is to avoid unnecessary vagueness, for example, to practice vocabulary from Lesson 10 and its use in sentences, where Lesson 10 is irrelevant when there is no reference to the textbook; the same applies to "use it in sentences".

But the most important message at the end of the text is that the formulation of aims can be improved: ELT methodology teachers can focus on the most confusing parts indicated by this paper's analysis. They can put more emphasis on the problematic issues during their classes, and they can focus on developing an aim design that is skill-based, communicative, and learner-centred.

References

- Celce-Murcia, Marianne. 2001. *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language*. 3rd edition. Boston: Heinle and Heinle Publisher.
- Chappuis, Jan–Richard J. Stiggins. 2008. An Introduction to Student-Involved Assessment FOR Learning. Pearson/Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Chazan, Barry. 2022. Principles and Pedagogies in Jewish Education. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cuñado, Alvin–Ferdinand Tesado Abocejo. 2018. Lesson planning competency of English major university sophomore students. *European Journal of Education Studies* 5(8). https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.2538422 (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Farrell, Thomas S. C. 2002. Lesson planning. In Jack C. Richards—Willy A. Renandya (eds), *Methodology in Language Teaching: An Anthology of Current Practice*, 30–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gafoor, Abdul K.-Umer T. K. Farooque. 2010. Ways to improve lesson planning: A student teacher perspective. *International Seminar on Teacher Empowerment and Institutional Effectiveness.* https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED517056.pdf (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Gordon, Peter–Denis Lawton. 2005. *Dictionary of British Education*. London: Routledge.
- Grant, Anthony M. 2022. Is Tt Time to REGROW the GROW Model? In Jonathan Passmore—David Tee (eds), *Coaching Practiced*, 29–40. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

- Gülten, Ayşegül Zıngır. 2013. Am I planning well? Teacher trainees' voices on lesson planning. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences* 93: 1409–1413.
- James, Richard. n. y. Writing Aims and Objectives. Centre for the Study of Higher Education. https://www.yashada.org/yash/egovcii/static_pgs/TC/writing_aims.pdf (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Jones, Karrie. A.—Paul Vermette—Jennifer L. Jones. 2009. An integration of "backwards planning" unit design with the "two-step" lesson planning framework. *Education* 130 (2): 357–360. http://ereserve.library.utah.edu/Annual/SPED/5150/Matthews/backward.pdf (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Kelly, Gerald. 2000. How to Teach Pronunciation. London: Longman.
- Languages International. 2009. ESOL teaching skills taskbook. AKO Aotearoa. In Isora J. Enríquez O'Farrill-Luis Mijares Núñez-Sergio Font Milián. 2021. A Guide to the Teaching of English for the Cuban Context I. Editorial Pueblo y Educación.
- Mogonea, Florentina. 2022. A possible mentoring model: The GROW model. *Annals of the University of Craiova Series Psychology-Pedagogy* 44(2): 60–70.
- Noddings, Nel. 2007. Aims, goals, and objectives. *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* 8: 7–15.
- Richards, Jack C.–Richard W. Schmidt. 2010. Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics. 4th edition. London and New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Richards, Jack C.–Willy A. Renandya (eds). 2009. *Methodology in Language Teaching: An Anthology of Current Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodriguez, Kim Francis R.–Ferdinand Tesado Abocejo. 2018. Competence vis-à-vis performance of special education pre-service teachers. *European Academic Research* 6(7): 3474–3498. http://www.euacademic.org/UploadArticle/3707. pdf (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Scrivener, Jim. 2011. Learning Teaching. The Essential Guide to English Language Teaching. Macmillan books for teachers. London: Macmillan.
- Spafford Sullivan, Carol–Augustus J. Izzo Pesce–George S. Grosser. 1998. *The Cyclopedic Education Dictionary*. Albany: Delmar Publishers.
- Süral, Serhat. 2019. An examination of pre-service teachers' competencies in lesson planning. *Journal of Education and Training Studies* 7(3): 1–13.
- Thaine, Craig. 2010. Teacher Training Essentials: Workshops for Professional Development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thornbury, Scott. A Is for Aims. https://www.goodreads.com/author/show/409603.Scott_Thornbury/blog?page=11 (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).
- Ur, Penny. 1999. A Course in Language Teaching Trainee Book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallace, Susan. 2008. A Dictionary of Education. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, Leslie Owen. 2016. Anderson and Krathwohl Bloom's Taxonomy Revised. Understanding the New Version of Bloom's Taxonomy – A Succinct Discussion of the Revisions to Bloom's Classic Cognitive Taxonomy by Anderson and Krathwohl and How to Use Them Effectively. https://quincycollege.edu/wp-content/uploads/Anderson-and-Krathwohl_Revised-Blooms-Taxonomy.pdf (Last accessed: 20 July 2024).



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0016

Text Choice Adequacy in a Romanian Language Textbook for Hungarian Minority Students

Imola Katalin NAGY

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)
Department of Applied Linguistics, Târgu-Mureș
nimolkat@gmail.com
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6475-5187

Gabriella KOVÁCS

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Applied Linguistics, Târgu-Mureş

kovacs_gabriella@ms.sapientia.ro

http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0227-8618

Abstract. Teaching Romanian language to Hungarian ethnic minority students in Romania has been a matter of debate for a long time. Some teachers and experts suggest that Romanian textbooks are inadequate and fail to meet the needs of minority students, while others argue that they are sufficient and serve the purpose of teaching the Romanian language to nonnative speakers. An appropriate choice of texts can support the development of language skills and cultural understanding, while inappropriate choices can hinder them. In this study, we propose to investigate the texts in a Romanian language textbook written and approved for 7th-grade Hungarian minority students regarding the adequacy of topics and vocabulary in comparison with text choices in a textbook designed for teaching Romanian as a foreign language. We propose to analyse and compare the texts from the following viewpoints: use of literary and non-literary texts; adequacy of the vocabulary and text adaptation; relevance and adequacy of topics; appropriacy of texts and activities.

Keywords: language learning, Romanian textbook, Hungarian students, text choice, pedagogical adaptation

1. Introduction. The challenge of learning Romanian for Hungarian minority children in the Romanian public education system

In Romania, Hungarian ethnic minority students have the right and possibility to attend school in their mother tongue. They start studying Romanian language in the preparatory grade. However, teaching Romanian language (and literature) to Hungarian minority children presents a controversial and extensively discussed subject within educational circles, involving educators and scholars, but also the most affected parties: the children and their parents. Parents and children complain that the process is not efficient, children do not learn to communicate in Romanian, instead they study too much theory related to grammar and literature, and they are supposed to read texts written in difficult, often non-contemporary, archaic Romanian language. The level of these texts exceeds by far the children's language competency level, leading to constant frustration and disappointment. These problems often lead to failure or weak results at the national evaluation exams, which is decisive in being accepted to the desired high school.

Tódor (2020) urges decision makers and teachers to critically evaluate the efficacy of teaching Romanian language to national minority classes, particularly Hungarians. She employs the term "non-native language" to suggest the intricate circumstances faced by Hungarian minority language learners, stressing its distinct status compared to foreign languages. On the other hand, Pop (2020) accentuates the imperative of teaching Romanian to Hungarian students as a second or foreign language, given the societal dynamics prevalent in regions where Hungarian constitutes the majority ethnic group.

The guidelines and main principles governing the didactics of Romanian language instruction for the Hungarian minority are outlined within the Romanian language and literature curriculum, written specifically for educational institutions where Hungarian is the predominant language of instruction for other disciplines. This curriculum asserts that the acquisition of Romanian as a secondary means of communication for Hungarian minority children starts at birth, serving as a means for expressing thoughts, emotions, and personal experiences. However, in practice, Hungarian minority children's first exposure to the official language may depend on the demographic and ethnic composition of their residential area, as well as the social dynamics within their family.

Most of these children rarely encounter Romanian language until their initial years of formal schooling, as in interactions with their family and friends they predominantly hear and use their native language. During their primary

¹ http://programe.ise.ro/Portals/1/Curriculum/2017-progr/02-Limba%20si%20literatura%20romana%20pentru%20minoritatea%20maghiara.pdf.

school years, Romanian is typically introduced as a foreign language. Initially, emphasis is placed on listening and speaking skills, alongside the establishment of a basic vocabulary and grammatical competencies during the first two years. Subsequently, from the second grade onwards, there is a progression towards the development of all four primary language skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing – according to the basic (A1) proficiency level.

Upon reaching the fifth grade, however, the focus shifts from communicative skill development to the acquisition of theoretical knowledge pertaining to language structures and literary analysis. The curriculum of Romanian language and literature for Hungarian minority for the 5th to the 8th grades discussed and presented in more details in a previous article (Kovács and Nagy 2022) does not mention or set any language proficiency level as a goal. Therefore, the transition from primary school becomes difficult, particularly for students who enter the fifth grade with a basic proficiency level (A1–A2). Language learners are suddenly confronted with texts that lack simplification and adaptation to their proficiency level, incorporating a significant volume of unfamiliar vocabulary, rarely encountered in everyday discourse.

In our previous article, we compared and analysed two textbooks of Romanian language and literature for Hungarian minority written for the 5th grade, focusing on multiple viewpoints: methodological aspects, the application of the principles of communicative language teaching, and the appropriacy of the books related to age characteristics, highlighting some of the issues that may cause difficulties for learners (Kovács and Nagy 2022). One of the main problems that we identified was the use of authentic texts chosen for reading comprehension, not adapted or construed for didactic purposes.

2. The role and importance of reading in the mother tongue and in a foreign language

Reading is a basic skill to be developed, both in the mother tongue and in foreign language(s), as the skill that is widely exploited in order to obtain the information necessary for learning, work, and up-to-date knowledge in personal and professional life alike. It is a commonplace that the level of one's knowledge largely determines one's success at work and in personal life. The development of reading skills targets the learning of the mechanics of reading, but a critical aspect of reading is to learn interpreting what has been read in order to be able to apply the knowledge, methods, and strategies acquired in school education in practice. Reading shapes language competence, thinking, writing, vocabulary, style, and grammatical knowledge (Krashen 1998).

Reading can be defined as the act of cognition or thinking guided by what is written, "to look at words or symbols and understand what they mean" or "to receive or take in the sense of (letters, symbols, etc.) especially by sight or touch", but it is also an interpretive skill, the ability to understand or comprehend the written text: "to understand and give a particular meaning to written information, a statement, a situation, etc." or "to attribute a meaning to (something read)". Comprehension of the text means that the reader understands the details and their connections by taking possession of the text as a semantic, syntactic, and cognitive unit. The interpretation of the text means that the given text is inserted into a wider body of knowledge and/or compared with a series of previously stored information and body of knowledge.

According to Gósy, the traditional definitions of reading define it as thinking guided by what is written down. A more accurate definition is that reading is a decoding skill: the conversion of written words into spoken words and then the comprehension of the written text. Reading is a complex process: the starting point is visual decoding (recognition of letter shapes), and the end result is the comprehension and interpretation of what is read (Gósy 2009). A functional approach sees comprehension as the purpose of reading, which is to access information or experience (Józsa and Steklács 2009). According to Bárdos, reading is not seen as an automated, mechanical process, but – beyond the recognition of formal signs – the product is seen as an interpretation, an understanding of the text. In this process, we go beyond the literal meaning of the text, revealing the purpose, the communicative function that validates the author's intention (Bárdos 2000).

Several models have been developed to explain and understand the reading process. According to Bárdos (2000), reading in a foreign language should be seen in terms of the following four steps: physical identification of the letters; decoding, i.e. the recognition of the meaning of the word; the comprehension stage, when the formal meaning is deciphered by putting together grammatical phenomena and dictionary-level meaning; interpretation of the text, which includes reaction.

The basic goal of foreign language education, in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), is to establish and develop students' foreign language communicative competence, which is closely intertwined with general competences, i.e. knowledge about the world, practical skills and abilities, as well as motivation, which are necessary for all kinds of activities, including language activities.

² https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/read.

³ https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/read.

⁴ https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/read.

⁵ https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/read.

The extent to which the process of reading in the mother tongue and in a second or foreign language is the same or different has been the subject of intensive research for a long time (Major 2019). Reading in a language that is not the reader's native language is obviously a challenge, but native reading involves many cognitive processes and processing strategies that are very similar to reading in a foreign language. The teaching of reading in the mother tongue later also lays the foundation for the effectiveness of the interpretation of foreign language texts, and it is therefore recommended to build on the knowledge already acquired when reading in the mother tongue, i.e. on the learners' linguistic repertoire. The language repertoire is a set of linguistic resources, linguistic varieties that are available to students in order to be able to function in different social relations and contacts. The totality of these resources that make up the repertoire gives rise to a linguistic diversity that does not, however, mean unrestricted linguistic freedom. Individual verbal repertoire means each set of linguistic variants that a speaker uses in specific contexts. The common or collective linguistic repertoire (also called speech repertoire) is the total set of linguistic varieties that are available to speakers in a speech community (Bussmann 2006: 1296). David Crystal (2008: 423) defines the concept of repertoire as a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a range of languages or varieties of a language available for use by a speaker, each of which may enable the speaker to fulfil a particular social role. In language classes, therefore, knowledge of language (linguistic code and rules of standard language), language (language use, meanings, and contexts), and linguistic registers and functional styles are imparted, drawing on the students' set of linguistic repertoires. These repertoires obviously include vernacular elements (vernacular is, according to Bartha 1998, the basic language learned at home during primary socialization: i.e. the mother tongue). Therefore, while learning Romanian, Hungarian students should rely on everything they have acquired in Hungarian as well.

3. Reading comprehension and choice of texts in language teaching

Reading comprehension is "the ability to draw meaning from the printed page and interpret this information appropriately" (Grabe and Stoller 2011: 3). The basic interpretation of reading comprehension is now inseparable from the text-centred definition of communication, within which reading is a receptive part of written communication and as such is related to other language skills (Major 2019). Compared to reading in the native language, reading comprehension in a foreign language becomes more successful if the student has reached the

threshold level in the respective language (Hunt and Beglar 2005), can apply the reading skills already established in the native language, and is able to activate background knowledge related to the topic (Alexander 2005).

When selecting texts for developing reading comprehension in the process of language teaching, several important factors should be taken in consideration in order to ensure the quality of the teaching materials. Firstly, it is essential to ensure that the text aligns with the students' reading level. A text that is too challenging can lead to frustration and disengagement, while a text that is too simple may not provide sufficient challenge. Secondly, the text should be related to the learners' interests and experiences. Engaging content can significantly boost motivation and enhance students' desire to read and comprehend the material. Thirdly, the text should offer ample opportunities for students to practice a variety of comprehension strategies such as predicting outcomes, formulating questions, summarizing content, and making connections with prior knowledge or other texts. Additionally, it is beneficial to select texts that belong to different genres, from various sources, and reflect diverse cultural perspectives. Exposure to a wide range of texts helps students to develop a comprehensive understanding of different text types and viewpoints, fostering cultural awareness and empathy. Incorporating texts that reflect diverse experiences can make reading more inclusive and relatable for all students.

Textbook authors should consider the purpose of the reading lessons and how the texts can support specific learning goals. Whether the focus is on language skills development, analysing literary elements, understanding informational content, or developing critical thinking skills, the chosen texts should align with the educational objectives and enhance the overall learning experience.

4. Comparative textbook analysis

In this article, we propose to analyse text choices in the Romanian language and literature textbook written and approved for 7th-grade Hungarian minority students and compare them with texts from a B1-level textbook of Romanian as a foreign language. We regard this level as the most realistic goal for 7th graders, based on our experience and research⁶ focusing on the number of classroom and guided learning hours necessary to reach a certain language level described by the CEFR.⁷ According to the global scale of the CEFR, a B1-level (independent) user:

⁶ https://www.cambridge.org/elt/blog/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/How-long-does-it-take-to-learn-a-foreign-language.pdf.

⁷ https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages.

can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics, which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

And, regarding overall reading comprehension, a B1-level user "can read straightforward factual texts on subjects related to his/her field and interest with a satisfactory level of comprehension".⁸ The compared books were written for different target groups (the first for 7th-grade students, the second one for anybody who desires to study Romanian as a foreign language), but they also have a common goal: to develop the language and communication skills of their users.

4.1. Indicators of analysis

In this study, we propose to investigate with a comparative approach the texts in the Romanian language textbook written and approved for 7th-grade Hungarian minority students (hereinafter referred to as TB 1 – i.e. Hedwig Bartolf, *Limba şi literatura română pentru şcolile şi secțiile cu predare în limba maghiară, clasa a VII-a* [Romanian Language and Literature for schools and departments with teaching in Hungarian, 7th grade], Bucharest: Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică, 2020) and a textbook designed for teaching Romanian as a foreign language – B1 level (hereinafter referred to as TB 2 – i.e. Ioana Sonea–Lavinia Vasiu–Dina Vîlcu, *Manual de limba română ca limbă străină (RLS) Nivelul B1* [Textbook of Romanian as a foreign language, Level B1], Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară, 2021). Our goal is to examine what may be the cause of the problems related to text choices, mentioned in the Introduction, focusing on the following steps in our analysis:

- use of literary and non-literary texts;
- adequacy of the vocabulary and text adaptation;
- relevance and adequacy of topics;
- appropriacy of texts and activities.

The first point one can recognize while investigating the general principles that underpin the design and writing of these two textbooks can be summarized as follows:

- TB 1 has been designed and conceived for young teenagers (13–14-year-olds); the guiding didactic principle is that of communicative language teaching, the goal is to teach Romanian language and literature, the level targeted is not clearly specified, and it has been configured for Hungarian learners;

⁸ https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages.

– TB 2 has been composed for learners of any age from teenage years on; the guiding didactic principle is that of communicative language teaching, the goal is to teach Romanian as a foreign language, the level targeted is clearly itemized as B1 according to CEFR levels, and it has not been configured for Hungarian learners only.

4.2. Use of literary vs non-literary texts

In TB 1, each unit contains a longer text, which is the main text, but there are also other, shorter texts related to both the title and topic of the learning unit. As *Table 1* shows, the textbook contains 9 literary texts and 14 non-literary reading texts from different websites, but there are also other, shorter literary and non-literary texts from different sources, used for language-in-use exercises.

Table 1. Literary and non-literary texts in TB 1

UNIT	Main (longer) text	Other, shorter texts
1. Călători 'Travellers'	Un călător turc la Cluj 'A Turkish traveller in Cluj' — non- literary text	Călătorul 'The traveller' – folk poetry collected by Vasile Alecsandri – literary text
2. În România 'In Romania'	Pe Insula Şerpilor 'On the Island of Snakes' by Alexandru Vlahuță – literary text	La oglindă (fragmente) 'In front of the mirror (fragments)' by George Coşbuc – literary text
3. Pictura 'Painting'	Pictura stradală; Kero despre street art 'Street painting; Kero about street art' – non-literary text	Francisc Şirato – Wikipedia – non-literary text
4. Teatrul 'Theatre'	Chirița în provincie 'Chirița in the province' by Vasile Alecsandri – literary text	Toma Caragiu – Wikipedia – non-literary text
5. Lumea teatrului 'The world of the theatre'	Moştenitorul celor mai vechi marionete din România 'The heir to the oldest marionettes in Romania' – non-literary text Cel mai vechi teatru din România 'The oldest theatre in Romania' – non-literary text	Ziua Mondială a Teatrului de Păpuşi 'World Puppetry Day' – non-literary text
6. Albastru 'Blue'	Barbă Albastră 'Bluebeard' by Charles Perrault – literary text	Albastru pescăruș 'Blue seagull' by Nichita Stănescu – literary text Albastrul de Voroneț 'Blue from Voroneț' by Cristinel C. Popa – non-literary text

UNIT	Main (longer) text	Other, shorter texts
7. Cartea 'The book'	Interviu cu redactorul de carte 'Interview with the book editor' – non-literary text	Etapele editării unei cărți 'Stages of editing a book' – non- literary text Biblioteci 'Libraries' – non- literary text
8. Locuri 'Places'	O scenă 'A scene' by Liviu Rebreanu – literary text	Târgul de fete de pe Muntele Găina 'The fair of girls on Mount Găina' – non-literary text
9. Roşu şi alb 'Red and white'	Mărțișorul 'Little March' — Wikipedia — non-literary text	Trandafirul 'The rose' by Emil Gârleanu – literary text
10. Copii 'Children'	Ulița copilăriei 'Childhood street' by Ionel Teodoreanu – literary text	Ziua Minorităților Naționale 'National Minorities Day' – non-literary text

TB 2 lays out only non-literary texts, which are usually authentic and adapted texts, as the authors highlight in the foreword of the volume. These authentic texts include emails, blogs, descriptive texts, articles, film reviews, etc., and they are usually tailored for pedagogical purposes: shortened, simplified, and adjusted for the needs of the level, topic, and relevant vocabulary.

TB 2 incorporates the following units and texts:

- Unit 1. Orașul meu 'My town': Orașul meu minunat 'My wonderful town', Orașele viitorului 'Cities of the future'. Cum va arăta lumea în 2050 'What the world will look like in 2050', Gândește-te de două ori 'Think twice', Iluzia metropolei 'The illusion of the metropolis';
- Unit 2. La țară sau la oraș 'City life or country life': *Când casa e mică, oamenii devin mai apropiați 'When the house is small, people get closer', O decizie grea 'A tough decision*', and one text without a title;
- Unit 3. La serviciu 'At work': *A new profession, My favourite place to work, Viitoarea mea profesie 'O nouă profesie, Locul meu preferat de muncă, My future profession*', and one text without a title;
- Unit 4. Călătorii reale și imaginare 'Real and imaginary journeys': Cele mai bune destinații pentru un weekend prelungit 'Best destinations for a long weekend', Cinci călători pe ici pe colo 'Five travellers here and there', De ce răcim tocmai în concediu: probleme care ne pot strica vacanța și sfaturi utile din prespectiva experților 'Why do we catch a cold on holiday: Problems that can spoil our holiday and useful tips from the experts' perspective', and one text without a title;
- Unit 5. Cu ochii-n patru: mass media 'Eyes wide open: The mass-media': *S-a născut o stea 'A star is born*', and two texts without a title;

– Unit 6. Cu burta pe carte 'Hit the books': Într-o relație complicată: școala și tehnologia 'In a complicated relationship: School and technology', Câteva lucruri care îmi plac la homeschooling din propria experiență 'A few things I like about homeschooling from my own experience'.

4.3. Usefulness and adequacy of the vocabulary and text adaptation

In TB 1, the vocabulary is relevant for the topics; however, in most cases, there are too many potentially unknown words in the texts, which are not frequently used or important for young people today. Some texts are followed by very long vocabulary notes, explaining 20–22 words, but even so these do not cover all the new vocabulary introduced in them. As the CEFR states related to vocabulary range, a B1-level user "has enough language to get by, with sufficient vocabulary to express him/herself with some hesitation and circumlocutions on topics such as family, hobbies and interests, work, travel, and current events, but lexical limitations cause repetition and even difficulty with formulation at times". The texts in TB 1 contain words and expressions which exceed the level of B1, or even B2-level vocabulary, and may be challenging even for a C1-level user or a native speaker. New or difficult words are not highlighted in the text. There is a monolingual vocabulary after the main texts, although a bilingual glossary would also be useful, taking in consideration that the book was written for Hungarian learners.

For example, in the first unit, the main text entitled *Un călător turc la Cluj* 'A Turkish traveller in Cluj' contains many archaic or rarely used linguistic items, some of them of Turkish origin, which may impede or disrupt the understanding of the text and language learning, such as *hafiz* 'hafiz' (a Muslim person who knows the Koran by heart), *serhat* 'serhat' – Turkish word meaning frontier, *negoț* 'merchant', *vilaiet* 'province', *serdar* 'serdar' (a military rank in the Ottoman Empire), *chiparos* 'cypress'. *Figure 1* contains part of the text, with the problematic words highlighted by the authors of the article, and *Figure 2* shows an example of the monolingual vocabulary, explaining only some of the difficult words.

In TB 1, the texts are only partially adapted, which means that they are shortened by leaving out some of the sentences from the original text, but the vocabulary is not adapted to the level of the target group. We often encounter very long, complex sentences, which make the reading process even more difficult. As it can be observed in this textbook, literary texts are inadequate for language teaching at this level due to their advanced vocabulary, complex grammar, and use of figurative language. They require cultural and contextual understanding that learners might lack, and the formal, stylized language is not reflective of everyday communication.

⁹ https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages.



Despre viața marelui călător turc Evlia Celebi nu se cunosc

prea multe date, notează cercetătorii: sunt doar propriile relatări cuprinse în vasta sa operă Seyahatname ("Carte de călătorii"). După cum spune el însuși, s-a născut la 25 martie 1611, la Istanbul. Și-a început cariera ca hafiz, adică recitator al Coranului, în 1636, la moscheea Sfânta Sofia din Istanbul. A luat parte la campania militară otomană din 1657 împotriva lui Gheorghe Rákóczi al II-lea (II. Rákóczi György) sau la cea pentru supunerea Oradiei, în anii 1660 și 1661, până la instalarea lui Mihail Apafi (Apafi Mihály) ca principe al Transilvaniei, în septembrie 1661. A ajuns până în Caucaz, Siria, Irak și Arabia, în Sudan și Abisinia, iar în Europa a vizitat întreaga peninsulă balcanică, până în Croația și Bosnia. Cercetătorii spun că Evlia Celebi se numără printre cei mai cunoscuti călători din istoria universală. Opera sa însumează aproape 7000 de pagini, tipărite în zece volume masive.

bunăvoinței, <mark>au arborat</mark> pe bastioane drapelele de capitulare.

Cetatea Clujului este o construcție puternică, în formă de pătrat, așezată la poalele unui deal cu vii, având circumferința de patru mii de pași. Este o cetate cu un zid simplu, cu patruzeci de turnuri și cu patru porți, precum și cu șanț. Cetatea are și întărituri pe partea de apus, unde se află una dintre porți. Spre poarta aceasta se zărește o moară de apă. La răsărit se află poarta dinspre oraș, iar la miazăzi este poarta cimitirului; în partea aceasta, șanțul nu e adânc. Toată lumea, intrând în cetate, a vizitat-o și a făcut <mark>negoț</mark>. Atunci am intrat și eu, <mark>umilul</mark> de mine, și am privit-o. Are unsprezece mănăstiri frumoase și toate au clopotnițe înalte, în formă de chiparos, și sunt acoperite cu cositor, ca argintul, cu bronz sau cu tablă. Pe cupola fiecărei biserici se află cruci aurite de mărimea omului. Pe lângă biserici se găsesc și case preoțești, ce servesc pentru școli. Se mai găsesc și case de negot, târguri și bazaruri. Numai femeile cumpără și vând;

Figure 1. Fragment from a main text, with inadequate lexis (TB 1, p. 13)

Înțelegeți cuvintele?

crai: rege, împărat,
domnitor
gaziu: victorios; comandant
serhat: cetate, fortăreață
leș: polonez
negoț: comerț, târg
circumferință: linie
împrejmuitoare

(la) răsărit: (la) est
(la) miazăzi: (la) sud
apus: vest
vilaiet: provincie
a se răscula: a se revolta
împotriva unui asupritor
serdar: comandant

al cavaleriei

clopotniță: turn de biserică

chiparos: arbore din familia

coniferelor; (ciprusfa)

n. red.: nota redacției,

nota redactorului

Figure 2. Monolingual vocabulary after the main text (TB 1, p. 14)

In TB 2, the vocabulary is relevant for the topics. Presumed unknown words are always highlighted in bold, and at the end of the book there is a monolingual wordlist for every text and topic. The glossary is monolingual, as the book has not been written for a specific target group; therefore, a bilingual glossary would not be of any use.

For example, in the first unit, there is a text entitled *Oraşul meu minunat 'My wonderful town*', which is connected with the present of Cluj-Napoca (*Figure 3*). The lexis of the text is up to date and relevant; there are no archaic or regional linguistic items which are prone to impede or disrupt language learning and the acquisition of words. Some frequently used words in everyday communication introduced and highlighted in this text are: *secol* 'century', *climă* 'climate', *medieval* 'medieval', *zid* 'wall', *pivniță* 'cellar', *veselie* 'joy'.

In TB 2, the texts are always adapted for pedagogical purposes; they are simplified, shortened, and the source is always provided. The level targeted (B1) is also widely accounted for, and a fresh and suitable presentation approach is used: for example, the use of social platforms as a pretext to solve various work tasks is a largely exploited device.

3. Clujul este o localitate cu două nume. Napoca a fost primul nume latin al orașului, folosit în epoca romană, iar Cluj este termenul de origine latină utilizat din epoca medievală (Castrum Clus — oraș închis între dealuri). Ruinele din epoca romană, zidul vechi, Cetățuia, bisericile gotice, pivnițele de sub clădiri vorbesc despre vechimea Clujului și reprezintă arhitectura sa.



4. Muzeele, teatrul, opera,

filarmonica, galeriile de artă fac parte din viața culturală clujeană. În ultimii ani, Clujul a devenit cunoscut și prin festivalurile organizate în oraș. Cel mai mare impact îl are, probabil, TIFF-ul (Transilvania International Film Festival). **Tot mai multe** persoane, profesioniști sau spectatori pasionați, participă la TIFF, iar atmosfera de la finalul lui mai și începutul lui iunie, când are loc festivalul, e **cu totul** specială. Un festival de film mai nou este Comedy Cluj, care aduce multă **veselie** în oraș toamnă după toamnă. În plus, nu se mai poate vorbi de festivaluri importante de muzică fără a menționa Untold.

Haideți să vizitați Cluj-Napoca! Veți veni turiști curioși și veți pleca fani convinși!

Figure 3. Fragment from the text Oraşul meu minunat 'My wonderful town' (TB 2 p. 14)

4.4. Relevance and adequacy of topics – Are they interesting and motivating for the target group?

In TB 1, the topics themselves may be interesting for 7th graders (such as travellers, theatre, books, colours, children) if they were introduced and discussed with the help of more appropriate texts, but the approach and some of the texts in this book may seem too difficult and less intriguing for teenagers, far from their area of interest. The texts often introduce new knowledge, and they do not refer to "familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure" which a B1 level user can understand, as described by the CEFR. Instead, they introduce topics related to history, 19th- and 20th-century theatre and literature, art, or the detailed process of book editing. Explanatory notes are often necessary, and they are provided in relation to numerous cultural elements.

For example, the text mentioned before about the Turkish traveller starts with a paragraph containing data about the life and travels of a Turkish author of travel books, followed by a section adapted from the traveller's work, written 500 years ago and containing a description of the city of Cluj-Napoca. This text is rather difficult, introducing detailed historical data, containing long descriptions with elaborate sentences.

If we compare this with a text also about Cluj-Napoca, from TB 2, the difference is clear. The text from TB 2 approaches the present and past of Cluj-Napoca from a more up-to-date perspective, in a more informal style. It highlights information regarding the importance of the town, its history, ethnic diversity, economic and cultural impact, and its potential from the viewpoint of young people. The text and all the activities prior and after the text are framed by pictures that are representative and relevant and which also further communication.

In TB 2, the topics usually cover the things that are of concern for learners, i.e. place of living and family, place in the world, work and study, city life, country life and environment, media consumption and culture consumption habits, studying and learning. Hence, they are interesting and with the potential of motivating meaningful and engaging communication.

Table 2 shows the titles of the texts related to travel and travelling from the two textbooks. The titles from TB 2 suggest that the topic is discussed from a more informal and familiar perspective, based on texts related to frequently encountered issues, questions, and problems.

A unit about travel – TB 1– Călători 'Travelers'	A unit about travel – TB 2 – Călătorii reale și imaginare 'Real and imaginary travels'
<i>Un călător turc la Cluj</i> 'A Turkish traveller in Cluj'	Cele mai bune destinații pentru un weekend prelungit 'The best destinations for a long weekend'
Călătorul 'The traveller' – folk poetry collected by Vasile Alecsandri	Cinci călători pe ici pe colo 'Five travellers here and there'
Autobuze moderne în Cluj- Napoca – mijloace de transport 'Modern buses in Cluj-Napoca – Means of transport'	De ce răcim tocmai în concediu: probleme care ne pot strica vacanța și sfaturi utile din partea experților 'Why do we catch a cold on vacation: Problems that can ruin our vacation and useful tips from experts'
	Călătorii inedite – un german și un francez au refăcut traseul personajului Phileas Fogg din romanul de aventuri Ocolul pământului în 80 de zile 'Unique journeys – A German and a French recreated the route of the character Phileas Fogg from the adventure novel Around the World in Eighty Days'

Table 2. Units and texts about travel and travellers in the two textbooks

4.5. Appropriacy of the activities based on the texts – Do they inspire further meaningful communication (discussions, debates)?

In TB 1, the exercises based on the texts focus on cultural elements, vocabulary, reading comprehension, speaking and writing, and also grammar practice. Some of them inspire meaningful communication appropriate from the viewpoint of communicative language-teaching principles. Others, however, focus on text types, genres characteristic of literary and non-literary texts, types of rhymes in poems, figures of speech, poetic imagery, and dramatic discourse. Sometimes grammar exercises are also based on literary texts, which make the understanding and practice of new language structures more challenging. These may be appropriate activities for native language and literature classes, but they are definitely too difficult and inappropriate for B1-level language learners.

The texts in TB 2 are appropriate from the viewpoint of communicative language-teaching principles. The pre- and post-reading exercises are preponderantly well suited. Among the types of exercises and communicative activities employed, we mention: true/false exercises, multiple-choice exercises, fill-in exercises, discussions, debates, and brainstorming activities which regularly rely on gap filling and sharing students' personal experiences.

5. Conclusions

Based on our analysis, we conclude that the textbook written for B1-level learners of Romanian (TB 2) contains more appropriate texts and related exercises for language development even though it was not specifically designed for the age group of 7th graders.

In TB 1, the lexis is not always relevant and adequate for B1-level language learners. Activities are based both on literary and non-literary texts, and the level of difficulty is increased by the fact that these texts are only partially adopted to the level of the language learners, and the topics are rarely motivating and in line with teenagers' fields of interest. Literary texts might not engage all students and are not graded to match the students' proficiency levels, making them unsuitable for incremental language learning and balanced skill practice.

In TB 2, the lexis is relevant and adequate: solely non-literary texts are included in the textbook; literary pieces have not been covered; the topics are relevant for the learners and their field of interest, which are likely to increase motivation and willingness to learn. All the activities follow the principles of communicative language teaching and teaching Romanian as a foreign language. Communication is the purpose of all the exercises and the benchmark upon which the selection of texts that help the process of learning Romanian language and communicating using the Romanian language has been carried out.

Based on the present and our previous studies, we may conclude that the process of teaching Romanian for Hungarian minority students would be more efficient with the help of textbooks designed specifically for language teaching purposes, based on the recommendations of the CEFR and the principles of communicative language teaching. However, the texts used in the textbooks are not compulsory and may be replaced by other texts according to the level of the students. It requires extra efforts from teachers to find and adapt texts for their groups, but it may be worthwhile in the long term. The texts and exercises from TB 2 can also be used if the teachers consider them more appropriate.

References

Alexander, Patricia. 2005. The path to competence: A lifespan developmental perspective on reading. *Journal of Literacy Research* 37(4): 413–436.

Bárdos, Jenő. 2000. Az idegen nyelvek tanításának elméleti alapjai és gyakorlata [Theoretical Foundations and Practice of Foreign Language Teaching]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Bartha, Csilla. 1998. *A szociolongvisztika alapjai* [The Basics of Sociolinguistics]. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University.

- Bussmann, Hadumod. 2006. *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. Trans. and ed. by Gregory Trauth and Kerstin Kazzazi. London and New York: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Crystal, David. 2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford, Victoria, and Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gósy, Mária. 2009. Az olvasási nehézségről és diszlexiáról [On reading difficulties and dyslexia]. Könyv és nevelés. Olvasáspedagógia [Books and Education. Reading Pedagogy]. XI: 4. https://epa.oszk.hu/01200/01245/00044/gm_0904. htm (Last accessed: 2 August 2024).
- Grabe, William Peter–Fredericka L. Stoller. 2011. *Teaching and Researching: Reading.* 2^{nd} ed. London: Routledge.
- Hunt, Alan–David Beglar. 2005. A framework for developing EFL reading vocabulary. Reading in a Foreign Language 17(1): 23–59.
- Józsa, Krisztián–János Steklács. 2009. Az olvasástanítás kutatásának aktuális kérdései [Current issues in research related to teaching reading]. *Magyar Pedagógia* [Hungarian Pedagogy] 109(4): 365–397.
- Kovács, Gabriella–Imola Katalin Nagy. 2022. Discrepancies between CLT principles and the Romanian language and literature for Hungarian minority curriculum and its implementation. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae*, *Philologica* 14(2): 15–30.
- Krashen, Stephen. 1989. We acquire vocabulary and spelling by reading: Additional evidence for the input hypothesis. *Modern Language Journal* 73: 440–464.
- Major, Éva. 2019. Az olvasás elméleti megközelítései és olvasási stratégiák, a szövegértő olvasás fejlesztése idegen nyelven [Theoretical approaches to reading and reading strategies, development of reading comprehension in a foreign language]. In Terbe Erika (ed.), *A szövegértés mint tanulási képesség fejlesztése* [Developing Reading Comprehension as a Learning Ability], 21–48. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University.
- Pop, Dana. 2020. Predarea limbii române ca "limba a doua" [Teaching Romanian as a Second Language]. https://edict.ro/predarea-limbii-romane-ca-limba-a-doua/ (Last accessed: 10 February 2024).
- Tódor, Erika-Mária. 2020. *Predarea-învățarea limbii române ca limbă nematernă:* o alternativă a lingvisticii aplicate [The Teaching and Learning of Romanian as Non-native Language (An Alternative of Applied Linguistics)]. Cluj-Napoca: Scientia Publishing House.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0017

Grammar Practices in the Digital World

Mária CSERNOCH

University of Debrecen (Debrecen, Hungary)
Faculty of Informatics
csernoch.maria@inf.unideb.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7088-7714

Attila IMRE

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj Napoca, Romania)

Department of Applied Linguistics

attilaimre@ms.sapientia.ro

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3886-7091

Abstract. Teaching and protecting Hungarian language and cultural values have become more and more challenging due to the fast spread of uncontrollable digital platforms. In their text-based digital products (e-mail, chat, blog, etc.), youngsters prefer elliptical expressions (digital slang) to grammatically correct sentences. Schools, course books offer a wide variety of opportunities to practise grammar, but students find these exercises rather boring and consider them as school chores. As students live in the digital world, teachers should consider alternatives to offering exclusively classical, paper-based exercises.

The present work provides a subject-integrated approach, where paper-based course book tasks are converted into data management problems to practise grammar. This novel approach may enable students to become more engaged not only in solving the original grammar problems but also in finding digital solutions. Building algorithms helps them understand grammar rules, as well as differences between handwritten and computer-stored characters. It is also stipulated that our approach is open to generalization and suitable to solve similar problems in languages other than Hungarian.

Keywords: language, culture, content, grammar course books, digitization

1. Introduction

1.1. Digital pull system in education

This study is part of a longitudinal project to introduce a digital pull system that can replace the widely used but ineffective and inefficient push systems (Ohno 1988) in digital education. In digital push systems, the focus is on tools, including hardware and software resources, and thus software interfaces are taught in the hope to build up knowledge inventory, resulting in millions of erroneous digital documents, piling up waste. However, a pull system focuses on teachers and students by developing their computational thinking skills and problem-solving abilities. These values are supported by two principles:

- just-in-time, which means that raw material (data in our case) should arrive only by the time the production begins (the task requires);
- autonomation, which is "automation with a human touch" (Ohno 1988, Krafcik 1988, Liker 2004, Rother 2010, Womack and Jones 2003).

In the case of digital education, just-in-time refers to the fact that when problems are presented in classes, only the tools needed to solve the problems are introduced, and thus the focus is on the output which dictates the resources in demand. With this approach, no waste is produced (hence the pull system), and both teachers and students may learn how to work effectively and efficiently in digital education.

Along with the classical statistical education research methods, action research (Brydon-Miller et al. 2003, Eilks 2018) plays a crucial role in the project. This includes the teachers' task to find those problems/tasks which serve the students' best interest, considering both content and digital development, and to introduce these tasks during the classes. To support this approach, all the aspects of Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPCK) (Angeli and Valadines 2015) must be taken into consideration.

The second principle, autonomation, means to find the proper balance between automation and human intervention. If automation is efficient, then the process alone should suffice, but when any deviation from standards is discovered, the process must be stopped to correct the error(s).

In these circumstances, classroom situations are to be offered and evaluated by the teachers, who decide whether problems can be solved more effectively and efficiently with the classical methods, or digitization may add values to the teaching-learning process. In our approach, a crucial role is played by data analysis and repetition. As the presented solutions indicate, a thorough data analysis is required during digital data manipulation, as human intelligence is needed to explain the "dumb" computer how to carry out error-free automated or semi-automated solutions. However, repetition is unavoidable during the

analyses while setting up the kanban, building the algorithm, completing the coding, and checking the correctness of outputs. This method aims at repeating the knowledge pieces so many times in different contexts that it would ultimately build up schemata in the long-term memory (Kahneman 2011, Sweller 2011, Ghazi-Saidi and Ansaldo 2017).

1.2. The content of the paper

The present work summarizes a grammar-focused action research,² where paper-based course book tasks are converted into data management problems to practise language, develop students' computational thinking skills and digital problem-solving abilities. Furthermore, gains by digitization of these tasks are also discussed.

1.3. The aims of the paper

The main aim of the paper is to draw attention to the opportunities that lie in digitization. In educational contexts, digitization is the conversion process during which digital solutions are offered to paper-based tasks. The secondary aim is to show various solutions and tools which prove that considering all aspects of TPCK (Angeli and Valadines 2015) would improve students' content knowledge, digital skills, and problem-solving abilities.

2. Action research activities

2.1. Participating schools and teachers

In 2020, we launched the Digital School project in a primary school (grades 1–8), with the core aim to introduce digital solutions in non-informatics school subjects taking the form of computer-aided teaching and learning, in the frame of subject integration. In this project, led by a mentor, the focus is on the equilibrium of all aspects of TPCK (Mishra and Koehler 2006, Angel and Valanides 2015) during informatics and non-informatics classes. In non-informatics classes, novel, digital solutions can be introduced compared to the classical, paper-based solutions, as detailed in the present paper. In informatics classes, we aim at providing real-world content to teach computer sciences/informatics to leave behind the widely accepted non-contextualized, tool-centred approaches and methods (push systems).

¹ The term refers to a tool of a pull production system which can manage and keep track of work.

² Research method intended to both investigate and solve a perceived issue.

In the first year, the teachers of the Digital School project were engaged by learning fundamental informatics through real-world problems from various school subjects. The teaching-learning process took place in the computer lab of the school. In this tuition phase, along with the technical and content knowledge, the pedagogical and didactical aspects of this novel approach were introduced by applying kaizen (Maurer 2013, 2014). In this context, kaizen includes the introduction of the tiny changes which bypass our mental alarm system, allowing our creative and intellectual processes to flow without obstruction. The result is a lasting and powerful change (Maurer 2013, 2014). The reason for the presentation of the little steps of kaizen is to show teachers how they should handle problems in classes in a digital environment. Even digital students need as much time as teachers to make fundamental changes in their behaviour, in this case switching from the deeply coded and secure paper-based environment to creative and productive digital solutions (Kirschner and De Bruyckere 2017, Kirschner et al. 2006).

Furthermore, one of the most crucial aspects of the Digital School project is that the tuition of the teachers did not finish at the end of the first year. It still goes on under various forms:

- the mentor visits and supervises the digital classes;
- the mentor gives lessons recorded by the teachers;
- the teachers participate in small-group lessons and discussions to learn and tune the method;
 - the teachers prepare digital course plans with the help of the mentor;
 - the teachers go to post-graduate courses offered by the University of Debrecen;
- each year, the school organizes an open day to present examples of how a digital school advances with the help of a dedicated mentor.

In this school, informatics is taught from grade 1, one class per week for everyone, which is widely accepted throughout Hungary despite that informatics (Digital Culture) is compulsory from grade 3 (NAT2020 2017).

At the time of the preparation of the present paper, the project is in the phase of action research (Groundwater-Smith and Campbell 2010). The teachers were interviewed, and their classes were regularly visited and discussed. These classes were also presented during the open days, and those who participated at the university courses summarized the results in their dissertations (Bényei 2023, Szűcs 2023, Ékesné 2023, Gyarmati 2022, Kormány 2022, Kamarás 2022).

On the other hand, there is another school, which is typically not open to digital changes. However, we found a pre-service teacher with linguistics background and a grammar teacher in this school who were open to try out the method in their classes, and the third participant is the mentor who works as a substitute teacher in this school.

In the second school, one of the groups studied informatics in three classes a week with the method of the digital school, taught by the mentor. Their experience

included subject integration and the application of kaizen and enquiry-based learning while studying informatics. The other group in the second school studied regular informatics in only one class a week. None of these groups used computers in any other subject except informatics.

2.2. Missing competence

We found that in classes where students do not do these subject integration exercises regularly – late starter classes in the digital school and the normal class in the second school –, more problems are met considering digital skills than those who take part in the Digital School project taught by "digital" teachers (their digital background is detailed above) or the mentor. The most frequent problems are the following:

- shortcomings in analytical and integrational skills;
- selecting the proper software to solve a problem;
- handling files (e.g. naming files properly, converting files, creating folders, finding folders);
 - uploading files to the named online classroom and assessment slot;
- creating and formatting tables (e.g. setting up the properties, deciding on the number of fields (columns), organizing content into meaningful records, handling borders, handling the alignments of contents);
- handling figures, where the most serious problem is to decide whether pixel or vector graphics applications are needed to solve a problem.

These problems proved to be so demanding that it did not allow students to focus on the grammar task; consequently, teachers were obliged to teach fundamental informatics, thus leading to a failure in achieving the primary task, which was ultimately carried out during the next or the next two classes.

2.3. Preparation for digital classes

Considering hardware tools in the Digital School project, in grade 1 primarily digital boards are used by both teachers and students (where they have access to such a tool). From grade 2 up, students have their digital tools: in grades 2 and 3, tablets and from grade 4 laptops. On all the tools, folders are set up for each student and within their folders, subfolders for the different subjects. The course and exercise books are preloaded to these folders through the local net of the school. Students can save their solutions in these folders, which includes that they have meaningful folder- and file-handling exercises from a very early age. This result seems extremely crucial, since students lacking this skill struggle even with handling files (Csernoch 2021).

2.4. Skills gained

As the action research activities present, the participating teachers have regular meetings and various other forums to share their experience and develop their methods and the approach in general. The behaviour and reflection of the students reveal that the selection of the tasks plays a crucial role in their development, which explains the focus of the present paper. It has been found that the tasks suitable for digitalization mostly focus on the content instead of the tools. This finding includes that digital solutions allow space for deeper analysis of the tasks and data, faster implementation, and wider discussion. Furthermore, we must mention the motivation aspect of these digital solutions. Students are delighted to use digital tools to become designers of something valuable and be able to work fast with tools they are familiar with and make them part of their everyday life.

The approach has a great impact on the students struggling with learning disabilities. The combination of kaizen (Maurer 2013, 2014) and the enquiry-based teaching-learning (Polya 1945) method unlocks most of their barriers. It has been revealed that these students have common intelligence and abilities (e.g. in the case of dysgraphia, the lack of fine motor skills hinders them in their development), while the lack of coherence can be often detected, a shortcoming that can be improved through this approach.

3. Digital tasks

Saving a file for the first time with a proper given name is the primary action to be carried out in the case of each digital problem, followed by repeated savings. Students should learn how to name files properly: a brief reference to the content and the author with only the 26 letters of the English alphabet, completed with the underscore character between the words to avoid whitespace. Once teachers demand it consistently, file naming becomes a routine activity (schema, standard) that can be activated with fast thinking in various situations (Kahneman 2011). In the following, opening and saving files will not be listed as activities.

3.1. Conditional colouring

A well-known colouring task for grade 2 is presented in *Figure 1* (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2021: 7), during which children are asked to colour the consonants in blue and the vowels in red. This kind of task is quite popular among course book authors; consequently, it can be found in any course and exercise book with a variety of content. On the other hand, both children and parents find these tasks boring and time consuming compared to their values.

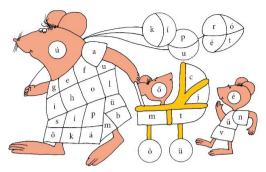


Figure 1. Grade 2 grammar book task (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2021: 7)

3.1.1. Colouring: Paper-based solution

In its original form, the task focuses more on the colouring details rather than on the content. At the age of seven, students have difficulties with colouring inside the lines, they mix up pencils, and there is no way for proper correction (erasing might smear the picture and/or make holes in the paper, etc.), as illustrated in *Figure 2*. Generally speaking, correction is a nightmare, and completing the task takes a long time, without focusing on the original vowel-consonant issue.

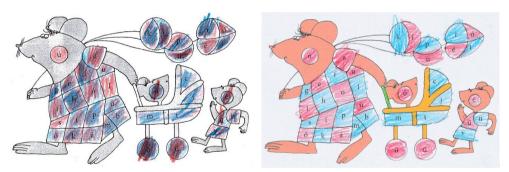


Figure 2. Two classical paper-pencil colouring solutions for the grade 2 task in Figure 1

3.1.2. Colouring: Digital solution

In an image manipulation program (GIMP is a good choice), students can select a pen colour (*Foreground Colour*) and fill in the areas defined by the borders with the *Bucket Fill Tool* (*Figure 3*).

Changing the colour is simple, which incorporates the easy correction of mixed-up letters/shapes and the colouring of small details (*Figure 3*). The use of Ctrl + scrolling (modification key with mouse) or the selection from a dropdown list can be introduced to zoom in/out the image. In this solution, the focus is on

the original task, since the colouring tool is simple. Furthermore, students can set up their own algorithms considering content, time, punctuality, efficiency, etc. If the teacher is more "adventurous", RGB can be introduced to select pure red and blue: RGB (255,0,0) and RGB (0,0,255) respectively.

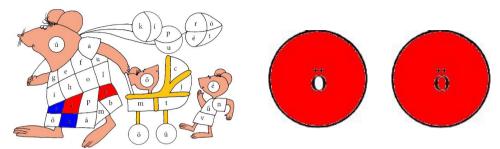


Figure 3. The colouring process (left) and the letter 'ö' zoomed in to fill in small pieces in GIMP (task in Figure 1)

A further advantage of solving this task in GIMP is that it provides opportunity to practise mouse actions – clicking with the left button, scrolling, and scrolling with modification key.

3.2. Separating words

The main task is to split a string into words³ (*Figure 5*). A possible literal translation is *whatmeansoftransportdoyouusetogettoschool*. Then Part a) asks to write the sentence correctly, reminding the students the sentence-start capitalization and the sentence-end punctuation mark. Part b) of the task is to answer the question and write down the sentence (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2022: 7) (*Figure 5*).



Figure 5. Split the sentence into words (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2022: 7)

³ The task probably entails that only meaningful Hungarian words should be looked for, and the entire string of letters should be used to carry it out successfully.

3.2.1. Separating words: Paper-based solution

In the original printed form, the string may be separated with vertical lines (word boundaries) (*Figure 6*), and then students can write the correct sentence in the two empty lines in Part a) (*Figure 5*).

temilyen közlekedési eszközzel jutszelaziskoláig

Figure 6. Splitting the sentence into words with vertical lines (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2022: 7)

3.2.2. Separating words: Digital solution

The step-by-step digital solution to this task is presented in *Figure 7*. As the student advances in the string (from left to right), the Hungarian-language proofing tool recognizes the words separated from each other with spaces and gradually removes the red underline. Finally, the first letter should be capitalized and the proper punctuation mark added to close the sentence. Capitalization of sentence-start word and sentence-end punctuation mark allows us to introduce the *Home* and *End* keys, which instantly move the cursor to the beginning and end of the current line.

temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶
Temilyenközlekedésieszközzeljutszelaziskoláig¶

Figure 7. The step-by-step digital solution of the word separation task presented in Figure 5

The following knowledge pieces are required to complete the task in MS Word:

- text copied without formatting into MS Word,
- changing font type to Times New Roman and font size to 16 pt in the *Normal* style,

- moving the cursor with the right (optionally the left) direction key,
- typing the Space character (the non-printable Space character is displayed on the screen as a small dot in mid-height),
 - moving the cursor to the beginning of the line (*Home* key),
- deleting the first letter of the sentence with the *Delete* key (since the letter is on the right side of the cursor),
- inserting an uppercase letter by holding down the *Shift* key and typing t (Shift + T),
 - moving the cursor to the end of the line (End key),
 - typing the "?" character.4

While the first two steps (copying without formatting and setting the *Normal* style) have already been applied before, only the subsequent steps are new in the series.

3.3. Missing accents

Many languages contain language-specific characters or so-called accents (Bringhurst 2004: 89) accompanying the standard 26 English letters. These accents abound in Hungarian, and words with or without accents can either drastically change the meaning of the words or make them meaningless. For instance, acute accent is present in the Hungarian – \acute{a} , \acute{e} , \acute{i} , \acute{o} , and \acute{u} –, but there is double acute (\acute{o} and \acute{u}), or umlaut/diaeresis as well (\ddot{o} and \ddot{u}). Consequently, Hungarian teachers must pay attention to teach how to type words containing accents correctly. One of these exercises is presented in *Figure 14* (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2022: 9). The task explains that the words were printed without any accents, and students are asked to apply the missing ones and then read the completed words with the correct pronunciation. After checking and correcting them, they are asked to copy the words in their exercise books.

repulogep, papir, kerites, gyonyoru, mindig, gyogyit, kapuja, pokhalo, huszonot, fesu, borond, porszivo

Figure 14. Words without proper Hungarian accents (Fülöp and Szilágyi 2022: 9)

3.3.1. Missing accents: Paper-based solution

In the printed version, students should place (draw) the missing accents above the characters (*Figure 15*).

While the standard US keyboard layout offers the question mark on the left side of the right Shift key, the Hungarian keyboard layout has this mark to the right side of the M key (Shift + ,).

repülőgép, papír, kerités, gyönyörü, mindig, gyògyit, kapuja, pokhalo, huszonöt, fésű, bőrönd, porszívó

Figure 15. Placing the missing accents in the Hungarian words (Figure 14)

3.3.2. Missing accents: Digital solution

In the digital solution, students are asked to change the incorrect characters to the correct ones. The task may be carried out in two conceptually different ways.

- deleting the incorrect character and then inserting the correct one
- the Backspace key deletes the wrong character if it is on the right or left side of the cursor respectively
 - overwriting the incorrect character
 - with selection or
 - in the overwrite mode of operation of the keyboard

To solve this problem, the most effective solution is the use of the overwrite mode of the keyboard. However, it depends on the teachers whether they encourage their students to try any of the above-listed solutions. The status bar in *Figure 16* shows that the actual keyboard mode is overtype.

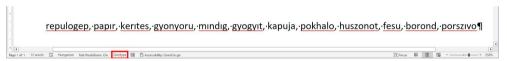


Figure 16. Words without accents (Figure 14) with the overwrite mode of the keyboard shown on the status bar

	Is the keyboard in Insert mode?					
sv	switch to Overtype mode (Insert key)					
	Are there any more errors?					
	moving to the left side of the incorrect character					
	typing the correct letter					
	switching back to Insert mode (Insert key)					

 $\textbf{Figure 17.} \ \textit{The algorithm of overwriting the incorrect characters in Figure 14}$

The students should carry out the following algorithm to correct the characters with the overwrite mode of the keyboard (*Figure 17*):

- text copied without formatting into MS Word,

- deleting the paragraph mark at the end of the first line (moving the cursor to the end of the line (*End* key) and then pressing the *Delete* key),
- switching to overwrite mode by pressing the *Insert* key once if the keyboard mode is insertion (*Insert* shown on the status bar),
- positioning the cursor on the left side of the incorrect character and then typing the correct letter.

3.4. Spelling

Spelling is of particular interest in teaching any (foreign) language. Compound words (written as one word, hyphenated, or in two separate words) is an acute issue in Hungarian, especially with geographical names. This is well reflected in a grade 6 exercise book (Sápiné Bényei 2021: 16-17), asking the students to spell them correctly, by writing one of the three options (1- one word, 2- separated, x- hyphenated) next to the words, resembling a betting (*Figure 18*). In the digital solution, the task can be converted into an Excel workbook (*Figure 19*).

Vas + megye	
Szentendrei + sziget	
Balaton + füred	
Fekete + tenger	
Erzsébet + híd	
Dobó István + tér	
Atlanti + óceán	
János + hegy	
Lengyel + Köztársaság	
Északi + középhegység	
Nagy + Kanizsa	
Cserhát + hegység	
Angyal + föld	
Új + Szeged	

Figure 18. A spelling task from a grade 6 exercise book (Sápiné Bényei 2021: 16–17)

3.4.1. Spelling: Paper-based solution

To solve the problem on paper and clarify whether there is a space between the two words, an extra column is set up to write 1, 2, or x. After deciding the separator, students should write the correct names in the third column (*Figure 18*).

3.4.2. Spelling: Digital solution

The original task can be converted to a spreadsheet workbook, where the following algorithm presents one possible solution:

- carrying out the conversion process with formulae (*Figure 19* Columns B and D, Fields *first* and *second*);
- solving the task by typing the required character or leaving the space empty (*Figure 19* Column D, Field *typing*);
- setting up conditional formatting to clearly indicate the space character and the empty cell (*Figure 19* Column D, Field *typing*);
- writing a formula to concatenate the strings (Figure 19 Column E, Field solution);
- correcting the formula to get the proper solution (*Figure 19* Columns F and G, Fields *correction* and *correct_solution*).

For each step, a separate worksheet is recommended. *Figure 19* shows the final sheet with all the consecutive steps and the name of the previous sheets (*original*, *separating*, *typing*, *solution1*, *correction*, and *solution2*).

1	Α	В	С	D	E	F	G
1	original	first	second	typing	solution	correction	correct_solution
2	Vas + megye	Vas	megye		Vas megye	megye	Vas megye
3	Szentendrei + sziget	Szentendrei	sziget	-	Szentendrei-sziget	sziget	Szentendrei-sziget
4	Balaton + füred	Balaton	füred		Balatonfüred	füred	Balatonfüred
5	Fekete + tenger	Fekete	tenger	-	Fekete-tenger	tenger	Fekete-tenger
6	Erzsébet + híd	Erzsébet	híd	-	Erzsébet-híd	híd	Erzsébet-híd
7	Dobó István + tér	Dobó István	tér		Dobó István tér	tér	Dobó István tér
8	Atlanti + óceán	Atlanti	óceán	-	Atlanti-óceán	óceán	Atlanti-óceán
9	János + hegy	János	hegy	-	János-hegy	hegy	János-hegy
10	Lengyel + Köztársaság	Lengyel	Köztársaság		Lengyel Köztársaság	Köztársaság	Lengyel Köztársaság
11	Északi + középhegység	Északi	középhegység	-	Északi-középhegység	középhegység	Északi-középhegység
12	Nagy + Kanizsa	Nagy	Kanizsa		NagyKanizsa	kanizsa	Nagykanizsa
13	Cserhát + hegység	Cserhát	hegység	-	Cserhát-hegység	hegység	Cserhát-hegység
14	Angyal + föld	Angyal	föld		Angyalföld	föld	Angyalföld
15	Új + Szeged	Új	Szeged		ÚjSzeged	szeged	Újszeged
	original separating typing	solution1 correctio	n solution2 +		·	1	•

Figure 19. A spreadsheet solution of the spelling task (Sápiné Bényei 2021: 16–17)

The field *original* is created with an unformatted copying from the original exercise book, as it is discussed in the previous tasks (*Figure 19* Column A).

The values in the field *first* are calculated with a formula. In this field, the first string of the original expression (the characters on the left side of the + sign) should be displayed. Here, a backward method is applied, called pull system in industry. The lost action goes back and requests the previous one, while the

second lost goes back to its previous, etc. (Ohno 1988, Krafcik 1988, Liker 2004, Rother 2010, Womack and Jones 2003).

- before displaying the first string, its length must be known;
- calculating the length of the first string requires the position of the + sign;
- a linear search algorithm is needed to locate the position of the + sign.

When all this is clear, the algorithm is set up in a forward order (*Figure 20*), followed by the creation of the formulae (*Table 1*).

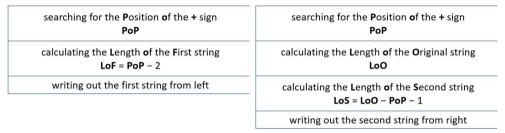


Figure 20. The algorithms of separating the first (left) and the second (right) strings

In this paper, all the given formulae are array formulae, indicated by the brackets around the formulae and vectors as input values (Csernoch 2014; Sestoft 2011; Microsoft Support 2023; Csapó et al. 2019, 2020) detailed in *Tables 1–5*. Thus, we can avoid copying the formulae, which is one of the most erroneous tools in spreadsheeting (Panko 1998, 2012).

Table 1. The development of the formula to write out the first string from the original expression

PoP	{=SEARCH("+",A2:A15)}
LoF	{=SEARCH("+",A2:A15)-2}
first string	{= LEFT(A2:A15 ,SEARCH("+",A2:A15)-2) }

Similarly to the procedure set up for the first string, we can decide what we need to write out in the second string, and then we can create the algorithm (*Figure 20*).

- before displaying the second string, its length must be known;
- calculating the length of the second string requires the position of the + sign and the length of the original string (this length requires the number of characters in the string);
 - a linear search algorithm is needed to locate the position of the + sign.

 Based on the algorithm, we can do the coding to write out the second

Based on the algorithm, we can do the coding to write out the second string (*Table 2*).

the original expression					
PoP	{=SEARCH("+",A2:A15)}				
LoO	{=LEN(A2:A15)}				
LoS	{= <mark>LEN(A2:A15)-</mark> SEARCH("+",A2:A15)- 1 }				
second string	{= RIGHT(A2:A15, LEN(A2:A15)-SEARCH("+",A2:A15)-1)}				

Table 2. The development of the formula to write out the second string from the original expression

After we have the two strings in separate fields, students should decide on the separator characters and type a space, a hyphen or leave the cells empty in Column D. Conditional formatting helps in differentiating cells with space and empty ones (orange and green, respectively). In conditional formatting, we should formulate a *yes/no* question (a formula) and set up a formatting (actually, a colour) in case the answer is *yes. Figure 21* shows two questions and two colours, as cells containing a hyphen are not coloured:

- If the cell contains space, the cell is filled in orange.
- If the cell is empty, it is filled in green.

However, when a space character is found in a cell, there is no need to check whether the cell is empty or not. This option can be set up with the *Stop If True* check box.

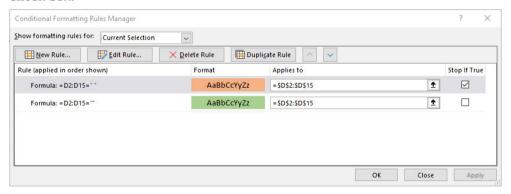


Figure 21. Two formulas to set two different colours which show the difference between the empty and the space cells

We are prepared to concatenate the first string, the typed character, and the second string in the Field *solution* (*Table 3*).

Table 3. The concatenation of the three strings

solution	{=B2:B15&D2:D15&C2:C15}

However, the field *solution* does not display the right answers. There are cases when a capital letter appears in the middle of the word (*Figure 19* Column E,

field *solution* Cells E12 and E15). If we analyse the results, we can reveal that the original task is tricky, and expects the students to debug their results. The same is required in the spreadsheet, where an automated solution is needed to avoid these errors.

The solution is to change the first letter of the second string to lower case whenever the two substrings (field *typing* is empty) make up one word (*Figure 22*):

- in order to change the initial letter of the second string to a lower case or not, we must know whether the cell in field *typing* is empty or not;
- in order to know whether the cell in field typing is empty or not, a yes/no question must be formulated;
- in order to have lower cased second strings, they should be changed to lower case.

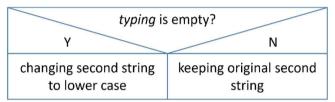


Figure 22. The algorithm of changing the second string to lower case

After building the lower-case algorithm, the coding can be carried out (Table 4).

Table 4. Changing the second string to lower case of field typing is empty

lower case	{=LOWER(C2:C15)}
yes/no question	{=D2:D15=""}
conditional changing to lower case	{=IF(D2:D15="",LOWER(C2:C15),C2:C15)}

The final step in the digital solution is to concatenate the original first string, the typed character, and the modified second string (*Table 5*).

 Table 5. The concatenation of the three strings with the modified second string

corrected solution	{=B2:B15&D2:D15	&F2:F15}	

4. Conclusions

For the present paper, grammar tasks from traditional paper-based and PDF format course books and exercise books were selected, for which digital solutions were offered at various levels. Our goal was to demonstrate how TPCK would serve developing both content and digital knowledge, along with problem-solving

abilities. These presented tasks have been carried out during either informatics classes or other, such as language, classes tutored by primary school teachers.

The listed examples and their solutions show that various digital tools can be applied where the original paper-based solution might slow down the thinking process and switch the focus from the content to the tool. Another advantage of the digital solutions is that students can be supplied with real contents in informatics classes. With this solution, the decontextualized and/or meaningless tasks (as sources on informatics often label them) can be eliminated from the class activities, making students more engaged in real-world problems matching their best interest. While some might have dissenting opinions about digitalization in schools – arguing that young people overuse online content, and their mobile phones are only used for the social media –, it is our firm belief that there is a huge difference between meaningless and unrestricted/unlimited time spent on digital content and value-added, productive use of computers. Furthermore, while students may have access to the computers during the entire class, in the presented approach digital tools are only used occasionally, when the tutors require so in the course of teaching.

In the long run, we hope that investing into effective, good-quality, and fast problem solving at an early age will return if these skills are used for life-long digital activities. Although many laypeople think that these tasks are easy to solve, it has been demonstrated many times that this is not the case, and ad-hoc solutions are not effective and efficient.

In our approach, data analysis and repetition (standardization) take a crucial role. As the presented solutions indicate, a thorough analysis of data is required during digital data manipulation. This is only possible with human intelligence, leading to create error-free automated solutions by explaining the "dumb" computer how to carry out the task. On the other side, repetition while analysing the content, setting up the kanban, building the algorithm, completing the coding, and ultimately checking the correctness of the outputs is crucial in the problem-solving process of a pull education system. This way, the content is repeated so many times that it helps to build up knowledge in the long-term memory.

References

Angeli, Charoula–Nicos Valanides. 2015. Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge Exploring, Developing, and Assessing TPCK. New York: Springer US. Bényei, Tamás Jánosné. 2023. Digitális lehetőségek az ötödik évfolyamos magyartanításban [Digital Possibilities in Teaching Hungarian to Fifth Graders]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. https://hdl.handle.net/2437/354105 (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).

- Bringhurst, Robert. 2004. *The Elements of Typographic Style*. Point Roberts, WA: Hartley and Marks Publishers.
- Brydon-Miller, Mary-Davydd Greenwood-Patricia Maguire. 2003. Why action research? *Action Research* 1(1): 9–28.
- Csapó, Gábor–Katalin Sebestyén–Mária Csernoch–Kálmán Abari. 2020. Case study: Developing long-term knowledge with Sprego. *Education and Information Technologies* 26(1): 965–982.
- Csapó, Gábor–Mária Csernoch–Kálmán Abari. 2019. Sprego: Case study on the effectiveness of teaching spreadsheet management with schema construction. *Education and Information Technologies* 25(3): 1585–1605.
- Csernoch, Mária. 2014. *Programozás táblázatkezelő függvényekkel; Sprego: Táblázatkezelés csupán egy tucat függvénnyel* [Programming with Spreadsheet Functions: Sprego]. Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó Kft.
- —— 2021. The stepchild of informatics education: File management. *Academia Letters* 1–4. *https://doi.org/10.20935/al2295* (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Eilks, Ingo. 2018. Why a new journal in science education? Why focusing on action research? *Action Research and Innovation in Science Education* 1(1): 1–2.
- Ékesné, Baranyai Enikő. 2023. *Digitális feladatok magyarórákon az általános iskola 6. évfolyamán* [Digital Tasks for Hungarian Classes in the Sixth Grade]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. *https://hdl.handle.net/2437/354108* (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Fülöp, Mária–Szilágyi, Katalin. 2021. *Nyelvtan és helyesírás 2. munkafüzet* [Grammar and Spelling 2. Exercise Book]. Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal.
- —— 2022. *Nyelvtan és helyesírás 3. Tankönyv* [Grammar and Spelling 3. Exercise Book]. Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal.
- Ghazi-Saidi, Ladan—Ana Ines Ansaldo. 2017. Second language word learning through repetition and imitation: Functional networks as a function of learning phase and language distance. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 11: 1–13.
- Groundwater-Smith, Susan–Anna Campbell. 2010. *Action Research in Education*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Gyarmati, Dezső. 2022. *KemIKT az általános iskolában* [KemIKT in Elementary School]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. *http://hdl.handle.net/2437/330497* (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Kahneman, Daniel. 2011. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Kamarás, Krisztina. 2022. Az Excel program felhasználási lehetőségei az általános iskola felső tagozatán tanórai keretek között [Possibilities of Using the Excel Program in Upper Elementary Grades]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. http://hdl.handle.net/2437/330496 (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).

- Kormány, József Róbert. 2022. A GeoGebra felhasználásának néhány lehetősége a geometria tanításában az általános iskola 5. évfolyamán [Several Possibilities of Using GeoGebra for Teaching Geometry in the Fifth Grade of Elementary School]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. http://hdl.handle.net/2437/330645 (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Krafcik, John F. 1988. Triumph of the Lean Production System. Sloan Management Review 30(1): 41–52.
- Kirschner, Paul A.–John Sweller–Richard E. Clark. 2006. Why minimal guidance during instruction does not work: An analysis of the failure of constructivist, discovery, problem-based, experiential, and inquiry-based teaching. *Educational Psychologist* 41(2): 75–86. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep4102_1 (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Kirschner, Paul A.—Pedro De Bruyckere. 2017. The myths of the digital native and the multitasker. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 67: 135–142. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.06.001 (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Liker, Jeffrey K. 2004. The Toyota Way: 14 Management Principles from the World's Greatest Manufacturer. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Maurer, Robert. 2013. The Spirit of Kaizen: Creating Lasting Excellence One Small Step at a Time. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- —— 2014. One Small Step Can Change Your Life: The Kaizen Way. New York: Workman Publishing Company.
- Microsoft Support. Guidelines and Examples of Array Formulas. 2023. *Microsoft Support. https://support.microsoft.com/en-us/office/guidelines-and-examples-of-array-formulas-7d94a64e-3ff3-4686-9372-ecfd5caa57c7* (Last accessed: 20 May 2023).
- Mishra, Punya-Matthew J. Koehler. 2006. Technological pedagogical content knowledge: A framework for teacher knowledge. *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education* 108(6): 1017–1054. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810610800610. (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- NAT2020: Magyar Közlöny, A Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról szóló 110/2012. (VI. 4.) Korm. rendelet módosításáról 290–446 (2017). Budapest. https://magyarkozlony.hu/dokumentumok/3288b6548a740 b9c8daf918a399a0bed1985db0f/letoltes. (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Ohno, Taiichi. 1988. *Toyota Production System: Beyond Large-Scale Production*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Productivity Press.
- Panko, R. Raymond. 1998. What we know about spreadsheet errors. *Journal of Organizational and End User Computing* 10(2): 15–21.
- 2012. Introduction to End User Computing: The Dark Matter (and Dark Energy) of Corporate IT use and user (U2) Studies Minitrack. 45th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences: 1–24.

- Polya, George. 1945. *How to Solve It.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rother, Mike. 2010. Toyota Kata: Managing People for Improvement, Adaptiveness, and Superior Results. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Sápiné Bényei, Rita. 2021. *Magyar nyelv munkafüzet 6* [Hungarian Language Exercise Book 6]. Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal.
- Sestoft, Peter. 2011. Spreadsheet Technology. Copenhagen: IT University of Copenhagen.
- Sweller, John–Paul Ayres–Slava Kalyuga. 2011. *Cognitive Load Theory*. New York: Springer.
- Szűcs, Edina. 2023. *Digitális oktatás alsó tagozatban* [Digital Education in Primary School]. Unpublished dissertation. University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary. https://hdl.handle.net/2437/354111. (Last accessed: 9 August 2023).
- Womack, James P.–Daniel T. Jones. 2003. Lean Thinking: Banish Waste and Create Wealth in Your Corporation. New York: Simon & Schuster.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0018

Exploring Enjoyment and Flow among Monolingual and Bilingual Learners of English

Enikő BIRÓ

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Applied Linguistics

biro.eniko@ms.sapientia.ro

http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6373-881X

Balázs KATÓ

Babeş–Bolyai University katobalazs2003@gmail.com

Abstract. Emotions play a prominent role in foreign language learning, with positive emotions, such as enjoyment, gaining significant attention in recent years. Enjoyment has been identified as a strong predictor of flow experiences as learners progress to more advanced levels in their language studies (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022). This study aims to explore the factors that trigger enjoyment, which also serve as components of flow as originally defined by Csikszentmihályi (1975). Adopting a qualitative approach within the framework of positive psychology and flow theory, we empirically examined the antecedent conditions of flow in an online sample of 216 language learners from three different settings: two monolingual contexts (Hungary and Poland) and one bilingual context (Transylvania, Romania). We investigated whether there are differences in the experiences of enjoyment and flow between monolingual and bilingual students. Data were collected through online surveys where participants recounted memorable and enjoyable English language learning experiences. Using content analysis, we explored the close connection between enjoyment and flow in learners' narratives. We described patterns of flow components, which further emphasize the role of enjoyment in language learning. The findings, illustrated by participants' reports, highlight factors that align with flow states, including a sense of complete involvement in tasks, intense focus, joy, loss of sense of time/place, and spontaneous connection with peers and teachers. The results suggest that while enhanced enjoyment and flow are significant in foreign language learning, they are not necessarily linked to being a bilingual language learner.

Keywords: enjoyment, flow, language learning, monolingual, bilingual

Introduction

One of the many practical values of applied linguistic research lies in the intersection of psychology and foreign language learning. The increasing interest in the role of emotions has led to new directions in this field. Various psychological approaches resulted in new methods in language teaching, such as total physical response, the silent way, or suggestopedia (Bárdos 2000), and they were utilized to support foreign language learning. Nonetheless, learning a language is a long-lasting intellectual activity that involves both positive and negative experiences. In the new millennium, researchers have become more interested in the role of emotions in foreign language learning and teaching (Czimmermann and Piniel 2016, Dewaele and Li 2018, Dewaele and MacIntyre 2019). It is relevant to further study the connection between language learning and emotions, more precisely between foreign language acquisition and flow, as a positive mental state. As Dewaele and MacIntyre claim, "although a combination of positive and negative emotions can produce a conflicted state of ambivalence, a state of flow features a harmonious balance between the positive and negative emotions (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022: 170).

The present research focuses on the role of enjoyment in foreign language learning and aims to connect it to the theory of flow. It analyses the factors that may play a role in triggering enjoyment, and possibly flow experiences in learning English as a foreign language by students in three different countries: in two monolingual settings — Hungary and Poland — and in a bilingual setting: Transylvania, Romania. We hypothesise that students growing up in a bilingual or multilingual society are more likely to experience a state of flow, associated with enjoyment, compared to their peers characterized by societal monolingualism. The present study seeks answers to the following questions:

- 1. What elements of flow state can be identified in participants' accounts of enjoyable episodes of learning English as a foreign language?
- 2. Is there a difference between monolingual and bilingual language learners reporting on enjoyment during their language learning process?

The first part of the paper outlines the concept of enjoyment and flow in connection with language learning. It also summarizes the components identified as key contributors to enjoyment or flow experience in the language learning context. This is followed by the presentation of participants' self-reports on enjoyment experiences, based on Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2022) method of written self-report as a means of data collection.

An online questionnaire was designed in order to collect data. It was completed by participants coming from monolingual and bilingual settings, from Romania, Hungary, and Poland. University students from Hungary and Poland provided the monolingual participants for this survey, and participants born in mixed families were excluded. The third group of participants consisted of Hungarian ethnic

minority students in Romania, studying at two universities where Hungarian is the language of instruction.

Following the theoretical background and conceptual description, the paper provides a detailed introduction to data collection and data presentation. The qualitative analysis of the written self-reports on retrospective experiences of enjoyment and flow elements offers insights into their role in foreign language learning.

1. Enjoyment, flow, and language learning

The findings of positive psychology in the field of second language acquisition were introduced by MacIntyre and Gregersen (2012) and MacIntyre and Mercer (2014). According to Dewaele and MacIntyre (2022), this perspective shifted the view of researchers into a new direction, "rather than considering learners as lacking something, the view changed to seeing learners as people in the process of growing" (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022: 158); thus, the role of positive emotions, such as enjoyment and flow, was emphasized.

Enjoyment in foreign language learning is defined as a positive emotion experienced when the psychological needs of learners are met in a foreign language classroom (Botes et al. 2020). It has become a widely studied variable when quantifying positive emotions experienced in a foreign language classroom (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014). It is claimed that greater enjoyment in foreign language classroom has been associated with lower foreign language anxiety (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2016). Positive correlation has been proved between higher academic achievement (Jin and Zhang 2021), higher self-perceived competence (Zhang et al. 2020), and increased enjoyment. Dewaele and MacIntyre have offered a detailed definition for the concept of enjoyment, naming it as "a complex emotion, capturing interacting dimensions of challenge and perceived ability that reflect the human drive for success in the face of difficult tasks [...] enjoyment occurs when people not only meet their needs, but exceed them to accomplish something new or even unexpected" (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2016: 216).

In research, foreign language enjoyment is generally linked to demographic variables, personal characteristic variables, and applied linguistic variables. For example, among the demographic variables, age, gender, and multilingualism have been associated with enjoyment. Older learners, female learners generally, reveal higher levels of enjoyment than younger ones or male learners (Dewaele et al. 2018, Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014). Personality traits, emotional intelligence, and grit have also been linked to enjoyment in foreign language learning. Moreover, positive correlations have been found between enjoyment and curiosity (Mahmoodzadeh and Khajavy 2018). Cognition has been found to

predict enjoyment (Rezazadeh and Zarrinabadi 2020), and emotional intelligence also positively correlates with enjoyment (Li 2020, Resnik and Dewaele 2020).

Nevertheless, the drive for success and the feeling of accomplishment are relevant characteristics of the flow state as well. Enjoyment is described as a strong predictor of flow experiences, especially as language learners reach more advanced levels in their language studies (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022). Csikszentmihályi, one of the founders of positive psychology, defined flow as "an optimal state of intrinsic motivation, where the person is fully immersed in what they are doing. This is a feeling everyone has at times, characterized by a feeling of great absorption, engagement, fulfilment, and skill – and during which temporal concerns (time, food, ego-self, etc.) are typically ignored" (Csikszentmihályi 1990: 5). In his approach, particular attention is paid to the match between challenge and skill. This happens when someone's skill level meets the demands of a given challenge, and then cognition, emotion, and experience blend well together (Csikszentmihályi 1990). Flow is about the optimal balancing between the challenge and the skills of a person, or, in other words, "flow-enhancing experience entails a balance between task challenge and learner skill, where tasks are addressed with skills appropriate to the situation" (Wang and Huang 2022: 2). When flow occurs, the balance between the learner's perceived skills and the perceived challenges of the task creates enjoyment. Thus, the two main concepts of this present study, i.e. enjoyment and flow, are strongly linked to each other. It can be said that there is no flow without enjoyment; however, enjoyment can occur without experiencing flow state.

The concept of flow is well researched in psychology but has been less extensively studied in language learning contexts. MacIntyre and Gregersen (2012) proposed and investigated in-depth potential benefits of positive psychology in the field of second language acquisition. Since then, the focus has shifted to the role of positive emotions, such as flow, and positive learner characteristics (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022). The periods of flow state, claimed by Dewaele and MacIntyre (2022), are accompanied by positive emotions, which can alter a person's responses towards actions that "arise from corresponding thoughts and feelings: negative emotions tend to produce narrowed thought-action repertoire", while positive emotions expand and generate additional options for behaviour, and thus these flow experiences can "build resources that can be used in the future" (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022: 171) and aid the language learning process onward. Czimmermann and Piniel (2016) studied flow both at the task and classroom level. They claimed that classroom contexts can generate flow states, and setting goals and giving clear and immediate feedback to learners by teachers also contribute to the flow state (Piniel and Albert 2017).

Regarding the connection between enjoyment and flow, Dewaele and MacIntyre (2022) found that enjoyment is "characterised by full involvement in a task, joy

and bonding with peers, intense focus and joy, and distortion of the sense of time and place" (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022: 164). These characteristics are connected to the components of flow, originally defined by Csikszentmihályi (1975). According to him, there are six components of attributes that comprise a flow experience. These components can be part of non-flow experience as well, but together they represent the desirable flow state including: (1) merging action and awareness, (2) centring of attention, (3) loss of self-consciousness, (4) feelings of control, (5) coherent demands, and (6) an autotelic or intrinsically motivating activity (Csikszentmihályi (1975).

In the present empirical study, we have connected the concept of enjoyment with that of flow to investigate those components which may create a state of flow while triggering enjoyment in a foreign language learning situation. Enjoyment was defined as any positive emotion emerging from participants' self-reports, while flow state was linked to the clusters of flow components described by Dewaele and MacIntyre (2022): involvement in an individual or collective task, merging of action and awareness, joyful interactions with peers, intense focus, loss of self-consciousness, sense of time and place.

It has to be mentioned that studying enjoyment or flow in foreign language learning contexts by bilingual minority learners has never been the focus of research. The retrospective approach, i.e. analysing learner reports on enjoyable episodes of language learning, is justified by the fact that it seems likely that language learners are able to remember their past experiences in terms of enjoyment and/or anxiety. The subjective experience could be biased by many factors such as performance outcomes (Czimmermann and Piniel 2016) and the current state of language proficiency. By categorizing language learning, joyful experiences in well-defined groups can reveal some of the flow components language learners might experience during enjoyable, flow-inducing language learning processes.

2. Methodology and data collection

2.1. Studying enjoyment and flow in a foreign language learning context

Investigating enjoyment and flow generally requires a mixed-method approach, quantitative and qualitative methods to "explore the intricate relationships between flow-enhancing and flow-prohibiting experiences, as well as the flow's complex interactions within itself (Wang and Huang 2022: 2). These methods may include observations, interviews, perception surveys, as well as questionnaires. Retrospective interviews have also been used in order to collect detailed descriptions of flow experiences.

Our method of data collection is twofold. The first part relies on self-report questionnaire, which includes a demographics section inquiring about participants' socio-biographical profiles (e.g. age, mother tongue, gender, place of birth, place of residence, major at university). This segment is followed by questions referring to linguistic data (e.g. languages spoken, age of starting learning English, proficiency in English, etc.). The questionnaire is complemented by the second part of our data collection method. It consists of an open-end question inquiring about past language learning experiences. With this part of the data, we aimed to carry out a qualitative analysis regarding memorable and enjoyable past English language learning experiences.

The questionnaire, together with the self-report section, was designed in a Google Forms format and distributed online in all three countries on social media platforms between 11 February and 17 March 2024. A total of 216 participants (160 female, 56 male) provided data on our questionnaire. The number of female participants is much higher, which is not surprising. In online language questionnaires, it is typical to have more female respondents (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2022).

The respondents from the three countries are distributed as follows: 99 respondents from Romania, 55 respondents from Poland, and 62 respondents from Hungary. All participants were university students, undergraduate (n = 156) and master's students (n = 60). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 48 (mean age = 22 years).

2.2. Study participants with monolingual and bilingual sociolinguistic background

Growing up in an exclusively monolingual setting can be a rather artificial and rarely encountered linguistic experience today. Decades ago, Crystal (1997) claimed that approximately two-thirds of the world's population grew up in a bilingual environment. Broadly defined, anyone can be considered bilingual or multilingual with the regular use of two or more languages in their everyday lives. Moreover, the participants of the present study can hardly be categorized as monolinguals, as students of this age have already studied at least one foreign language during their schooling.

Still, learning a foreign language can differ significantly between learners whose mother tongue is identical with the official language of their country (thus they can be characterized by societal monolingualism) and those whose mother tongue is an ethnic minority language different from the country's official language (thus characterized by societal bilingualism).

In the present study, those learners are considered monolinguals whose mother tongue is identical to the official language of the respective country where they live and study. These learners grow up immersed in their country's official language, which is used in education, media, and daily communication. Foreign language learning for these individuals often occurs in formal educational settings, where the emphasis is on learning a second language, usually through structured lessons. Their motivation for learning a foreign language might include academic requirements, career opportunities, or personal interest. We have included participants from Poland and Hungary in this group.

Learners characterized by societal or family bilingualism experience a bilingual or multilingual environment from an early age, as they navigate between their minority mother tongue and the official language of their country. This bilingual background can provide cognitive advantages. Their experience with language switching and adaptation can make them more receptive to learning foreign languages, often making it easier for them to learn new languages compared to their monolingual peers. Learners from minority language backgrounds often have early exposure to multiple languages. They may also be more motivated to learn additional languages due to their existing experience with bilingualism and the need to navigate different linguistic and cultural contexts. Therefore, we have included participants from Transylvania region (Romania) into this group.

Participants from Poland and Hungary are considered monolingual respondents; they have learned English or other languages as foreign languages. In their case, the influence of a second/state language can be excluded. Participants from Romania are all Hungarian–Romanian bilinguals, members of the Hungarian ethnic minority living in Transylvania. These participants have learnt Hungarian as their mother tongue from their birth. They all learnt, to different extents, Romanian as a second language. Therefore, foreign language acquisition was preceded by contact with the state language, Romanian. Learning Romanian may have influenced the development of their language learning skills and they may have encountered positive or negative emotions with language learning from a very early age.

2.2.1. Participants from Romania

A total of 99 respondents filled out the Flow Questionnaire. The majority of the participants were female (n=65), 34 participants were male. Age ranged from 18 to 38 years, with a mean age of 21.4. Most of the participants were undergraduate (bachelor's degree = 94, master's degree n=5). The language of instruction was Hungarian in the case of 91 respondents, 5 participants pursued their university studies in English, and 3 participants studied in Romanian. All participants declared Hungarian as their mother tongue.

Regarding their foreign language knowledge, the majority of the respondents (n = 80) has learnt a foreign language other than English. Most of them started to learn the English language in elementary school (n = 53). No one started it before

kindergarten (i.e. before the age of 3). One participant started learning English at university. Based on their self-assessment (Figure 1), the level of English language proficiency of the majority of the respondents is B1/B2 (n = 57).

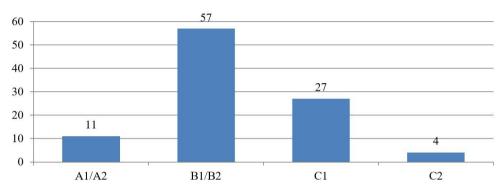


Figure 1. Self-reported English language proficiency (n = 99), Romania

More than half of the respondents thought they had a better or a much better knowledge of English than the average compared to their peers (n = 47) – average (n = 38), below average (n = 13).

2.2.2. Participants from Poland

A total of 55 respondents filled out the Flow Questionnaire. The majority of the participants were female (n=48), 7 participants were male. Age ranged from 18 to 25 years, with a mean age of 21.3. Most of the participants are pursuing their master's degree (master's degree n=33, bachelor's degree = 22). One of the participants has already finished their university studies. The language of instruction is Polish in the case of 41 respondents, whilst 2 participants pursue their university studies in English. The participants declared Polish as their mother tongue.

Regarding their foreign language knowledge, 33 participants have learnt a foreign language other than English, while 22 participants do not speak or are not learning foreign languages other than English. Most of the participants started to learn the English language in kindergarten (n=32), 6 participants before kindergarten, and 17 of the respondents in elementary school. Based on their self-assessment (*Figure 2*), the level of English language proficiency is varied: B1/B2 (n=25), C1 (n=23), C2 (n=6), and A1/A2 (n=1).

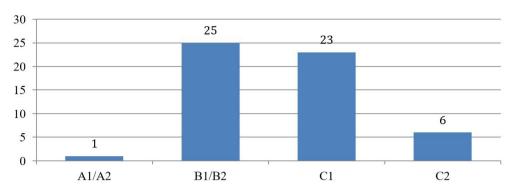


Figure 2. Self-reported English language proficiency (n = 55), Poland

When it came to the participants comparing their English knowledge to that of their peers, 33 claimed to be better than average, while 21 participants thought that their English language knowledge was average compared to their peers. Only one person considered their knowledge of English below average compared to their peers.

2.2.3. Participants from Hungary

A total of 62 respondents filled out our questionnaire. The majority of the participants were female (n = 47); male (n = 15). Age ranged from 18 to 31 years, with a mean age of: 21.8. Most of the participants were undergraduate (bachelor's degree = 40, master's degree n = 22). The language of instruction was Hungarian in the case of 55 respondents, and 7 participants pursued their university studies in English. All participants declared Hungarian as their mother tongue. Only one respondent claimed to be bilingual: Serbian–Hungarian.

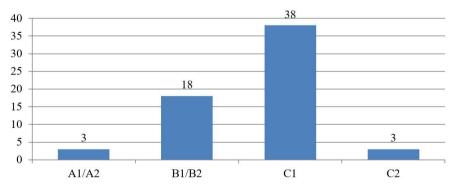


Figure 3. Self-reported English language proficiency (n = 62), Hungary

Regarding their foreign language knowledge, the majority of the respondents (n = 53) have learnt a foreign language other than English. The majority of the participants started to learn the English language in elementary school (n = 43). 11 participants began learning it in secondary school and 8 in kindergarten. No one started it before kindergarten (i.e. before the age of 3). Based on their self-assessment (*Figure 3*), the level of English language proficiency of the majority of the respondents was C1 (n = 38). Three participants claimed to be at level C2 (n = 3).

A total of 26 respondents thought they had better or much better knowledge of English than the average compared to their peers – average (n = 32), below average (n = 4).

3. Content analysis of English language learning memory reports

Data analysis included the qualitative analysis of the texts provided by the participants to the final question of the questionnaire, which asked them to describe their memorable and/or enjoyable episodes of past English language learning experiences. This part generated a total of 195 responses of memorable or enjoyable episodes: 83 responses from Romania, 55 from Poland, and 57 from Hungary. There were 21 respondents who did not deliver a description of an enjoyable memory of language learning.

During content analysis, all texts were broken down into units of analysis. Four units, following Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2022) analysis (*Figure 4*), were created: (a.) data referring to the "self", (b.) data showing "self—peer" incidents, (c.) data representing "self—teacher" involvement, and, finally, (d.) a "self—peers—teacher" category was included.

Table 1. Categories of self-reports based on Dewaele and MacIntyre's work (2022)

Units of content analysis				
self	self–peer	self–teacher	self–peers–teacher	

These categories were broad enough to include all the textual data provided by the respondents. Within the four broad categories, we tried to determine the presence of those components which are closely linked to the concept of flow. Only the most representative data extracts were included in the presentation of this part of the study.

As mentioned before, enjoyment was defined as any positive emotion emerging from the self-reports of the participants, while a detailed list of flow components

was based on the following: involvement in an individual task, involvement in a collective task, taking action, awareness of the task, enjoyment with peers, intense focus, intense joy, loss of self-consciousness, loss of sense of time/place (*Table 2*).

Table 2. Flow components

1			
	1. involvement in an individual task		
	2. involvement in a collective task		
	3. taking action		
	4. awareness of the task		
Datailed flow commonents	5. enjoyment with peers		
Detailed flow components	6. intense focus		
	7. intense joy		
	8. loss of self-consciousness		
	9. loss of sense of time/place		
	10. enjoyment with teacher		

There was one more component created in order to integrate reference to feedback from teacher: enjoyment with teacher, because setting goals and giving clear and immediate feedback to the learners by teachers also contribute to the flow state (Piniel and Albert 2017).

3.1. The "self" category

The first category was "self", meaning that only the learner was involved in the memorable experience. After content analysis, this category received the most responses. Out of the 195 respondents, a total of 72 participants described a joyful memory related exclusively to themselves.

This category included memories that required mostly individual work; therefore, *involvement in an individual task* as flow experience was mentioned. Language learners identified their own presentations as a memorable and enjoyable experience. Presentations were enjoyed not only because of the individual efforts – thus they could experience flow while taking action – but also because learners felt being the centre of attention or valued for their skills and knowledge:

(1) In our school, the professor often makes us do presentations that we have to give. I like these because I like to be the centre of attention and I like to be listened to. (bilingual, Romania)

Enjoyment-inducing individual tasks included learning about interesting topics, watching movies during English classes, or writing songs. Two participants

from Romania expressed their view that they could compensate for inadequate knowledge of the state language by mastering English, which promoted intense joy:

(2) On reflection, learning English has always been a flow state for me, especially when I have seen the positive outcomes of it, as I have used my English skills more than once in situations where my Romanian language skills have failed me. (bilingual, Romania)

Skill and challenge balance, which creates the optimal context for flow, is mentioned by one of the participants, who admits that learning English was challenging but rewarding at the same time, therefore it provided joy for her:

(3) Sometimes I miss learning more English because the English language courses have been challenging and rewarding, and my love for the English language has only grown stronger. (bilingual, Romania)

Watching movies or series, considered a great technique of learning a language, is also among the individual tasks which provide intense joy:

(4) And such a nice memory is probably the moment when I watched a series in English for the first time without subtitles and managed to understand everything. (monolingual, Poland)

The important role of creativity, which relies on taking action, was also mentioned by one of the participants: "I liked the fact that we could unleash our creativity and our English language skills" (bilingual, Romania). Getting absorbed in time and space, being aware of the "there and now" moment while learning English is also a clear sign of experiencing flow, the loss of sense of time and place, or the loss of self-consciousness:

(5) One evening I realised that my daily English learning time had exceeded 8×60 minutes, and it made me feel really good because the time flew by without me noticing because I loved it so much. (monolingual, Hungary) or

I don't know, but I really like reading in English, and after a while I get so immersed in it that I don't even realise I'm reading in English. (monolingual, Hungary)

Integrating games, wordplays into the process of language learning is also a possibility to generate enjoyment and motivation, and the intense focus got rewarded:

(6) But the best thing was when we had riddles at the end of the lesson: the teacher would write a sentence on the board, a riddle that we had to solve together. It was a very pleasant memory for me when I managed to find the solution. It gave me a sense of achievement. (monolingual, Hungary)

Nevertheless, topics of interest also enhance the flow experience, keeping the learners motivated and focused: "I was mostly excited about speaking topics and the idea of expressing my point of view speaking some foreign language" (monolingual, Poland).

3.2. The "self-peers" category

The second category was "self-peers", meaning that the enjoyment or flow experience is shared or generated by the actions or presence of a peer or peers in the class. After content analysis, this category included a total of 43 out of the 195 respondents, who described a joyful memory where they mentioned the active presence of their peers.

This category comprised memories which mostly referred to debates, discussions, funny moments experienced and enjoyed together with the peers, or role-plays. Eleven participants from Romania mentioned the support received from their classmates, the positive feedback, and thus their *involvement in collective tasks* is fondly remembered:

(7) Interesting topics and not everyday situations encouraged everybody, including myself, to speak out, who would not have done so otherwise. So, everyone got involved and was eager to contribute, or regardless of any flaws or shortcomings, we were able to participate in a very valuable conversation. (bilingual, Romania)

Enjoying the process of learning together, feeling accepted by the peers, thus feeling intense joy, is quite often mentioned:

(8) We were practising a listening test when we looked at each other, and we all noticed that none of us was better than the other. It was such an uplifting feeling to see that we are not alone but together in this boat. (bilingual, Romania)

Topics of interest, debates seem to add intense joy to the time spent together within language learning contexts, while role-playing games create real-life situations, which can promote engagement and intense focus:

(9) Tasks in the form of dialogues with my friend were interesting. Although sometimes we didn't know what we were supposed to do, at least we had fun. (monolingual, Poland)

or another one confessed:

I have very fond memories of learning English in grades 1–3. We learned by singing songs, puns, and various games. (monolingual, Poland)

(10) We were role-playing, and I felt the language used was realistic (monolingual, Hungary)

3.3. The "self-teacher" category

The third category was "self-teacher", which referred to the presence and proactive behaviour of the teacher as well. After content analysis, this category included a total of 52 out of the 195 respondents, who described a joyful memory where they mentioned the supportive presence of their teacher. Involvement in an individual task, such as presentations, emphasized *enjoyment with the teacher* due to positive feedbacks. These seem crucial in creating enjoyment, motivation, and flow:

(11) So, the teacher was a bit like a good friend I rarely met, and these conversations in English helped me in many things besides learning the language, which is why they remain a good memory to this day. (bilingual, Romania)

Therefore, praise and approval are cherished memories of learners: "I was praised for a short and concise summary of the lesson" (monolingual, Hungary). Anxiety-free learning environment, together with an understanding, emphatic teacher, promotes taking actions and the loss of self-consciousness:

- (12) Our teacher in 5–8 and 9–12 was very understanding, kind, and enthusiastic. This always helped us to have a good atmosphere and to always dare to speak up and express our opinions. (bilingual, Romania)
- (13) The whole last semester was enjoyable. I came to academic English classes with pleasure and without stress. Also because we have a great teacher! (monolingual, Poland)

3.4. The "self-peers-teacher" category

The fourth category was "self-peers-teacher", where the respondents' memories were connected to the feelings activated by the interaction involving the learner, their peers, and the teacher. After content analysis, this category included a total of 28 out of the 195 respondents, who described a joyful memory where they highlighted the relaxed atmosphere of the classes. This category included memories about interactive tasks, games, positive feedback from peers and teachers, and they emphasized *intense focus* on all sides as well:

(14) It was always a nice moment in the language class when we could discuss a divisive issue and give our opinion, which the teacher listened to. (bilingual, Romania)

The same *involvement in collective tasks* was mentioned by monolingual learners from Hungary:

(15) In the old days, when we analysed songs from time to time, it was always good, [...] I loved it when we played English games for holidays. It was a fun, relaxed atmosphere. (monolingual, Hungary)

Awareness of the task and loss of self-consciousness characterizes the following excerpt, where the respondent highlighted the fact that learning English was joyful and natural, involving the whole group:

(16) In high school, the classes in the advanced group were very pleasant because the book was not the main form of learning, but our communication, interesting exercises and tasks that opened us up to the language and made us react and communicate in any way made us enter more quickly and effectively into the language, which became natural. (monolingual, Poland)

Still, integrating language games seems to be the exception, and these memories are highly valued, as they create relaxedness, are fun, and generate intense joy and intense focus, and also enjoyment with the teacher:

- (17) I also loved when we played English games for holidays. It was a fun, relaxed atmosphere. (monolingual, Hungarian)
- (18) We were divided into small groups, so in each class the lady would take a moment to talk to each of us, thus practising our ability to speak

English fluently. She was very nice, she didn't do midterms or questioning. The atmosphere was conducive to learning. (monolingual, Poland)

The above-mentioned four categories summarize participants' reports on enjoyable episodes of language learning, and they reveal components which most often indicated enjoyment as a strong predictor of flow experience. These flow components were the following: involvement in an individual or collective task (self, self–peer, and self–teacher category), taking action and awareness of task (self and self–teacher category), joyful interactions with peers (self–peer category). Intense focus, loss of self-consciousness, as well as loss of sense of time and place are also indicators of flow experience mentioned by respondents (self category).

There is not much difference between the groups in terms of their English language skills, with 40-50% of participants reporting proficiency levels above B1/B2, and 30-40% of the participants reporting C1 or C2 proficiency levels. Almost half of the participants (n = 106) believed they had better or much better knowledge of English than the average compared to their peers; therefore, neither their English proficiency nor their self-perception is likely to have significantly influenced their enjoyment of learning English.

Our second research question examined the potential differences in enjoyment reported by monolingual and bilingual language learners during their language learning process. As discussed, the participants of the present study are categorized as monolinguals based on their societal monolingualism, with their mother tongue being the same as the official language of the respective country where they live and study. These participants were from Poland and Hungary. Bilingual learners from Romania have to navigate between their minority mother tongue, Hungarian, and the official language of their country, Romanian. We also assumed that learning Romanian may have already elicited positive or negative emotions related to language learning from a very early age. However, the findings suggest that experiencing enhanced enjoyment and flow while learning a foreign language is not necessarily linked to being a bilingual language learner. The content analysis of the narratives on enjoyment revealed similar flow components present in all four categories of self-reports (*Table 3*).

Table 3. Units of content analysis based on participants' sociolinguistic profile

Units of content analysis (number of respondents = 195)						
Participants' sociolinguistic profile -	self	self–peers	self–teacher	self–peers– teacher		
socioninguistic prome –	72	43	52	28		
Bilinguals (n = 83)	38	19	34	11		
Monolinguals (n = 112)	36	24	18	17		

Bilingual participants provided slightly more narratives in the "self-teacher" category (n = 34) and slightly less in the "self-peers-teacher" category (n = 11); however, our empirical study did not and could not provide enough quantitative data for reliable evidence from this point of view. The potential reasons for the lack of significant differences between monolingual and bilingual learners could be the fact that all participants experienced similar educational contexts, all countries sharing probably similar foreign language teaching methods. This similarity in teaching methods and classroom experiences could diminish the expected differences based on language background alone. Moreover, language learning in formal education often follows a standardized curriculum that may not significantly vary between monolingual and bilingual contexts. This could result in a similar experience of enjoyment and flow across different learner groups. Also, the participants already have some level of English proficiency, which might mean they have successfully navigated language learning challenges in the past, thus positioning them similarly in terms of their potential to experience enjoyment and flow. Sociocultural attitudes towards language learning in Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania might be broadly supportive, encouraging a positive outlook on language learning regardless of being monolingual or bilingual. Therefore, shared cultural values around education and language acquisition could diminish the impact of individual language backgrounds.

In terms of flow components, we can conclude that the most often mentioned ones (in all four categories) were the following: intense joy, intense focus, enjoyment with the teacher, involvement in individual task, involvement in collective task. Moreover, the "self" category revealed almost all clusters of flow components based on Dewaele and MacIntyre's work (2022), which together may represent the desirable flow state.

4. Conclusions

Our study explored the relationship between enjoyment and flow in foreign language learning, focusing on learners with monolingual and bilingual sociolinguistic background from three different countries: Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania, Romania. The findings highlight the significant role of enjoyment in predicting flow experiences, underscoring that the presence of flow is closely tied to learners' positive emotional states during language learning activities. Enjoyment was frequently linked with key flow components, such as intense focus, a sense of control, and the merging of action and awareness, which were prominently present in the learners' narratives. It has been hypothesised that students growing up in a bilingual or multilingual society are more likely to experience a state of flow, associated with enjoyment, compared to their peers

characterized by societal monolingualism. The present study also tried to find out what components of flow state can be identified while experiencing enjoyment in learning English as a foreign language.

The content analysis revealed that enjoyment and flow can occur in a variety of contexts, including individual tasks, interactions with peers, and engagements with teachers. Interestingly, the experiences of enjoyment and flow were not significantly different between monolingual and bilingual learners, suggesting that the capacity for these positive states is universally accessible, regardless of the sociolinguistic environment. This finding challenges the initial hypothesis that bilingual learners might experience higher levels of flow due to their linguistic background.

Key factors contributing to flow included engaging tasks, supportive teacher feedback, and collaborative activities with peers. These elements fostered an environment conducive to intense concentration, joy, and a temporary loss of self-consciousness — hallmarks of flow. While bilingual participants reported a slightly higher incidence of teacher involvement as a facilitator of flow, this was not enough to assert a strong differentiation between the groups. The study emphasizes that the quality of the learning experience, rather than the learner's linguistic background, is paramount to achieving flow states.

The study contributes to the growing body of literature on the importance of positive psychology in language learning, specifically through its detailed examination of how enjoyment fosters optimal learning conditions. These findings suggest that language teachers should focus on creating engaging, supportive, and joyful learning environments that can facilitate the experience of flow. Enhancing enjoyment in the classroom not only improves the immediate learning experience but also builds enduring resources that can enhance learners' resilience and long-term success in language acquisition.

In conclusion, the research reaffirms the integral role of positive emotional states in foreign language learning. By understanding the components that foster enjoyment and flow, teachers can better support students in achieving both academic success and a deeper, more fulfilling engagement with language learning. Future studies should continue to explore these dynamics across diverse linguistic and cultural settings to further refine our understanding of the interplay between enjoyment, flow, and language learning outcomes. We are aware of the fact that qualitative data is less reliable than quantitative data, but we argue that our approach may give further insight into the phenomenon of flow. The study involved 216 participants, but a more diverse or larger sample might reveal nuanced differences not captured in the current analysis. For instance, subtle variations in enjoyment and flow might become statistically significant with a larger or more varied participant pool. Further research should include

both data analyses in order to provide deeper understanding of the presence or absence of flow, especially in the case of bilingual minority learners.

References

- Bárdos, Jenő. 2000. Az idegen nyelvek tanításának elméleti alapjai és gyakorlata [The Theory and Practice of Foreign Language Teaching]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Botes, E'Louise–Jean-Marc Dewaele–Samuel Greiff. 2020. The power to improve: Effects of multilingualism and perceived proficiency on enjoyment and anxiety in foreign language learning. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics* 8(2): 1–28.
- Crystal, David. 1997. English as a Global Language. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Csikszentmihályi Mihály. 1975. *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- —— 1990. Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Czimmermann Éva-Katalin Piniel. 2016. Advanced language learners' experiences of flow in the Hungarian EFL classroom. In Peter D. MacIntyre-Tammy Gregersen-Sarah Mercer (eds), *Positive Psychology in SLA*, 193–214. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc-Chengchen Li. 2018. Emotions in SLA [Special issue]. Second Language Learning and Teaching 8: 15–19.
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc–John Witney–Kazuya Saito–Livia Dewaele. 2018. Foreign language enjoyment and anxiety in the FL classroom: The effect of teacher and learner variables. *Language Teaching Research* 22(6): 676–697.
- Dewaele, Jean-Marc-Peter D. MacIntyre 2014. The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. Studies. Second Language Learning and Teaching 4: 237–274.
- —— 2016. Foreign language enjoyment and foreign language classroom anxiety: The right and left feet of FL learning? In Peter D. Macintyre—Tammy Gregersen—Sarah Mercer (eds), *Positive Psychology in SLA*, 215–236. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- —— 2019. The predictive power of multicultural personality traits, learner and teacher variables on foreign language enjoyment and anxiety. In Masatoshi Sato–Shawn Loewen (eds), Evidence-Based Second Language Pedagogy: A Collection of Instructed Second Language Acquisition Studies, 263–286. London: Routledge.

- —— 2022. "You can't start a fire without a spark". Enjoyment and the emergence of flow in foreign language classrooms. *Applied Linguistic Review* 15(2): 403–426.
- Jin Yingxing-Lawrence Jun Zhang. 2021. The dimensions of foreign language classroom enjoyment and their effect on foreign language achievement. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 24(7): 948–962.
- Li, Chengchen. 2020. A positive psychology perspective on Chinese EFL students' trait emotional intelligence, foreign language enjoyment and EFL learning achievement. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 41: 246–263.
- MacIntyre, Peter D.—Sarah Mercer. 2014. Introducing positive psychology to SLA. Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching 4: 153–172.
- MacIntyre, Peter D.–Tammy Gregersen. 2012. Emotions that facilitate language learning: The positive-broadening power of the imagination. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* 2: 193–213.
- Mahmoodzadeh, Masoud-Gholam H. Khajavy. 2018. Towards conceptualizing language learning curiosity in SLA: An empirical study. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 48(2): 333–351.
- Piniel, Katalin-Ágnes Albert. 2017. L2 motivation and self-efficacy's link to language learners' flow and anti-flow experiences in the classroom. In Stella Letica Krevelj-Renata Geld (eds), *UZRT 2016 Empirical Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 90–103. FF Press: Zagreb.
- Resnik, Pia–Jean-Marc Dewaele. 2020. Trait emotional intelligence, positive and negative emotions in first and foreign language classes: A mixed-methods approach. *System* 94: 102324.
- Rezazadeh, Mohsen–Nourollah Zarrinabadi. 2020. Examining need for closure and need for cognition as predictors of foreign language anxiety and enjoyment. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 41: 1–13.
- Wang, Xin—Chenguang Huang. 2022. Conceptualization and measurement of flow in a Chinese blended English as a foreign language learning context. *Frontiers in Psychology* 13: 839267.
- Zhang, Huiyu—Ying Dai—Yingchong Wang. 2020. Motivation and second foreign language proficiency: The mediating role of foreign language enjoyment. Sustainability 12(4): 1–13.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0019

Email Excuses and Their Acceptability by Hungarian University Students

Erzsébet BALOGH

University of Debrecen (Debrecen, Hungary)
Department of English Linguistics
balogh.erzsebet@arts.unideb.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8973-4665

Abstract. The main aim of the paper is to investigate student excuses in emails written by Hungarian university students to their instructor, as well as to examine students' perceptions of the acceptability of these excuses. First, the analysis of a corpus of student emails (n = 74) shows that students make excuses most frequently because they would like to request the extension of deadlines for their assignments. What is more, the most common excuses students send to the instructor in email are related to technical problems (computer, internet) and to their health (illnesses). Furthermore, data provided by Hungarian university students (n = 83) on the acceptability of excuses indicate that students find family-, health- or technology-related excuses acceptable, whereas they believe that not understanding the assignment, being forgetful, and considering the task boring or unchallenging are rather inadequate excuses to make when missing a deadline. Finally, the analysis of the interview data provides an insight into some of the factors, i.e. control, timing, and proof, that influence the perceptions of participants (n = 53) regarding excuses in student emails.

Keywords: student excuses, emails, acceptability

1. Introduction

Various disciplines, such as psychology, philosophy, and linguistics, have studied the ways of how and why people make excuses. While philosophy discusses how to differentiate excuses from similar terms, such as justifications (Austin 1956) or exemptions (Boult 2019), as well as elaborates on the question of responsibility (Van Loon 2023), psychology attempts to describe the process of excuse making and the factors that influence what decisions are made during this procedure (Snyder and Higgins 1988a). When making excuses, the excuse giver has to take into consideration why not to fulfil a previous personal or social engagement

and then decide whether they want to communicate the real reason to the person they make the excuse to or they want to withhold it from them. They can make this decision based on whether the causes are internal/external, controllable/uncontrollable, and intentional/unintentional, and on the basis of the anticipated consequences (Weiner et al. 1987). Another important factor that might influence whether the real reason behind an excuse is communicated is people's positive self-image that they want to preserve. At the same time, excuse givers can decide whether to provide anticipatory excuses, i.e. before the completion of the promised action is due, or retrospective excuses, i.e. after they have failed to fulfil the engagement (Snyder and Higgins 1988b). The need for the linguistic analysis of excuses was first suggested by Austin (1956), who urged researchers to investigate how they were phrased. Further linguistic analyses of excuses include their examination from a pragmatic point of view (Van Dijk 1977), as face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987) or defensive utterances (Benoit 2015) for image repair (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016).

In general, excuses are the reasons, explanations, or justifications provided by someone who has not fulfilled an existing or pre-arranged personal or social obligation (Austin 1956, Weiner et al. 1987, Liptak 2008). Failure to comply with certain requirements can occur in any context, being extensively prevalent in academic settings, particularly in student-instructor email communication. In such cases, whenever students feel that they did not or could not meet the particular requirements of a course or a class, they can send an email message to the instructor to account for their infractions (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016) that, in turn, can mitigate the feeling of responsibility and repair their image in front of the instructors (Brown and Levinson 1987, Pinto 2019). The theory behind analysing such discourses infers that students try to change the professors' attitudes with the email excuses to avoid criticism or suspicion that would arise due to their (lack of) action (Benoit 2015). Considering and in line with these theoretical underpinnings, the main aim of the current study is to examine the excuses in student-initiated emails that Hungarian university students sent to one of their instructors, i.e. the author of the paper. What is more, the investigation attempts to analyse students' perceptions of the most frequent excuse types that appear in student emails.

2. Literature review

2.1. Student excuses

Generally, excuses can be made in several different situations, but investigating them in an academic context are particularly valuable since understanding why students make excuses and how they make them can improve students' academic integrity (Denisova-Schmidt et al. 2019) as well as the relationship between the students and their instructors (Martin et al. 2011). As far as student–instructor relationships at universities are concerned, one of the most demanding situations university instructors have to face is when they encounter student excuses as, on the one hand, they can disrupt a well-organized and pre-planned schedule of an academic semester by, for example, students not completing their assignments in time (Abernethy and Padgett 2010, Song 2013, Stein and Ostrowsky 2016). On the other hand, student excuses burden instructors with the demanding task of deciding whether the reasons behind the excuses are legitimate, thus acceptable without any further negative consequences, or fraudulent, hence unacceptable, whereby students can be held responsible for missing a deadline (Caron et al. 1992, Carmichael and Krueger 2014).

Studies investigating student excuses can focus on several aspects and variables that affect students' excuse-making processes and strategies. To start with, some researchers attempt to examine the specific situations in an academic context when students use excuses. Such situations most frequently include deadline extension requests to have more time to complete assignments (Ferrari et al. 1998, Stein and Ostrowsky 2016), missing the submission deadline of assignments (Caron et al. 1992, Duran et al. 2005, Carmichael and Krueger 2014), the postponement or retaking of exams, quizzes, or presentations (Abernethy and Padgett 2010, Martin et al. 2011), and absences from classes (Keith et al. 2005, Song 2013, Stein and Ostrowsky 2016, Ewald 2016).

Furthermore, studies are often conducted to determine to what extent student excuses are truthful. Most of these investigations found that 65-90% of university students had used fraudulent excuses for various reasons, in most cases in order to be able to have more time to complete an assignment (Caron et al. 1992, Carmichael and Krueger 2014, Curry 2023, Ferrari et al. 1998). At the same time, the results also show that, with the exception of reporting someone's, i.e. a grandparent's or a friend's, death, the same type of fraudulent and legitimate excuses, for example, not understanding the assignment, occur with similar frequencies (Caron et al. 1992). Another important finding of these studies is that differences in students' character traits, for example, whether they are procrastinators or not, combined with specific academic settings contribute differently to the frequency of fraudulent excuses, and the same type of excuse can be legitimate in one setting but fraudulent in another (Ferrari et al. 1998). What is more, the analysis shows that students are likely to give fraudulent excuses even when the assignments they are completing are minor ones that do not contribute to receiving their final grades to a great extent (Carmichael and Krueger 2014).

Finally, the frequency of excuse types is also analysed, regardless whether the excuses given were legitimate or fraudulent. A summary of several such investigations can be seen in *Table 1*, compiled by the author of the present study, providing an overview of which excuses are used the most and the least frequently by undergraduate university students.

 Table 1. A summary of studies on the frequency of excuse types

Authors	Participants, data collection	Rank order of excuse types (from the most to the least frequent ones)
Caron et al. 1992	n = 261 questionnaire	illness family emergency not understanding the assignment alarm failed/overslept left assignment at dorm out of town issues with technology (computer) someone (grandparent/friend) died
Ferrari et al. 1998	n = 546 questionnaire	illness not understanding the assignment alarm failed/overslept family emergency left assignment in dorm out of town issues with technology (computer) someone (grandparent/friend) died
Liptak 2008	n = 56 student emails	health-related issues death in the family being busy
Song 2013	n = 100 questionnaire	illness issues with technology (computer) family issues transportation problems academic meetings (supervisor/advisor) employment-related issues other school activity
Carmichael and Krueger 2014		family emergency difficulty with the assignment illness issues with technology (computer)
Ewald 2016	n = 205 student emails	medical issues personal issues professional issues
Pinto 2019	n = 200 student emails	medical issues personal issues professional issues unspecified

Authors	Participants, data collection	Rank order of excuse types (from the most to the least frequent ones)
Curry 2023	n = 153 questionnaire	various issues (busy/work/other) illness family emergency issues with technology (computer) not understanding the assignment
Che Ku Kassim and Sallem 2023	n = 346 questionnaire	not understanding the assignment illness family emergency issues with technology (computer) alarm failed/overslept out of town/country

2.2. Student emails

When investigating student excuses, the analysis of student emails appears to be the best approach to do so for several reasons. First of all, email communication has become the most frequently used as well as the most preferred way of interaction between university students and their instructors. The results of a survey (Batista et al. 2021) involving Portuguese university students and university instructors show that among the different communication technologies that students and teachers use to communicate, emails are considered to be the easiest, one of the most useful and most commonly used means in student–professor interactions at university. As for the popularity of emails, a study (Bingham et al. 2022) on students' preferences for office hours found that students contact their instructors most frequently in emails and second most frequently by talking to them after the class as opposed to meeting them in the office during their office hours or by appointment or contacting them online in other ways such as chats or instant messages.

Another reason for why emails are suitable for the investigation of excuses is that giving excuses seems to be one of the most frequent topics of student—teacher email communication. Although the topics of student-initiated emails vary from asking instructors for clarification as far as the content or the material of the course is concerned or asking for the instructor's help, advice, and feedback on assignments to making requests and apologizing (Bloch 2002, Myers et al. 2002, Biesenbach-Lucas 2005, O'Neill and Colley 2006, Sheer and Fung 2007, Bingham et al. 2022, Chen et al. 2022, Balogh 2023), the main reasons why students contact their professors in email appear to be giving excuses (Duran et al. 2005, Ewald 2016, Pinto 2019). The communication style (Tratnik et al. 2024) as well as the request strategies (Dombi 2019, Balman and Lee 2020, AlAfnan and Cruz-Rudio 2023) students use in their emails have been analysed to a considerable extent; however, research still needs to be conducted on students' excuse-making strategies and processes in emails (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016, Pinto 2019).

In line with the need for further research, the analysis of emails for excuses provides naturally-occurring data, as opposed to students' self-reports on their excuse-giving behaviour (for more detail, see references to the questionnaire studies in Table 1) or their reactions with excuses to hypothetical situations (see, for example, Martin et al. 2011). Authentic, student-initiated emails offer the opportunity for researchers to investigate not only the real-life, academic contexts in which students generally give excuses but also their structure (Liptak 2008) as well as their content in terms of rhetorical and image restoration strategies (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016, Pinto 2019). As for their structure, excuse emails (n = 56) were found to be constructed as follows (Liptak 2008): starting with some forms of salutations, followed by explaining events and offering excuses or, in the reverse order, giving excuses before mentioning the situational context, and, lastly, ending with arrangements for remedy and/or appreciation to the acceptance of the excuse. Regarding rhetorical structure, students employ seven main strategies in their emails (n = 324) to repair their images with the instructors (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016). Following Benoit's typology of image repair (2015), the two most frequently used strategies are those of accident and defeasibility. Besides, students employ the strategies of bolstering, corrective action, mortification, shifting blame, and transcendence (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016).

Lastly, studies show that students are more likely to use emails for making excuses than other forms of, for example, face-to-face, communication (Bloch 2002, Duran et al. 2005, Hancock et al. 2010, Carmichael and Krueger 2014, Pinto 2019). An experiment on which form of communication medium stimulates deception more (Hancock et al. 2010) found that participants could deceive each other to a considerable extent when they interacted with the help of online messages. As far as students' excuse-making behaviour is concerned, although some of them might prefer to offer their excuses to their instructors in a face-to-face, thus more personal type of interaction (Carmichael and Krueger 2014), students generally choose sending excuses in emails (Pinto 2019). As emails provide an easy way for students to make excuses and deliver them to their instructors, student emails abound with excuses (Pinto 2019), enabling researchers to investigate them in detail.

2.3. Perception of student excuses

Regarding students' excuse-making strategies and behaviour, several studies have attempted to investigate how both students and instructors perceive them, including such issues as their beliefs about the acceptability and the effectiveness of the given excuses. Students report that not more than a quarter of their instructors has ever required them to provide evidence to ascertain that their excuses are legitimate (Caron et al. 1992). According to most students' experience, instructors generally accept their excuses without any further proof or investigation into the

matter (Che Ku Kassim and Sallem 2023), particularly when they send them in emails (Carmichael and Krueger 2014, Curry 2023). Students also believe that family emergencies and illnesses are the most likely excuses to be accepted by instructors (Keith et al. 2005, Song 2013, Curry 2023). As for family emergencies, students perceive the issues related to family to be too personal, thus too sensitive or intrusive for instructors to ask students for proof (Caron et al. 1992, Curry 2023), while in the case of illnesses, students consider them as more relatable, thus more convincing and acceptable (Song 2013). What is more, Carmichael and Krueger (2014) found that students' excuse-making behaviour correlates positively with their belief that they do not deceive their instructors even when the excuses they offer are fraudulent. Similarly, fraudulent excuse making is evaluated more positively by those students who themselves had provided instructors with such excuses (Curry 2023).

From the instructors' perspective, the most unacceptable student excuses are related to situations where students miss a class because they overslept or because they are on holiday, but also when students claim that they cannot complete or submit an assignment either due to heavy course load or to taking up student jobs (Keith et al. 2005). In addition, when Pinto (2019) asked ten professors to evaluate student excuses in 50 sample emails, he found that almost half (45%) of the excuses were evaluated as ineffective by the instructors. Also, they perceived excuses especially unfavourably when students attempted to avoid the consequences of their (lack of) actions, and thus they shifted the responsibility from themselves to the professors. Accepting responsibility for missing classes or deadlines or for not completing assignments usually occurs only when students understand that their professors are in a position to be able to decide about the consequences of their actions (Martin et al. 2011).

3. The study

3.1. Research questions

The main goal of the present study is to examine the email excuses Hungarian university students of English send to one of their instructors as well as the extent to which these excuses are perceived to be acceptable by the students. Therefore, the paper aims to answer the following research questions: 1) In what situations do Hungarian university students send email excuses to one of their instructors?

2) What types of excuses do students make and with what frequency? 3) How acceptable do Hungarian university students find these excuses? 4) What are the reasons behind the (un)acceptability of the excuses from a student perspective?

3.2. Data collection and analysis

To answer the research questions, three different types of data were analysed. First, a corpus of 115 student emails was compiled from the more than 150 emails that students had sent to a university instructor, i.e. the author of the present paper, between August 2022 and February 2024. Initially, all the emails written by Hungarian students studying English at the university over that period of time were considered for the corpus; however, replies to any previous messages from the instructor or replies in a chain of messages were excluded. Then, the corpus of 115 emails was first analysed based on whether the emails contained any excuses or not. Subsequently, the data on excuses were coded according to the situations that evoked the excuses: deadline issues, course issues, and absences. Then, the following categories were coded based on the types of excuses: technological issues, illness, time, memory issues, individual study plans, family/personal issues, others, and combinations of the different types. Finally, the frequency occurrences of excuses were calculated.

Secondly, based on the types of excuses the student emails are comprised of, an acceptability task was designed that required participants to evaluate the extent of acceptability of excuses on a 4-point Likert-type of scale from not acceptable at all (marked by one) to completely acceptable (marked by four). The question the respondents had to evaluate was the following: "If a student is late with one of their course assignments (presentation/test/homework/ paper/reading/etc.), which of the following excuses are acceptable for being late?" The eight excuses in the list were: illness, computer/internet problems, bad memory, family issues, lack of time, too many assignments at the same time, boring/unchallenging assignment, not clear what the assignment is. The task was completed by two cohorts of participants. First of all, secondyear university students in the English BA/teacher training programme were asked to complete the questionnaire online, in English, in November 2023. Thirty students volunteered and provided their assessment anonymously in the questionnaire. Additionally, fifth-year university students in the English teacher training programme were invited to volunteer in interviews about student excuses in February 2024. Altogether fifty-three students participated in the semi-structured interviews where they were required to complete the same acceptability task and explain the reasons behind their evaluations in Hungarian. For the purposes of the present paper, all the translations of the Hungarian examples into English are my own throughout the article. Finally, the data on acceptability were analysed quantitatively, while the rest of the interviews were transcribed and examined with the help of content analysis.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Student excuses in emails

First of all, the analysis of the corpus of 115 emails for excuses shows that 74 (64%) of them contained student excuses. This finding is in line with the outcome of several studies on student excuses (Duran et al. 2005, Ewald 2016, Pinto 2019), according to which excuses are prevailing features of student emails. Secondly, the situations in which students made these excuses were classified into the following three categories (see Table 2): 1) deadline-related issues, 2) course-related issues, and 3) absences from classes. More than half (58%) of the excuses were sent to the instructor to request deadline extension regarding the submission of homework in the first place (24%), followed by asking to reschedule presentations (22%) and retake tests (9.5%). In two instances, students asked for deadline extension in case of academic papers. The rest of the excuses were course-related issues (26%) – for example, course schedules and requirements for course completion – or about absences from classes (16%). Overall, these situations are similar to those in other investigations; however, the frequencies of these settings differ. In other words, while Pinto (2019) found that students make excuses most frequently due to absences (81.5%) and less frequently due to assignments (12.5%), the present study shows that meeting the deadline for various assignments seems to be the most challenging issue for Hungarian university students.

Table 2. The frequency and percentage of excuse-evoking situations in student emails (n = 74)

Excuse-evoking situations	Frequency	Percentage
1) Deadline-related issues	n = 43	58%
a) homework	18	24%
b) presentations	16	22%
c) tests	7	9.5%
d) academic papers	2	2.5%
2) Course-related issues	n = 19	26%
a) schedules	13	18%
b) requirements	6	8%
3) Absences from class	n = 12	16%
Total	74	100%

As far as the excuse types are concerned (see *Table 3*), various problems with technology are the most frequently used excuses (34%), followed by illnesses (20%) and issues with time or timing (12%). Student excuses also include the explanation of having forgotten something or individual study plans that they have in case they participate in different exchange programmes. It can also be

seen that there might be combinations of various excuses (7%), for example, time issues combined with technological problems, and other excuses (7%), for example, their study/assignment partner did not cooperate, or the student was out of town. The least frequent excuses Hungarian university students used in their emails were issues related to the family (4%).

Table 3	. The	frec	quenc	y and	percentage	of	student	excuses	(n =	74)
---------	-------	------	-------	-------	------------	----	---------	---------	------	----	---

Excuse types	Frequency	Percentage
Issues with technology (computer/internet)	25	34%
Illness	15	20%
Issues with time/timing	9	12%
Student forgot something	6	8%
Individual study plan (e.g. exchange programmes)	6	8%
Family issues	3	4%
Other issues	5	7%
Combination of different issues	5	7%
Total	74	100%

In the case of illnesses, the present study shows some similarities to previous research on student excuses (see Table 1 above), inasmuch as they are either the most or the second most frequently used excuses. At the same time, the findings of the current research contradict the results of previous investigations to some extent since while family-related issues or family emergencies are rather frequently made by students in the above-mentioned studies (for example, Caron et al. 1992, Carmichael and Krueger 2014), the analysis of Hungarian students' emails shows that this is the least commonly used excuse among them. One of the explanations of this discrepancy can be attributed to the differences in the data collection and data coding methodologies in the existing literature on student excuses. That is, while several investigations analyse students' self-reports on their excuses in questionnaires (among others, Caron et al. 1992, Song 2013), the present study has collected naturally occurring email data for analysis. What is more, research focusing on student excuse data in emails (for instance, Ewald 2016, Pinto 2019) apply a different categorization, i.e. personal issues, for the coding of a similar type of excuse. Lastly, Hungarian students in the interviews in the present study caution not to use issues related to the family or family emergencies as excuses and conclude that "none of the students will take them [family-related issues] lightly and lie about them" (Participant 42). In addition, although problems with technology are the most often used excuses in the student emails in the present analysis, issues with technology are not as frequently referred to by students in other studies (see, for example, Ferrari et al. 1998, Carmichael and Krueger 2014, Che Ku Kassim and Sallem 2023). This finding of the investigation also questions Curry's claim (2023), according to which the category of issues with technology will be irrelevant in student excuse research due to advanced technological development.

4.2. Students' perceptions of student excuses

As for the acceptability of the excuses, first, the mean values of the evaluations provided by all the students (n = 83) were calculated (see *Figure 1*). As it can be observed, family issues (M = 3.43) are rated as the most acceptable excuses by the Hungarian university students in the study. Illnesses (M = 3.2), computer/internet problems (M = 2.64), and when students have too many assignments at the same time (M = 2.19) are still considered as acceptable excuses. This outcome supports the idea that students consider family-related issues and illnesses to be most likely accepted by their instructors (Keith et al. 2005, Song 2013, Curry 2023).

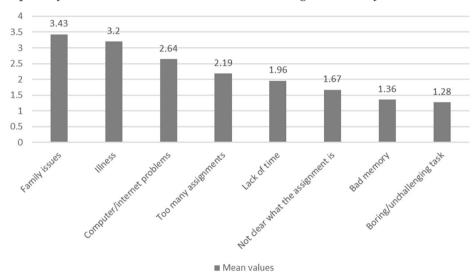


Figure 1. The rank order of the acceptability of the eight excuse types by mean scores (1 = not acceptable at all, 4 = completely acceptable)

On the other hand, lack of time (M=1.96), not understanding (M=1.67) or forgetting the assignments (M=1.36), and boring/unchallenging tasks (M=1.28) are evaluated as less acceptable by the participants. These results show that Hungarian university students are more likely to accept excuses based on external causes, that is, family-related issues, illnesses, or technological problems, than ones based on internal causes, for instance, their inability to understand the assignments, their forgetfulness, or their perception of the tasks as being boring or unchallenging. This outcome seems to be in agreement with the findings of

previous research showing that excuse makers tend to generally attribute the causes behind their excuses to external factors instead of internal ones because by doing so, they attempt to lessen their own, personal responsibility for their lack of action or for their wrongdoing (Weiner et al. 1987). As for students, when they fail to meet the deadlines of assignments or the requirements for their courses, they are likely to refer to external causes when they excuse their behaviour, by shifting the blame or responsibility to others, for example, to their grandparents, their doctors (Stein and Ostrowsky 2016), or their professors (Pinto 2019).

Indeed, the interview data shed light on further factors that affect the acceptability of student excuses in the present study. First, participants seem to evaluate the excuses as less acceptable when they think that excuse makers would be able to control the situation but they choose not to do so. In this sense, using the excuse of not understanding the assignment is rather unacceptable since students could have asked for help in many ways, as indicated in examples 1 and 2.

- (1) "Then you contact the teacher about what to do exactly, and they can explain it to you [...] you can ask for help, you can find information on the internet, from your peers."
- (2) "I have about fifteen peers of the same age; there would surely be at least one person who could explain what the task is so that I can understand even if the teacher was unable to."

In the same way, not taking action when one has difficulties in remembering the assignments or deadlines or when one finds the tasks boring or unchallenging is also unacceptable. In both cases, students could have control over the situation by writing down important information and deadlines in one's notebook or smartphone, setting the alarm or notifications in the first situation and finding what makes the task interesting in the latter one (as it can be seen in Example 3).

(3) "You can find something interesting in everything, I don't think anything exists that would be completely uninteresting."

Another important factor that influences the acceptability of excuses is their timing. In general, excuses can be made either in a retrospective or in an anticipatory manner (Snyder and Higgins 1988b). Participants in the present study claim that when the deadlines for the assignments are set in advance and students have enough time to complete the assignments and submit them in time, all retrospective excuses made after missing the deadline are unacceptable. Nevertheless, they also agree that anticipatory excuses are acceptable and should generally be seen more favourably by the instructors (as seen in Example 4).

(4) "If they tell it to me one or two days before [the deadline], I can accept that. I suppose that they have tried but could not finish or anything else, and if they were sick the whole week long, they should tell me about it at the beginning of the week."

Lastly, the acceptability of excuses depends on whether the students can prove that the excuses they make are legitimate. Although research on student excuses shows that instructors seldom request proof when students send them excuses in emails (Caron et al. 1992, Carmichael and Krueger 2014, Curry 2023, Che Ku Kassim and Sallem 2023), participants in the current study tend to accept excuses only when evidence is provided that the excuse is not fraudulent (Example 5). This creates a complicated situation, as it is rather difficult, if not impossible, to provide documentation for most of the excuses. Also, even when students support their excuses with some kind of proof, it is still not easy to ascertain the legitimacy of the excuses (Abernethy and Padgett 2010). At the same time, participants in the current study also consider student—teacher rapport as an element that can prove the legitimacy of the excuses (as it can be seen in Example 6).

- (5) "It is a compelling reason, but many students take advantage of this, so it needs to be reconsidered. I would request something else besides it, for instance, a [medical] certificate."
- (6) "It is important to have some kind of prior relationship or familiarity with the students and to know to what extent they tell the truth or that on previous occasions they were diligent and submitted everything, but this one time they did not, and then the teacher is more likely to accept these reasons, I think."

5. Conclusions

University students failing to complete their assignments, academic tasks, and course requirements in time invoke one of the most challenging situations for university instructors in general. When students attempt to remedy these transgressions, they are very likely to do that by sending emails to the instructors with requests for allowances, accompanied by excuses that aim to explain or justify missing the deadlines. These excuses put the instructors into even more demanding situations where they have to decide whether to accept these excuses and enable students to compensate for the wrongdoings or to reject them and let students bear the consequences of their (lack of) actions. Recurring instances of this phenomenon inspired the author of the present study to investigate student email excuses

written by Hungarian university students in the first place and their perceptions of these excuses in the second place. The overall results show that issues related to technology (computer, internet) are used most frequently by students as excuses; nevertheless, the most acceptable excuses are that of family-related issues.

Although the paper investigated the topic of student excuses from a variety of different angles, the present study is not without limitations. First of all, despite the fact that the question about the truthfulness of emails is a crucial matter both in the academic context and in the field of research, the study was unable to examine this aspect of student email excuses. In addition, participants in the interviews were all final-year teacher trainees who, due to the nature of their training, could not be considered as student participants anymore. In other words, their perceptions of student excuses were strongly influenced by their teacher identity, as they have already completed at least one semester of teaching practice, thus having identities not only as students but also as teachers. An implication for future research follows from this limitation – namely, to have comparable data and to be able to see students' perceptions of student email excuses in more detail, first- or second-year teacher trainees or BA students should be invited to take part in the interviews.

References

- Abernethy, M. Avery–Daniel Padgett. 2010. Grandma never dies during finals: A study of makeup exams. *Marketing Education Review* 20(2): 103–113.
- AlAfnan, Mohammad Awad–Lourdes dela Cruz-Rudio. 2023. Student–teacher email requests: Comparative analysis of politeness strategies used by Malaysian and Filipino university students. *World Journal of English Language* 13(1): 353–361.
- Austin, L. John. 1956. A plea for excuses: The presidential address. *Proceedings* of the Aristotelian Society 57: 1–30.
- Balman, Rezky Pratiwi–Sangmok Lee. 2020. Making requests to professors in emails: An examination of request-modifications performed by Indonesian students in Japan. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 16(3): 1237–1250.
- Balogh, Erzsébet. 2023. Student-initiated e-mails in a bilingual context. *Alkalmazott Nyelvtudomány* 23(2): 200–214.
- Batista, João-Helena Santos-Rui Pedro Marques. 2021. The use of ICT for communication between teachers and students in the context of higher education institutions. *Information* 12(11): 479.
- Benoit, L. William. 2015. *Accounts, excuses, and apologies*. Second edition. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Biesenbach-Lucas, Sigrun. 2005. Communication topics and strategies in e-mail consultation: Comparison between American and international university students. *Language Learning and Technology* 9(2): 24–46.
- Bingham, E. Bailey-Victoria Rea-Lisa Robertson-M. Alex Smith-Shoshanah Jacobs. 2022. Frequency, topic, and preferences: Tracking student engagement with several modalities of student-instructor contact in a first-year course. *FEBS Open Bio* 12(1): 12–23.
- Bloch, Joel. 2002. Student/teacher interaction via email: The social context of Internet discourse. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 11: 117–134.
- Boult, Cameron. 2019. Excuses, exemptions, and derivative norms. *Ratio* 32: 150–158.
- Brown, Penelope–Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carmichael, M. Anna–Lacy E. Krueger. 2014. An examination of factors and attitudes that influence reporting fraudulent claims in an academic environment. *Active Learning in Higher Education* 15(2): 173–185.
- Caron, D. Mark–Susan Krauss Whitbourne–Richard P. Halgin. 1992. Fraudulent excuse making among college students. *Teaching of Psychology* 19(2): 90–93.
- Che Ku Kassim, Che Ku Hisam–Nur Raihana Mohd Sallem. 2023. Intention to deceive: Undergraduates' perception of fraudulent excuse-making. *International Journal of Educational Management* 37(1): 55–69.
- Chen, Ying-Qi Lu-Yuxuanjing Wei. 2022. Use of apology strategies in emails by Chinese learners of English: Evidence based on naturally occurring data. *Frontiers in Psychology* 12: 782613.
- Curry, Dana Michelle. 2023. An investigation of factors that influence fraudulent academic excuse making. PhD Dissertation. Texas A&M University-Commerce.
- Denisova-Schmidt, Elena—Yaroslav Prytula—Nataliya L. Rumyantseva. 2019. Beg, borrow, or steal: Determinants of student academic misconduct in Ukrainian higher education. *Policy Reviews in Higher Education* 3(1): 4–27.
- Dombi, Judit. 2019. Interlanguage requests in elicited vs. naturally produced emails: A comparative study of Hungarian EFL speakers' request realization in student-to-faculty emails. *Argumentum* 15: 179–200.
- Duran, L. Robert–Lynne Kelly–James A. Keaten. 2005. College faculty use and perceptions of electronic mail to communicate with students. *Communication Quarterly* 53(2): 159–176.
- Ewald, D. Jennifer. 2016. *The Inbox: Understanding and Maximizing Student–Instructor Email.* Sheffield, UK/Bristol (CT), US: Equinox.
- Ferrari, R. Joseph–Sabrina M. Keane–Raymond N. Wolfe–Brett L. Beck. 1998. The antecedents and consequences of academic excuse-making: Examining individual differences in procrastination. *Research in Higher Education* 39(2): 199–215.

- Hancock, T. Jeffrey–Michael T. Woodworth–Saurabh Goorha. 2010. See no evil: The effect of communication medium and motivation on deception detection. *Group Decision and Negotiation* 19(4): 327–343.
- Keith, K. Nancy–Melissa S. Burnett–Charles E. Pettijohn–Peggy S. Gilbert. 2005. A comparison of professor and student viewpoints regarding attendance and excused absences. *Journal for Advancement of Marketing Education* 7(1): 47–57.
- Liptak, Christine Michelle. 2008. "Subject: Excuse": An Examination of Excuse Emails. MA Thesis. University of Minnesota.
- Martin, M. Matthew-Katie Neary Dunleavy-Karissa L. Zigarovich-Michael R. Fowler-Alexander Smith. 2011. Student excuse-making from a face needs perspective. *North American Journal of Psychology* 13(1): 65–74.
- Myers, A. Scott-Metthew M. Martin-Timothy P. Mottet. 2002. Students' motives for communicating with their instructors: Considering instructor socio-communicative style, student socio-communicative orientation, and student gender. *Communication Education* 51(2): 121–133.
- O'Neill, Ruth—Ann Colley. 2006. Gender and status effects in student e-mails to staff. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning* 22(5): 360–367.
- Pinto, Derrin. 2019. Shifting responsibilities: Student e-mail excuses and how faculty perceive them. *Lingua* 222: 53–73.
- Sheer, C. Vivian—Timothy K. Fung. 2007. Can email communication enhance professor—student relationship and student evaluation of professor? Some empirical evidence. *Journal of Educational Computing Research* 37(3): 289–306.
- Snyder, R. Charles–Raymond L. Higgins. 1988a. Excuses: Their effective role in the negotiation of reality. *Psychological Bulletin* 104(1): 23–35.
- —— 1988b. From making to being the excuse: An analysis of deception and verbal/nonverbal issues. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 12(4): 237–252.
- Song, Pengfei. 2013. Absence excuses in freshman college classes and solutions. *US-China Education Review B* 3(4): 261–268.
- Stein, A. Kevin–Michael K. Ostrowsky. 2016. "Taco the Puppy is Super Sick": Student excuses as a unique form of *apologia* rhetoric. *Relevant Rhetoric* 7: 1–19.
- Tratnik, Alenka–Dragana Gak–Alenka Baggia–Janja Jerebic–Uroš Rajkovič–Tatjana Grbić–Nataša Duraković–Slavica Medić–Anja Žnidaršič. 2024. Factors influencing student–professor email communication in higher education. *Education and Information Technologies* 29: 3497–3523.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1977. *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse.* London and New York: Longman.
- Van Loon, Marie. 2023. The grounds of excuses. Philosophia 51: 2379–2394.
- Weiner, Bernard–James Amirkhan–Valeria S. Folkes–Julie A. Verette. 1987. An attributional analysis of excuse giving: Studies of a native theory of emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52(2): 316–324.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0020

Understanding Conversational Interruptions in Thai News Interview Programmes: An Analysis of Functions and Participant Objectives

Nuengruthai PANKAEW

Khon Kaen University (Khon Kaen, Thailand)
Department of Thai Language, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
nuenpa@kku.ac.th

Supakit BUAKAW

Khon Kaen Ūniversity (Khon Kaen, Thailand)
Department of Thai Language, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
supakitb@kku.ac.th

Abstract. The Thai news interview programme serves as a platform where two parties of interviewees with differing opinions on a specific topic are invited for an interview. It is common for conversations in these programmes to be interrupted by the interlocutor. The objective of this article is to examine the functions of conversational interruptions in Thai news interview programmes. The data for the study were collected from 25 episodes of Thai news interviews, and the verbal content from these programmes was transcribed into written language. To analyse the conversational data, the researcher employed the conversational analysis framework on the turntaking and the framework of conversational interruptions. The findings of the study revealed that listeners produced a total of 2,677 conversational interruptions. These interruptions were categorized into three main functions: intrusive interruption, cooperative interruption, and neutral interruption. It was observed that interviewers attempted to interrupt in order to successfully manage the interview, while interviewees interrupted to provide additional information and assert their right to speak. They also interrupted each other to gain the opportunity to speak and express disagreement. Therefore, it can be concluded that all parties involved in the conversations used interruption as a means to demonstrate their roles and defend their right to speak.

Keywords: conversation analysis, conversational interruptions, Thai news interview programmes

1. Introduction

Conversation analysis is one of the essential methods for studying verbal interactions (Wooffitt 2005: 5). Conversations occurring in various situations usually follow clear conversational norms based on the turn-taking system proposed by Sacks et al. (1974). This system facilitates efficient communication between speakers and listeners. However, intrusive interruptions sometimes occur from an interlocutor, leading to difficulties in communication for the person who had the first turn to speak.

Interruption is a violation of the turn-taking system proposed by Sacks et al. (1974), which dictates that each speech should be delivered by one speaker or party. However, conversational interruptions can occur when a speaker loses their turn before intending to yield it. In other words, a speech becomes incomplete because both the original speaker and the interrupter attempt to take a turn to speak (Levinson 1983). Interruptions can manifest in various forms of conversation, including daily interactions, formal meetings, and organizational communication.

A news interview programme is a unique form of on-air communication, distinct from general interviews and news reports. Invited guests are closely connected to the latest hot issues, and specialists are invited to provide accurate information. The interview topics are in the public spotlight, and the conversation is informal, structured mainly with questions and answers. The interviewer is typically a professional news reporter (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 19). The news interview programme follows the turn-taking system proposed by Sacks et al. (1974), where the interviewer and interviewee take turns speaking to ensure the success of the interview.

In news interview programmes, communication during interviews is often subject to interruptions. Both interviewers and interviewees may interrupt one another to express agreement or disagreement with the points being discussed or to disregard others' opinions. Previous studies on Thai news interview programmes by Waiyaraphutra and Abhakorn (2017) emphasize that the interviewer's role is to manage and conclude the interview effectively by asking questions. Ochaphan (2022) adds that news interviews provide interviewees with opportunities to express their opinions during the conversation. Interviewers may interrupt interviewees to steer the conversation towards its objectives. However, despite these studies, there remains a limited body of research on this topic, and the results cannot fully describe the various types and functions of conversational interruptions.

This article presents the results of an investigation into Thai news interview programmes featuring invited interviewees who hold contradictory opinions on hot topics. The researcher aims to investigate conversational interruptions in these programmes and to analyse their functions using the frameworks of Kennedy and Camden (1983), Murata (1994), and Li (2001). The study seeks to address two

research questions: 1) What is the function of interrupting a conversation for all participants? 2) What is the function of each interlocutor's interruption? The results of this study can serve as a guide to understanding the interviewer's role and reducing interpersonal conflicts in social interactions.

2. Literature review

Several studies have explored the principle of simultaneous speech (Jaffe and Feldstein 1970, Cook and Lalljee 1972, Rutter and Stephenson 1977) based on Sacks et al's model (1974). Simultaneous speech, which includes overlapping and interruption, is considered a breach of the turn-taking rule. Many researchers have analysed data using Sacks et al's (1974) system to differentiate between overlap and interruption. Interruption involves breaking the right to speak of others and often indicates dominance, while overlap is generally neutral but can carry negative connotations and, in some cases, may be related to seeking cooperation (Zimmerman and West 1975, Tannen 1994).

Ferguson (1977) examined family interactions concerning simultaneous speech, interruptions (including unsuccessful interruptions), and successful interruptions. Speaker switches occur when one speaker finishes speaking and the other one starts to speak. A switch is complete when there is no simultaneous speech and the statement of the speaking individual is fully delivered. Ferguson proposed four types of interruptions that lead to non-smooth conversations: 1) simple interruption, where one speaker seizes the turn when the other pauses for a while; 2) overlapping, where the listener starts speaking as the speaker nearly finishes; 3) butting-in interruption, where the listener tries to switch but is unsuccessful, and the speaker continues speaking; 4) silent interruption, where the speaker's utterance remains incomplete without simultaneous speech.

Four types of interruptions, or "non-fluency speaker alternations", were identified from data collected on spontaneous conversation. Three of the non-fluencies were related to simultaneous speaking, and Ferguson (1977) proposed that the classification of non-fluency speaker alternation depends on the limited amount of data available, and therefore additional material and possibly additional categories are needed.

Beattie (1981) classified five types of simultaneous speaking, with additional definitions from Ferguson (1977) as follows: simple interruptions, when the speaker does not have a chance to finish their sentence because the listener interrupts at the beginning or the middle of the sentence; overlapping, when the listener starts speaking as the turn is about to end; butting-in interruptions, when the listener tries to switch speakers but fails because the speaker continues speaking; silent interruptions, when the speaker does not finish their sentence

without the listener interrupting. Beattie added smooth speaker-switch, characterized by a successful speaker-switch with no simultaneous speaking, allowing the speaker to finish their sentence.

This research indicates that some interruptions violate the basic turn-taking rule of Sacks et al. (1974), which states that there must be only one speaker at a time. An interruption occurs when a speaker forfeits their right to speak before intending to, thus disrupting the speaker's speech incompletely. Most studies have therefore defined interruption based on simultaneous speaking (Jaffe and Feldstein 1970, Cook and Lalljee 1972, Rutter and Stephenson 1977).

Some studies suggest that interruption involves actions that deprive a speaker of their turn to speak and tend to be viewed as acts of dominance or obstruction. However, other researchers emphasize the significant role of interruption in communication and have explored interruption functions based on Watzlawick et al's (1967) theory, describing structures of confirmation, rejection, and disconfirmation, which may be more accurate in analysing interruption functions in conversations with interlocutors.

Kennedy and Camden (1983) proposed six types of interruptions to analyse grammatical structure: 1) clarification, 2) agreement, 3) disagreement, 4) tangentialization, 5) subject change, and 6) other (words not related to the previous types). These types can define the relationship characteristics between conversational participants. Clarification and agreement indicate confirmation, while disagreement indicates rejection, and tangentialization and subject change indicate disconfirmation. Disconfirmation involves rejecting the speaker's words, while tangentialization reflects an interruption where the interrupter knows what the speaker is going to say but changes or devalues the topic. Subject change indicates disconfirmation when the interrupter has not listened to the speaker's words but intends to change the subject, thus leading to rejection and disconfirmation.

Murata (1994) compared English and Japanese speakers and proposed two types of interruption: intrusive and cooperative. Intrusive interruption includes three subtypes: topic changing, floor taking, and disagreement, leading to turn intrusion by obstructing the conversation's process and message. Cooperative interruption, which has no classified subtypes, involves supportive communication, where the listener helps the speaker continue talking, particularly by providing a word the speaker is stuck on. This type of interruption does not threaten or affect the speaker's conversation topic and demonstrates solidarity or cooperation in a conversation. Li (2001) also supports Murata's (1994) interruption classification into intrusive and cooperative interruptions.

Li (2001), Li et al. (2004), and Li et al. (2005) classified interruptions as successful or unsuccessful in the initial data analysis. Successful interruptions were further categorized into cooperative and intrusive interruptions based on

their conversation functions and purposes. Cooperative interruptions aim to support the speaker in terms of the conversation's process and/or message and can be classified into three subtypes: agreement, assistance, and clarification. Intrusive interruptions, on the other hand, threaten the right to speak and obstruct the conversation's process and message. They can be categorized into four subtypes: disagreement, floor taking, topic change, and tangentialization.

Research on conversational interruptions within the Thai context is relatively scarce. Previous studies have explored various conversational structures in different settings, such as conversations between friends (Hinds 1988), discussions between local government officials and ethnic groups (Nanthakanok 2012), interactions between physicians and patients (Sathum and Jaratjarungkiat 2019), and conversations between news interviewers and candidates running for the Bangkok governor election in 2013 (Waiyaraphutra and Abhakorn 2017). These findings suggest that interruptions in the Thai context serve purposes such as asking, answering, providing information, and expressing opinions. Additionally, research by Krutnate (2014), Hasanam (2015), and Ongwuttiwat (2016) on daily conversations and dialogues indicates that Thai listeners typically avoid interrupting a speaker who has not finished their turn. This behaviour reflects a cultural inclination towards maintaining positive relationships, avoiding conflict, and fostering interpersonal harmony, where considerateness and humility are highly valued. Ochaphan's (2022) study, which focuses more on overlap than interruption in Thai news interview programmes, limits its ability to fully describe the phenomenon of interruption between interviewees in the Thai interview context.

3. Research methodology

3.1. Data collection

Data was collected from news interview programmes on digital TV channels, which focus on social issues, presenting societal problems, and conflicting opinions. These programmes aim to clarify various aspects of issues occurring in society by interviewing newsmakers and relevant individuals. After the live broadcast, these programmes are also available on YouTube, the TV channel's Facebook fan page, and the TV channel's website, targeting audiences interested in these contentious issues. For this study, data were collected from Thai news interview programmes using specific criteria obtained from the survey results of Hard Talk on digital television (https://www.tvdigitalwatch.com). Episodes published on YouTube were selected for analysis. The following inclusion criteria were used to select conversational data:

- 1) The interview should involve two sides with different opinions on one topic.
- 2) The interview should include either one interviewee per side or a total of three participants, including two interviewees and one interviewer.
- 3) In cases where there are more than two interviewees, such as interviews with experts who will provide knowledge on the issue and have no interest in the conflict between the two interviewees, information will be considered when the expert's interruption occurs. In that episode, there will be a total of four participants in the conversation. Interviews with other people over the phone will not be considered.
- 4) Interviewees were not limited in terms of sex, age, occupation, or social status.

Five programmes meeting the inclusion criteria were identified: 1. Tam Trong Trong with Jomquan on the Thairath TV channel. 2. Tang Khon Tang Khit on the Amarin TV channel. 3. Jaw Praden on Channel 8. 4. Pen Ruang Pen Khao on the PPTV channel. 5. Hone Krasae on Channel 3 SD. The five episodes with the most views on YouTube were selected from each programme, resulting in a total of 25 episodes with a combined duration of 1,022.28 minutes, as detailed in *Table 1*.

	J	1 0	
No.	Programmes	Interviewers	Time durations (5 episodes/ programme)
1	Tam Trong Trong with Jomquan, Thairath TV channel	Jomquan Laopet	279.06 minutes
2	Tang Khon Tang Khit, Amarin TV channel	Phuttha Apiwan	198.77 minutes
3	Jaw Praden, Channel 8	Phakaphong Udomkalayalux Chanitnun Punnanithi	219.04 minutes
4	Pen Ruang Pen Khao, PPTV channel	Satien Viriyapanpongsa Chuenjit Charoenpongchai	129.16 minutes
5	Hone Krasae, Channel 3 SD	Kanchai Kamnerdploy	197.25 minutes

Table 1. Details of Thai news interview programmes

The data obtained from the news interview programmes were transcribed into a written format using the transcription system developed by Jefferson (1979).

3.2. Data analysis

For data analysis, the researcher employed the turn-taking system framework of Sacks et al. (1974) alongside the frameworks for conversational interruptions by Kennedy and Camden (1983), Murata (1994), and Li (2001). Conversational interruptions were classified as either successful or unsuccessful. Successful

interruptions were further categorized based on their purpose into intrusive interruptions, cooperative interruptions, or other types. The frequency of each type of successful interruption was then analysed. Unsuccessful interruptions were excluded from this study.

4. Results

This study presents the frequency and function of speech interruptions that occur among all interlocutors in the Thai news interview programmes included in the analysis. The results revealed 2,677 interruptions. The interruptions are divided into three categories: (1) the interviewer interrupts the interviewee, (2) the interviewee interrupts the interviewer, and (3) the interviewees interrupt each other. I present these categories in the discussion of the results. The study identified three functions of interruption: intrusive interruption, cooperative interruption, and neutral interruption, as presented in *Table 2*.

Table 2. Conversational interruption functions in Thai news interview programmes

Functions of conversation	Frequency	Percentage	
	Floor taking	826	30.9
	Topic change	386	14.4
	Summarization	354	13.2
Intrusive interruption	Disagreement	235	8.8
	Tangentialization	200	7.5
	Floor management	81	3.0
	Total	2,082	77.8
	Agreement	270	10.0
Cooperative intermention	Assistance	161	6.0
Cooperative interruption	Clarification	121	4.5
	Total	552	20.5
	Insertion sequences	25	0.9
Neutral interruption	Silent interruption	18	0.8
	Total	43	1.7
Overall total	_	2,677	100

Table 2 presents 2,677 conversational interruptions in Thai news interview programmes, categorized by different interruption functions. The most frequent function of conversational interruption is intrusive interruption, followed by cooperative interruption and neutral interruption. There are 2,082 intrusive interruptions, accounting for 77.8% of the total. Within this category, the highest

frequency is floor taking (826 interruptions, or 30.9%), followed by topic change, summarization, disagreement, tangentialization, and floor management. For cooperative interruptions, there are 552 interruptions, representing 20.5% of the total. Among these, the highest frequency is agreement (270 interruptions, or 10.0%), followed by assistance and clarification. Neutral interruptions account for only 43 interruptions, making up 1.7% of the total. Neutral interruptions consist of insertion sequences and silent interruptions. These do not carry a clear positive or negative intent. Interrupters using neutral interruptions do not aim to dominate or support the conversation; rather, they may simply be unaware that the speaker has not finished speaking.

4.1. The interviewer interrupts the interviewee

The role of the interviewer in conducting an interview is crucial in achieving the interview's objectives. The interviewer is responsible for guiding the interview process and encouraging the interviewee to express their opinions on various points, as well as to speak and respond to questions.

The interviewer interrupt	Frequency	Percentage	
Intrusive interruption	Summarization	328	26.5
	Topic change	211	17.0
	Floor taking	188	15.2
	Tangentialization	93	7.5
	Floor management	81	6.5
	Disagreement	15	1.2
	Total	916	73.9
Cooperative interruption	Assistance	120	9.7
	Clarification	112	4.9
	Agreement	61	9.0
	Total	293	23.6
Neutral interruption	Insertion sequences	23	1.9
	Silent interruption	8	0.6
	Total	31	2.5
Overall total		1,240	100

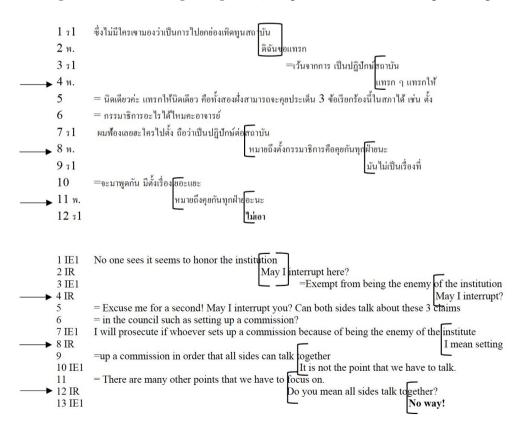
As indicated in *Table 3*, the interviewer was the most frequent interrupter of the interviewee, accounting for 1,240 interruptions of the total number of occurrences. The interviewer's interruptions often occurred for the purposes of summarization, making up 328 interruptions, or 26.5% of the total number of occurrences. These interruptions took place when the interviewer perceived that

the interviewee's information was not concise or strayed from the main point. As a result, the interviewer intervened by summarizing the information provided by the interviewee, enabling the audience and other interviewees to grasp the key points. It is worth noting that this kind of interruption may infringe on the speaker's right to present all the information. However, it is possible that the interviewer did not consider this as interrupting the interviewee's turn, as their intention was to ensure clarity for the audience and maintain the interviewe's timeline. The results indicate that while the interviewer's interruptions may have served specific purposes, they could also impact the smooth flow of the interviewee's speech and potentially influence the dynamics of the conversation. The following example shows the interviewer interrupting the interviewee.

Example 1. Interviewee interrupted by interviewer

Situation: Interviewee 1 does not want to answer anything about the Thai monarchy.

(Programme: Tam Trong Trong with Jomquan; Interviewer: Jomquan Laopet)



According to Example 1, while interviewee 1 (IE1) was speaking, the interviewer (IR) attempted to interrupt but was unsuccessful (Line 2). Additionally, as IE1 continued speaking off-topic, the interviewer interrupted to summarize IE1's recent point. However, IE1 did not respond to the interviewer's question and instead shifted the topic to prosecuting everyone. Consequently, the interviewer interrupted IE1 again to tangentialize and refocus the discussion on the commission topic that was originally asked about (lines 4-6). IE1 continued to avoid answering the question and attempted to change the subject. In response, the interviewer interrupted multiple times to take control of the conversation and insist on a direct answer (lines 8-9, 12), with IE1 eventually exclaiming " ใม่เอา" 'No way!' loudly. In this example, IE1's attempts to avoid answering the question and change the topic led the interviewer to interrupt frequently to ensure IE1 provided a clear and direct answer. When the interviewer repeatedly interrupts IE1 for missing the point or evading questions, it indicates intrusive interruptions, as the interviewer is focused on steering the interview to stay on track and conclude on time.

The interviewer's interruptions of the interviewee are common in various interview settings. Interruptions by the interviewer can serve different purposes such as seeking clarification, guiding the conversation, or managing time constraints. While these interruptions are intended to facilitate the interview process and ensure relevant information is conveyed, they may also impact the interviewee's flow of speech and expression.

4.2. The interviewee interrupts the interviewer

Conversational interruptions induced by the interviewee occur when the interviewer summarizes information incorrectly, leading to potential misunderstandings. The interviewee decides to interrupt to provide further explanations or correct the information.

Table 4.	Functions	of	conversational	interruptions	by	the	interviewee
interrupting	the intervie	wer					

The interviewee interr	upts the interviewer	Frequency	Percentage
Intrusive interruption	Floor taking	359	44.5
	Topic change	97	12.0
	Disagreement	77	9.5
	Tangentialization	51	6.3
	Summarization	13	1.6
	Total	597	73.9

The interviewee interr	rupts the interviewer	Frequency	Percentage
	Agreement	166	20.6
Cooperative	Assistance	28	3.5
interruption	Clarification	5	0.6
	Total	199	24.7
Neutral interruption	Silent interruption	10	1.2
	Insertion sequences	2	0.2
	Total	12	1.4
Overall total		808	100

As shown in *Table 4*, there were a total of 808 interruptions made by the interviewee. The primary purpose of the interviewee's interruptions was floor taking, accounting for 359 interruptions, or 44.5%. In these cases, the interviewee perceived that the interviewer provided unclear or erroneous information, prompting them to intervene and offer clarification or correct the facts to ensure everyone is on the same page. This type of interruption may seem intrusive, as it involves interrupting the speaker, but it serves the purpose of providing accurate information to the conversation.

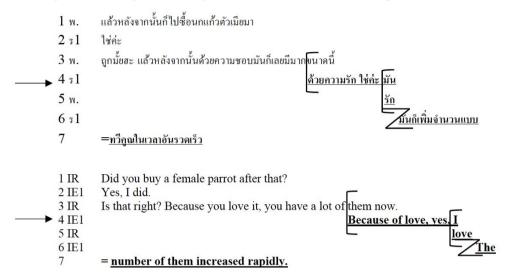
In this study, the interviewer was frequently interrupted by the interviewee for floor taking. However, the secondary purpose of interruption made by the interviewee was agreement when the interviewer summarized information correctly, amounting to 166 interruptions, or 20.6%. This type of interruption indicates that the interviewee is in agreement with the information provided by the interviewer, expressing belief, understanding, and support. Additionally, it may involve providing further details to bolster the interviewer's point or opinion. An example of the interviewer being interrupted by the interviewee is provided below.

According to Example 2, interviewee 1 (IE1) interrupted the interviewer (IR) to agree with what IR was saying (Line 4) by providing additional information and showing agreement. Meanwhile, IR interrupted and added some words to emphasize the meaning expressed by IE1 (Line 5). This interruption by IR was intended to highlight a word being spoken by IE1. IE1 continued speaking with loud emphasis to underscore her agreement with IR (lines 6–7). This type of interruption indicates a cooperative interaction between the speaker and the listener, where they agree with and support each other's information.

In summary, the interviewee's interruptions of the interviewer were primarily aimed at ensuring accuracy and clarity in the information being conveyed. Whether interrupting for floor taking or agreement, the interviewee's intent was to maintain the conversation's accuracy and cohesion. Effective communication between the interviewer and interviewee, where interruptions are used judiciously, can lead to a more informative and engaging interview.

Example 2. Interviewer interrupted by interviewee

Situation: Interviewer is asking interviewee 1 why she has more parrots. (Programme: Tang Khon Tang Khit; Interviewer: Phuttha Apiwan)



4.3. The interviewees interrupt each other

Interruptions between interviewees can occur when a speaker presents unclear information or when one interviewee feels that another one's statements are detrimental to their position. As a result, the interrupting interviewee intervenes to provide accurate information and seize the opportunity to take their turn to speak immediately.

Table 5. Functions of interruptions when interviewees interrupt each other

The interviewees interrupt each other		Frequency	Percentage
Intrusive interruption	Floor taking	279	44.4
	Disagreement	143	22.7
	Topic change	78	12.4
	Tangentialization	56	8.9
	Summarization	13	2.1
	Total	569	90.5
Cooperative interruption	Agreement	43	6.8
	Assistance	13	2.1
	Clarification	4	0.6
	Total	60	9.5
Overall total		629	100

Table 5 reveals a total of 629 interruptions between interviewees in the Thai news interview programmes included in the analysis. The most frequent type of interruption observed was floor taking, accounting for 279 interruptions, or 44.4%. Each interviewee attempts to assert themselves as the speaker on a particular topic, even though the interviewer ensures equal floor management and encourages each interviewee to express their opinions or provide information independently. Despite this, interviewees often try to take over the turn to speak on a specific point by interrupting each other. This competitive interruption for floor taking can be seen as an intrusion into the turn-taking system, as each interviewee competes for the opportunity to express their viewpoint. Disagreement is another common purpose of interviewee—interviewee interruptions, where one interviewee expresses dissent with another one's opinion, potentially leading to arguments between the parties. Such interruptions disrupt the smooth turn-taking process and reflect the intense engagement of interviewees in advocating their positions. The following example illustrates interviewees interrupting one another.

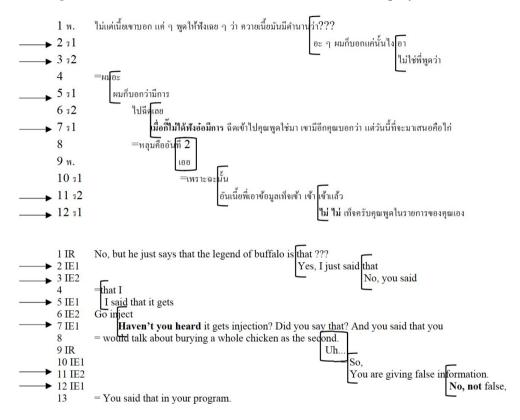
In Example 3, the interviewer (IR) was summarizing the information provided by interviewee 2 (IE2) to clarify it for interviewee 1 (IE1). However, IE1 interrupted IR to point out that he had already said that (Line 2), while IR2 interrupted to disagree with IE1's statement (Line 3). Consequently, IE1 interrupted again to assert that he had only said that and nothing more (Line 5). When IE2 took his turn, he argued that IE1 had indeed said it, but IE1 loudly interrupted to clarify that he had only said, "nini" 'It gets', and then shifted the interview topic to burying a whole chicken alive, neck-deep in the ground (Line 7). IE2 interrupted again to disagree with IR1's statement (Line 11), but IR1 also interrupted IE2 with a loud refusal (lines 12–13). This type of interruption becomes intrusive and reflects a refusal to acknowledge the information proposed by the other speaker. Continual interruptions can lead to more severe conflicts between the interlocutors.

These interruptions between interviewees shed light on the dynamics of interaction within the news interview programme. While the interviewer plays a role in facilitating equal participation, interviewees' interruptions show their active participation, their viewpoints. Interviewees assertively take over the turn to speak on specific topics; both interviewees were eager to be the primary speakers and to provide information themselves, and thus floor management becomes a challenge for the interviewer.

Example 3. Interviewee-interviewee interruption

Situation: Interviewer is asking both interviewees to explain about the beginning of animal cruelty prosecution.

(Programme: Hone Krasae; Interviewer: Kanchai Kamnerdploy)



4.4. Summary

This study highlights the various forms of interruptions that occur in Thai news interview programmes. It reveals that the interviewer frequently interrupts the interviewee's speech to summarize information, ensuring it is concise and clear for the audience. This intervention is a means for the interviewer to guide and manage the conversation effectively. On the other hand, interviewees often interrupt the interviewer to preserve their opportunities to speak. These interruptions occur whether they are considered intrusive or cooperative. Interviewees assertively take over speaking turns on specific topics, even though the interviewer attempts to provide an equal floor management system and to encourage each interviewee to express their opinions independently. In interviews involving multiple

interviewees, there is significant competition for the role of the speaker on various topics. Despite the interviewer's efforts to ensure fair floor management, interviewees actively vie for speaking opportunities, leading to frequent floor-taking interruptions.

Overall, this study sheds light on the complex dynamics of interruptions in Thai news interview programmes. It reveals the roles and strategies of both interviewers and interviewees in shaping the conversation and conveying their perspectives. Understanding these interruption patterns provides valuable insights into the communication dynamics and power struggles inherent in these interview settings.

5. Conclusions and discussion

In this study, a total of 2,677 conversational interruptions in Thai news interview programmes were analysed and classified into three categories: intrusive interruption, cooperative interruption, and neutral interruption. Within the intrusive interruption category, floor taking was the most common, followed by topic change, summarization, disagreement, tangentialization, and floor management. For cooperative interruptions, agreement was the most frequent, followed by assistance and clarification. The neutral interruption category included insertion sequences and silent interruptions.

The study's results reveal that participants use interruptions for different purposes. Interviewers frequently interrupt to manage the floor and ensure the interview progresses smoothly to meet the programme's objectives. Conversely, interviewees interrupt the interviewer to provide additional information, support points summarized by the interviewer, or assert their turn to discuss specific topics. When interviewees interrupt each other, it is often to express disagreement or to assert their right to speak and present their own information. Essentially, interruptions are used by all parties to showcase their roles and defend their speaking rights.

In the case of conversational interruptions in Thai news interview programmes, participants often interrupt to intrude on the speaker rather than to cooperate with them. Interruptions can disrupt communication, threaten the floor-taking process, and obstruct the flow and message of the ongoing conversation (Ferguson 1977; Kollock, Blumstein, and Schwartz 1985; Hawkins 1991; Robinson and Reis 1989; Goldberg 1990; Murata 1994). However, it is important to note that interviewers also play a role in assisting interviewees by asking questions or providing explanations to clarify information for the audience. Therefore, interviewers may interrupt to offer assistance or ask interviewees to explain information in more detail. Conversely, interviewees may interrupt interviewers to show agreement

with what they are saying or to summarize information by adding relevant details during the interviewer's turn. In this way, interruption can function to demonstrate participation, support, cooperation, and the establishment of good rapport among interviewees. Interruptions can also serve as a means to help or encourage speakers to be clearer in their explanations (Meltzer et al. 1971, Beattie 1982, Murray 1987, Goldberg 1990). Cooperative interruption is a way for listeners to support speakers by coordinating with the process or message of the ongoing conversation (Murata 1994, James and Clarke 1994, Tannen 1994).

In Thai news interview programmes, the interviewer's interruptions primarily serve the purposes of floor management and information summarization. When the interviewer observes that an interviewee is struggling to finish their turn or is encroaching on another one's turn, the interviewer intervenes to manage the flow of the conversation, especially given the limited time available for the interview. This approach aligns with the studies conducted by Sirisai (2006) and Al-Rojaie (2001), which highlight the crucial role of the interviewer in ensuring that the conversation adheres to programme requirements and objectives.

Summarization is another way in which the interviewer uses interruptions to ensure a smooth and timely conversation. By summarizing the information provided by the interviewee, the interviewer helps keep the discussion on track and ensures that key points are communicated clearly to the audience. However, both floor management and summarization are considered intrusive interruptions because they disrupt the natural flow of the conversation. This can lead to a change in rhythm and potentially shorten the speech of the original speaker. Despite their intrusive nature, these interruptions are crucial for maintaining the coherence and effectiveness of the interview.

In Thai news interview programmes, interruptions are common and can be quite frequent, especially in discussions involving political issues where interviewees hold strongly conflicting opinions. When one interviewee attempts to mention the other and the other tries to avoid addressing sensitive societal issues, the conversation can become highly intense. As both participants compete to dominate the discussion, they frequently interrupt each other, leading to intense arguments. In such scenarios, each interviewee strives to speak without interruption and often resists yielding their turn to the other. This results in the interviewer facing significant challenges in managing the conversation and redirecting the flow of the discussion. Effective floor management becomes particularly challenging, as the interviewer must navigate the interruptions and find a way to conclude the interview effectively. For instance, in conversations marked by intense arguments, the interviewer needs to balance between allowing each participant to express their views and maintaining control over the discussion. Ochaphan (2022) suggests that inviting interviewees with opposing viewpoints can provide

a comprehensive view of the topic, but the frequent interruptions underscore the intensity of the debate.

The present study reveals that interviewees often interrupt the conversation to express their disagreement with what a speaker is saying. Such interruption can be seen as impolite and may also humiliate the speaker. This finding contrasts with the studies of Krutnate (2014) and Ongwuttiwat (2016), which describe Thai people as sympathetic, willing to compromise and to avoid conflicts and interpersonal confrontations. Thai culture places a strong emphasis on being considerate and respectful towards others, avoiding the creation of conversational conflicts. However, it is essential to consider that different communication situations and conversation topics can lead to variations in the way interlocutors interact. Communication style and objectives may influence how interruptions are perceived and used in Thai news interview programmes. Factors such as social and cultural norms, including the concepts of "face" and "seniority", may significantly influence communicative behaviours among Thai speakers in various contexts (see also Krutnate 2014, Ongwuttiwat 2016).

In summary, the present study found that disagreement interruptions are prevalent in Thai news interview programmes. However, it is important to recognize that communication patterns can vary depending on the situation, the objectives of the conversation, and cultural influences and norms. Understanding these dynamics provides valuable insights into the complexities of conversational interruptions and their functions within the Thai context. The communication situations in Thai news programmes present significant challenges for the interviewer, particularly with regard to floor management. The interviewer must balance providing equal opportunities for interviewees to express their opinions while maintaining a smooth flow of conversation and ensuring that messages are effectively conveyed to the audience. As a result, the interviewer may need to interrupt the conversation to steer the discussion towards achieving a complete and objective-oriented interview.

Further research should focus on participants in conversations who play significant political roles such as politicians, members of the House of Representatives, and ministers. This would help to determine whether the communication dynamics of influential political figures impact the conversation and to identify any specific characteristics of their communication behaviour. Additionally, it is important to study interruptions in the context of different relationships between speakers and listeners, such as differences in gender, age, and political stance, to explore how these factors influence conversational dynamics.

References

- Al-Rojaie, Yousef. I. 2001. A Discourse Analysis of Interruption, Moderator Role, and Address Terms in Arab and American Political Panel. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Graduate College of the Oklahoma State University, U.S.A.
- Beattie, Geoffrey. 1981. Interruption in conversational interaction, and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants. *Linguistics* 19: 15–35.
- —— 1982. Turn-taking and interruption in political interviews: Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan compared and contrasted. *Semiotica* 39: 93–114.
- Clayman, Steven–Heritage, John. 2002. *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, Mark–Lalljee, Mansur G. 1972. Verbal substitutes for visual signals in interaction. *Semiotica* 3: 212–221.
- Ferguson, Nicola. 1977. Simultaneous speech, interruptions and dominance. British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology 16(14): 295–302.
- Goldberg, Julia A. 1990. Interrupting the discourse on interruptions: An analysis in terms of relationally neutral, power- and rapport-oriented acts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(6): 883–903.
- Hasanam, Narisra. 2015. Backchannels Adopted by Participants of Equal Status in Thai Conversation. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Hawkins, Katherine. 1991. Some consequences of deep interruption in task-oriented communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 10(3): 185–203.
- Hinds, John. 1988. Conversational interaction in central Thai. In Bamroongraks Cholticha et al. (eds), The International Symposium on Language and Linguistics, 150–162. Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.
- Jaffe, Joseph–Stanley Feldstein. 1970. *Rhythms of Dialogue*. New York: Academic Press.
- James, Deborah–Sandra Clarke. 1994. Women, men, and interruptions: A critical review. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), Gender and Conversational Interaction, 231– 279. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1979. A technique for inviting laughter and its subsequent acceptance declination. In George Psathas (ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, 79–96. New York: Publishers.
- Kennedy, Carol–Carl. T. Camden. 1983. A new look at interruption. Western Journal of Speech Communication 47(1): 45–58.
- Kollock, Peter–Philip Blumstein–Pepper Schwartz. 1985. Sex and power in interaction: Conversational privileges and duties. *American Sociological Review* 50(1): 34–46.

- Krutnate, Pannatorn. 2014. Strategies Used for Terminating Conflict Talk in Thai Interactions. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Levinson, Stephen. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Li, Han Z. 2001. Cooperative and intrusive interruptions in inter- and intracultural dyadic discourse. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 20(3): 259–284.
- Li, Han. Z.-Michael Krysko-Naghmeh Desroches-George Deagle. 2004. Reconceptualizing interruptions in physician-patient interview: Cooperative and intrusive. Communication and Medicine: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Healthcare, Ethics and Society 1(2): 145–157.
- Li, Han Z.-Yum Young-ok-Robin Yates-Laura Aguilera-Ying Mao-Yue Zheng. 2005. Interruption and involvement in discourse: Can intercultural interlocutors be trained? *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 34(4): 233–254.
- Meltzer, Leo-William. N. Morris-Donald Hayes. 1971. Interruption outcomes and vocal amplitude: Explorations on social psychophysics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 18(3): 392–402.
- Murata, Kumiko. 1994. Intrusive or co-operative? A cross-cultural study of interruption. *Journal of Pragmatics* 21(4): 385–400.
- Murray, Stephen O. 1987. Power and solidarity in "interruption": A critique of the Santa Barbara School conception and its application by Orcutt and Harvey (1985). *Symbolic Interaction* 10(1): 101–110.
- Nanthakanok, Kornchanok. 2012. An analysis of conversational structures between local government officials and ethnic people. *Journal of Language and Culture* 32(1): 93–126.
- Ochaphan, Sophida. 2022. Simultaneous speech in Thai conversation: A case study of Hone Krasae television program. *Thai Language and Literature* 39(1): 94–137.
- Ongwuttiwat, Sittitam. 2016. "I think it might not be what you think...": An emancipatory pragmatics study of linguistic devices used for disagreement in Thai conversation. *Thammasat Journal* 35(1): 71–129.
- Robinson, Laura F.–Harry T. Reis. 1989. The effects of interruption, gender, and status on interpersonal perceptions. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 13(3): 141–153.
- Rutter, Derek R.–G. M. Stephenson. 1977. The role of visual communication in synchronizing conversation. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 7(1): 29–37.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. Lectures on Conversation, Volumes 1–2. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sacks, Harvey–Emanuel A. Schegloff–Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language* 50: 696–735.

- Sathum, Sakowduen-Tepee Jaratjarungkiat. 2019. Conversational discourse structure between psychiatrists and out-patients in primary psychiatric consultation. KKU Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (Graduate Studies) 7(2): 122–134.
- Sirisai, Solot. 2006. A Study on Turn-taking and Floor Management in Thai TV Talk. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Mahidol University, Thailand.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1994. *Gender and Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Waiyaraphutra Kornkamol–Jirapa M. L. Abhakorn. 2017. Conversation analysis of interviewer's cooperative talks during news interviews. *Phranakhon Rajabhat Research Journal* 12(2): 143–156.
- Watzlawick, Paul-Janet Beavin Bavelas-Don D. Jackson. 1967. *Pragmatics of Human Communication: A Study of Interactional Patterns, Pathologies and Paradoxes.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Wooffitt, Robin. 2005. Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction. New York: Sage.
- Zimmerman, Don H.–Candace West. 1975. Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversations. In Barrie Thorne–Nancy Henley (eds), *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*, 105–129. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0021

The Role of Different Intonation Contours in Social Perception

Ákos GOCSÁL

HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics (Budapest, Hungary)
University of Pécs (Pécs, Hungary)
Institute of Music
gocsal.akos@pte.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3651-1649

Nafiseh TADAYYON-CHAHARTAGH

Alzahra University (Tehran, Iran)
Department of Linguistics
n.tadayyon@alzahra.ac.ir
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0464-8704

Abstract. An extensive body of research has shown that speech plays an important role in social perception. Based on the acoustic quality and prosodic features of speech, listeners make inferences of the speaker's emotional states, attitudes, personality traits, and other characteristics. Fundamental frequency (f0) and intonation seem to be crucial parameters in forming an impression about the speaker. In the present study, a female speaker, an amateur actress, read 10 Hungarian sentences. We implemented a small change to the sentences, i.e. a 2-semitone decrease of the peak frequency in the intonation contour, technically, on the stressed syllable. Thus, we had the original and a manipulated version of each sentence. Two listener groups were asked to rate the imaginary speaker using a 7-point semantic differential scale with 6 pairs of bipolar adjectives (not natural-natural, uncertain-selfconfident, sad-happy, nervous-calm, unpleasant-pleasant, pessimisticoptimistic). Ratings of the original and the manipulated versions of the same sentence did not differ significantly in general. However, there were several cases where differences were significant (p < .05) or approached the conventional level of significance (p < .01), especially in the dimension of "optimism", suggesting a less favourable state of the speaker when sentences with lowered intonation peak were heard.

Keywords. intonation, fundamental frequency, Praat, social perception

1. Introduction

When humans talk, it is not only the verbal message that their speech conveys. Authors like Traunmüller (2000) or Laver (2003) have pointed out that multiple semiotic layers exist in speech, which reflect the speakers' emotional and affective states as well as their biological and physiological attributes. Consequently, speech perception is not limited to an understanding of the verbal message, but it also has a social dimension: listeners make inferences about the speakers, based on the acoustic quality of their speech (Scherer 2013). From a researcher's point of view, three main areas of study can be distinguished in this context. First, using Scherer's (1979) terminology, externalization studies seek to find correlations between speakers' traits, emotional or affective states, and the acoustic parameters of their speech. Second, attributional studies explore how listeners use the acoustic properties of speech when they form an impression or make inferences about the speaker. Third, accuracy studies compare objectively established speaker traits and subjective judgments and impressions, thus assessing if humans are able to accurately describe speakers based on their vocal qualities (Scherer 1979: 151, 179, 190). Of these three, this paper focuses on the second research area. We wish to examine if a small change in the intonation contour affects listener impressions about the speaker.

1.1. Perception of emotions based on spoken stimuli

Prosody plays an important role in social perception. It is represented acoustically by duration, intonation, and energy pattern, and these features can be representative of the emotions and affective states of the speaker. While some studies, such as the one by Pakosz (1983), have suggested that no significant link exists between intonation or prosody and emotion perception, numerous research have explored the role of prosodic cues in conveying affective states. These studies have shed light on the relationship between acoustic features and emotional discrimination.

Of the earliest researchers in this field, Lieberman and Michaels (1962) studied the effect of pitch parameters on the inference of emotion. According to their findings, pitch information alone achieved 44% correct recognition of emotion. Pitch and amplitude information increased correct recognition to 47%. However, smoothing the pitch information decreased correct identification. Banse and Scherer (1996) and Ladd et al. (1985) found that the f0 range had the highest effect on listener judgements, with narrow f0 being perceived as signalling sadness, while a wide f0 range expressed negative emotions such as annoyance or anger. Banse and Scherer (1996) showed that disgust could be identified with a

low mean f0, while fear and sadness could be associated with lower f0 variation. They also found that anger and happiness had higher f0 variation.

Mozziconacci and Hermes (1999) investigated the significance of intonation patterns in conveying emotions and attitudes in Dutch. Their experiment showed that especially the final part of the intonation pattern has a significant role in conveying an emotion. Grichkovtsova et al. (2007) explored the impact of intonation and voice quality on the perception of affective states. Their findings revealed that neither fundamental frequency nor voice quality had a distinct advantage in identifying emotion. Instead, each affective state exhibited specific patterns of prosody and voice quality, with prosody proving more effective in discerning anger and doubt compared to sadness. In contrast, Rodero (2011) found that pitch level and the type of intonation contour are highly significant in defining sadness, followed by joy, calmness, and anxiety. Pakosz (1983) in his study on the correspondence between intonation and recognition of emotions found that intonation patterns have the potential to reflect the emotions portrayed by speakers but are not fully reliable factors in discriminating emotions.

Pell et al. (2009) in their study on comparing the acoustic identification of emotions across four languages (German, English, Arabic, and Hindi) discovered that f0 mean, f0 range, and speaking rate contributed to differences between the emotion categories in each language. Additionally, mean f0 alone (in Arabic) and mean f0 together with f0 range (in German, English, and Hindi) played a significant role in discriminating emotions. Gu et al. (2011) studied the intonational and durational characteristics of attitudinal speech based on a database of Mandarin Chinese. Their results showed that f0 could be used to distinguish between serious/joking, praising/blaming, and confident/uncertain speech. F0 range is only distinctive for friendly/hostile and serious/joking speech. Furthermore, f0 features are more distinctive in words than in utterances.

Barbulescu et al. (2017) studied the use of acoustic prosodic and visual features in the discrimination of different dramatic attitudes at the frame, syllable, and sentence level. Their results indicated that prosodic features played a more significant role at the sentence level. Moreover, the results showed that male speakers achieved higher discrimination rates for energy and head, gaze, and upper-face expressions, while female speakers benefited more from f0 and lower-face expressions.

Szeteli et al. (2022) studied the role of intonation in the realization of declarative sentences in Hungarian. Their results demonstrated with the Hungarian discourse marker $h\acute{a}t$ 'well'/'so' that identical expressions with different prosodic features do express a variety of affective states and intentions.

Several studies have explored the role of intonation, among other elements, in perceiving specific emotional states. For instance, Cheang and Pell (2008) investigated possible acoustic cues for sarcasm in English. Their results

demonstrated that reductions in mean f0, reductions in harmonics-to-noise ratio (HNR), and standard deviation of f0 were indicative of sarcasm. In certain contexts, changes in resonance and reduction in speech rate and f0 rate aided in distinguishing between sarcasm and humour. Alpert et al. (2001) studied acoustic measures of depression in depressed patients compared to normal participants. They found that depressed participants exhibited less prosody. Similarly, Silva et al. (2024) discovered that depressed patients have higher f0 standard deviation, jitter, and shimmer but lower smoothed cepstral peak prominence (CPPS) values.

1.2. Manipulation of acoustic parameters

Manipulation of acoustic parameters can influence listeners' perception of the speaker's emotional state or personality. In an early study, Magdics (1964) synthesised different versions of the one-word utterance $\not Ep$ 'Intact'. She generated questions, statements, and exclamations and manipulated a variety of acoustic parameters. She found that, in general, native listeners were able to identify the emotional contents of the utterances, but the accuracy of this identification decreased when certain acoustic parameters were changed. Thus, she was able to determine which parameters are mostly responsible in the perception of emotions and affective states. For instance, her results indicated that pitch, duration, and formant amplitude were decisive in recognizing the surprising question, while pitch, size of intervals, and the formant amplitude played a role in the recognition of surprise, as well as confusion.

As prosodic parameters, pauses can be significant factors in emotion perception. Tisljár-Szabó's (2014) studied the role of pauses in the perception of emotional states in Hungarian speech, rated by native Hungarian speakers and Austrian German speakers. According to their results, a modification of pause length can affect listeners' ratings of a speaker's internal emotions. More specifically, they found that longer pauses are correlated with higher sadness and scaredness but lower happiness. Moreover, their results showed that the listeners' mother language could affect their judgments; Hungarian speakers were perceived to be sadder, angrier, and more surprized by the Austrian listeners.

Some studies manipulated f0-related parameters to see their effect on the perception of the speaker's emotion or personality. Glenwright et al. (2014) examined the effect of exaggerated intonation cues on children's interpretations of speaker's attitude. This was achieved by varying the speakers' mean f0 relative to preceding sentences. Their results showed that children could understand sarcastic criticism better when a sentence had the largest f0 contrast with the preceding sentence. Research has shown that the same is true for adults (Milosky and Ford 1997, Cheang and Pell 2008, Voyer and Techentin 2010).

Bulut and Narayanan (2008) performed f0 mean, f0 range, and stylization modifications to recorded utterances. They found that it was f0 range rather than shifts of f0 mean that is more important in emotion expression and perception. Schelinski and von Kriegenstein (2019) also used manipulated utterances for assessing listeners' abilities to recognize emotions. It was found that vocal pitch and vocal emotion perception abilities strongly correlate in individuals with typical development. However, listeners with autism spectrum disorder were not successful in emotion recognition, which was believed to be related to difficulties with vocal pitch processing.

A recent study by Gocsál (2023) also used manipulated speech samples. F0 and articulation rate of sentences uttered by a male and a female speaker were manipulated so that different combinations of raising and lowering f0 and increasing and decreasing speech rate were applied to the recordings. Not only did listeners indicate how pleasant the recordings sounded, but they also expressed their attitudes towards the imaginary speakers in hypothetical situations. Speech samples with lower f0 and increased tempo evoked more positive attitudes than the recordings with higher f0 and slower tempo.

1.3. Other components of listener impression

Speaker emotions and attitudes are, however, not the only non-linguistic factors that are expressed by prosody and thus may influence listener impressions. Listeners may also make judgments about the naturalness and the pleasantness of the utterance. This may be an important aspect of developing speech synthesisers, since users of a speech synthesiser software may prefer a more natural speech (Németh 2006, Olaszy 2006). Furthermore, if an utterance sounds more pleasant, listeners will more likely describe the speaker in more positive terms, ultimately forming a more positive attitude (Hughes and Miller 2016). Imhof et al. (2014) found that when the speaker used modal phonation for reading, i.e. producing regular voice, listeners rated the speaker higher in all ten personality characteristics than when a creaky voice was used.

For assessing how listeners describe the unseen speaker, it is not uncommon to use personality models. Gocsál (2009) used the Big Five model when he examined female speakers' assessments of male speakers' personality traits, identifying that temporal parameters such as speech rate were associated with perceived extraversion and openness. However, no correlation was observed between f0 parameters and the perceived personality dimensions.

Other researchers focus on only one aspect of listener impressions. For example, Strangert and Gustafson (2008) investigated subjective qualities and acoustic-prosodic features contributing to the perception of a good speaker. Their findings suggested that modifying f0 dynamics could improve listeners' perception of

a speaker's speaking abilities. Rodero et al. (2014) explored how prosody could influence an audience's perception of a politician's credibility. They illustrated that a moderate f0 level with a broader f0 range, higher loudness level, and faster speech were linked to higher credibility of the speaker. However, Berger et al. (2017) found no significant association between f0-related parameters and listeners' perception of speaker charisma although a higher f0 was perceived as less attractive.

1.4. Research questions

While most of the literature attributes a significant role to the mean fundamental frequency in emotion identification and discrimination, little is known about how different intonation contours influence the impressions formed about the speaker. On the other hand, research has demonstrated that the expression and perception of emotions are influenced by socio-cultural values and the language studied (e.g. Cheang and Pell 2008, Pell et al. 2009). Previous studies on Hungarian have explored the association between certain acoustic parameters and listeners' judgement of speakers' emotional state such as Tisljár-Szabó's (2014) work on the role of pauses. However, to our knowledge, no study has focused on how intonation patterns may affect perception of emotions in Hungarian. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate a method based on minimal modifications of prototypical contours, which may contribute to a better understanding of the role of intonation in social perception. Understanding the connection between acoustic parameters and listeners' perception of speaker emotion has implications for various fields including communication studies and human-computer interaction. Our primary goal is to address the following research questions:

RQ1 – Do listeners form a different impression about the unseen speaker if the peak of the intonation contour is decreased by 2 semitones?

 $\ensuremath{\mathrm{RQ2}}\xspace$ – Do listener responses reflect a general pattern that can describe listeners' impressions?

2. The present study

2.1. Acoustic stimuli

A middle-aged female speaker of standard Hungarian, an amateur actress with at least 20 years of experience in acting, read the following sentences (four declarative, five interrogative, and one wishful), which were selected from Gósy (2004) and Markó (2017). The reason for selecting these sentences was because Gósy (2004) and Markó (2017) provided detailed descriptions and acoustic

illustrations of the expected intonation patterns for these sentences. The syllables with the f0 peaks in the intonation contours are in bold.

- (1) János elutazott Párizsba.
- 'János has travelled to Paris.'
- (2) Hová mentek a hétvégén kirándulni?
- 'Where are you going for an excursion in the weekend?'
- (3) János **nem** utazott el Párizsba.
- 'János has not travelled to Paris.'
- (4) Meg tudta-e oldani a feladatot?
- 'Has he/she been able to solve the task?'
- (5) Bárcsak elutazhatnék Párizsba!
- 'I wish I could travel to Paris.'
- (6) János utazott el Párizsba.
- 'János has travelled to Paris.' ('It was János who travelled to Paris.')
- (7) Vajon elvitték-e a könyveket?
- 'Have they taken the books away?'
- (8) János miért Mariba szeretett bele?
- 'Why has János fallen in love with Mari?'
- (9) Mari tudja a megoldást, ugye?
- 'Mari knows the solution, doesn't she?'
- (10) Megírtam a levelem.
- 'I have written my letter.'

The speaker was instructed to use a neutral, emotion-free tone; thus, the sentences demonstrated the prototypical intonational contours. In addition to reading the sentences above, she was asked to talk spontaneously about a neutral topic (how she gets to her workplace in the morning) for a minute, also in an emotion-free tone. The reason for recording the spontaneous speech was to get the listeners used to the voice of the speaker and to ensure that all participants can hear the recordings clearly.

Recordings were made in a silent room, using a Tascam DR-44WLB digital recorder (.wav file format, 44.1 kHz sampling frequency, 32-bit float audio). The recordings were then imported into Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2023), where the intonation curves of the sentences were inspected. Of each audio file, a manipulation object was created and the syllable comprising the peak of the intonation curve was selected. Pitch values of the selected syllable were then decreased by 2 semitones (Pitch / Shift pitch frequencies / Frequency shift: -2, Unit: semitones), and, where it was necessary, pitch values were manually adjusted to smoothen the intonation curve (*Figure 1*). This procedure was applied to all recordings, resulting in 10 manipulated sentences.

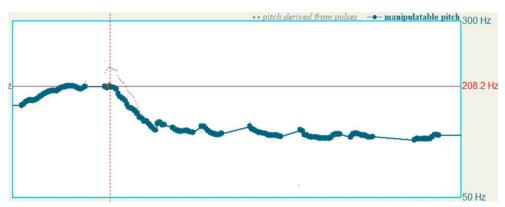


Figure 1. Manipulation of the sentence János **nem** utazott el Párizsba (The small grey dots represent the original peak.)

To avoid listener fatigue, the audio recordings were divided into two sets. Each of the audio sets was assigned to a different group of listeners. This approach allowed us to maintain the integrity and reliability of the data in the perception experiment.

Sentence nr.	Set 1	Set 2
1	original	manipulated
2	manipulated	original
3	original	manipulated
4	manipulated	original
5	original	manipulated
6	manipulated	original
7	original	manipulated
8	manipulated	original
9	original	manipulated
10	manipulated	original

Table 1. The two sets of the audio recordings

2.2. Listeners

28 students (12 males, 16 females, mean age: 21.92 years, SD = 2.41) at the University of XY in two groups (17 and 11 listeners) took part in this study. No student reported any kind of hearing loss or disorder.

2.3. Procedure

For the assessment of listener impressions, a 7-point semantic differential scale with six pairs of bipolar adjectives was constructed as follows:

not natural	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	natural
uncertain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	self-confident
sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	happy
nervous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	calm
unpleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	pleasant
pessimistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	optimistic

Table 2. Scale for assessing listener impressions

The listening study took place in a silent seminar room using a multimedia computer and premium-quality GENELEC speakers. Listeners were first informed about the procedure. Then, they were played the one-minute spontaneous speech sample to get them used to the voice of the speaker and to ensure that all participants can hear the recordings clearly. The sentences were then played to the listeners, allowing enough time for the participants to indicate their impressions on the answer sheet. Each speech sample was played twice.

After the listening session, responses were entered into the SPSS 27 software. To assess inter-rater agreement, the intraclass correlation coefficient ICC (3,k) was determined for each item in both groups (Koo and Li 2016). Based on Gallardo and Weiss's (2017) approach, we attempted to perform factor analysis (maximum likelihood method, varimax rotation) to reveal a possible underlying structure of the items. However, most likely due to the relatively low number of variables and participants, no solution emerged that allowed further calculations, especially comparisons between the two groups. Therefore, this direction of the data analysis was rejected. Next, chi-square tests of independence were carried out on the data to reveal if there was a significant association between the ratings of the original and the manipulated sentences.

2.4. Results

Except "naturalness", ICC values ranged from poor to excellent (Group 1: naturalness .285, happiness .744, pleasantness .742, self-confidence .893, calmness .904, optimism .825; Group 2: naturalness .078, happiness .803, pleasantness .600, self-confidence .934, calmness .852, optimism .599). Because of the low ICC values, "naturalness" was eliminated from further calculations.

The results of the χ^2 calculations for Sentence 1 are presented in *Table 3*. The low values of χ^2 suggest there is no significant difference between the ratings of the two versions of the sentence. However, a non-significant difference (p <. 01) was observed with calmness, indicating a tendency that the manipulated sentence sounded less calm.

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	2.785	4	.594
Happiness	3.683	3	.298
Calmness	9.832	5	.080
Pleasantness	2.642	5	.755
Optimism	3.544	5	.617

Table 3. Results for Sentence 1

Ratings for Sentence 2 did not confirm any differences in listeners' impressions when they heard the two versions of the sentence. In every case, χ^2 values were low (*Table 4*).

Table 4. Results for Sentence 2

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	4.103	6	.663
Happiness	3.893	5	.565
Calmness	1.678	4	.795
Pleasantness	4.841	6	.564
Optimism	2.872	5	.720

Similarly, the two versions of Sentence 3 did not demonstrate any difference in listeners' ratings. Again, low χ^2 values were found (*Table 5*).

Table 5. Results for Sentence 3

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	6.199	6	.401
Happiness	3.768	3	.288
Calmness	2.751	5	.738
Pleasantness	3.031	4	.553
Optimism	2.383	4	.666

However, significant difference was found with the pleasantness ratings of Sentence 4. This result shows that the original intonation sounded more pleasant to the listeners than the manipulated one (*Table 6*).

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	9.283	6	.158
Happiness	3.861	3	.277
Calmness	3.702	5	.593
Pleasantness	13.466	6	.036*
Optimism	3.078	3	.380

Note: * p < .05.

As with Sentence 2 and 3, no significant difference was found with the two versions of Sentence 5, as the low χ^2 values suggest (*Table 7*).

 Table 7. Results for Sentence 5

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	3.788	6	.705
Happiness	1.947	5	.856
Calmness	4.567	4	.335
Pleasantness	4.522	6	.606
Optimism	1.807	5	.875

When rating the two versions of Sentence 6, there was a trend for the original sentence to sound more optimistic; however, the difference was not significant, as the p value only approached the conventional value of .05 (*Table 8*).

 Table 8. Results for Sentence 6

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	3.115	4	.539
Happiness	5.371	4	.251
Calmness	2.246	5	.814
Pleasantness	5.791	5	.327
Optimism	7.613	3	.055

With Sentence 7, no statistical differences were found (Table 9).

 Table 9. Results for Sentence 7

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	6.513	5	.259
Happiness	2.239	3	.524
Calmness	3.344	5	.647
Pleasantness	3.810	4	.432
Optimism	3.720	5	.590

Table 10 shows that there is a significant difference in the Optimism rating of the two versions of Sentence 8. The original sentence suggested more optimism for the listeners.

Table 10. Results for Sentence 8

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	7.397	6	.286
Happiness	5.001	4	.287
Calmness	5.032	5	.412
Pleasantness	5.780	6	.448
Optimism	13.152	4	.011*

Note: * p < .05.

Similarly, the original version of Sentence 9 sounded more optimistic for the listeners than the modified one, but the difference was not significant (p < .01), as the p value only approached .05 (*Table 11*).

Table 11. Results for Sentence 9

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	7.337	6	.170
Happiness	3.607	5	.607
Calmness	4.662	6	.588
Pleasantness	5.627	5	.344
Optimism	10.846	6	.093

Finally, no significant differences were found with the two versions of Sentence 10 (*Table 12*).

Table 12. Results for Sentence 10

Rating	χ^2	Df	Sig.
Self-confidence	2.286	3	.515
Happiness	5.046	4	.283
Calmness	6.488	6	.371
Pleasantness	5.450	6	.487
Optimism	3.624	4	.459

4. General discussion

In answer to RQ1, the findings of this study in general did not support the original idea that decreasing the peak frequency by 2 semitones results in

different impressions formed by the listeners. In most of the cases, no significant difference was found between the ratings of the original and the modified sentences. Consequently, in answer to RQ2, no pattern was observed in the responses that one might possibly generalize. This result is in harmony with the findings of Bulut and Narayanan (2008), who suggested that small variations in the f0 contour shape of speech are more related to the quality of speech rather than its emotional content.

The significant results were found with Sentence 4 (pleasantness) and Sentence 8 (optimism), both being questions, while non-significant (p < .1) differences were found with Sentence 1 (calmness), Sentence 6 (optimism), and Sentence 9 (optimism), the former two being declarative sentences, and the latter one being a question. In all these cases, the lowered intonation peak was associated with lower rankings, suggesting a less favourable state of the speaker. Thus, it is possible that the perception of questions and judgments of speaker optimism may be primarily affected by such a small change in the intonation contour.

Lowering the peak frequency results in a diminished f0 range. While studies by Bänziger et al. (2015) and Banse and Scherer (1996) found that f0 range was associated with larger variability of intonation and thus intonation was negatively associated with perceived sadness, our data did not demonstrate any association with the perceived sadness/happiness dimension. It is possible that our acoustic stimuli were almost identical, and the manipulated utterances reflected a neutral emotion, and a 2-semitone difference in the peak of the intonation contour did not result in the perception of sadness.

5. Conclusions

Although no general patterns were found that may describe and possibly predict listeners' behaviour in the perception of the speakers' emotions and affective states, the few significant and non-significant differences found in this study indicate that small modifications in the intonation contour deserve further attention. It is possible that the 2-semitone difference applied in the present study is a lower threshold in discriminating emotions and affective states, and it only works in some contexts, especially with questions and in the judgment of speaker optimism. In further studies, larger differences should be tested in similar settings.

Limitations of the study include the low number of listeners and scale items. Adding more items or groups of items to the questionnaire, based on a hypothesised underlying structure of the impressions, would significantly improve our methodology and thus may provide better-supported results.

We believe that prosody plays a crucial role in communication, not only in verbal expression but also in social perception. As Szeteli et al. (2022) demonstrated with the Hungarian discourse marker $h\acute{a}t$, identical expressions with different prosodic features do express a variety of affective states and intentions. Studies including prosodic manipulations of the same utterance may contribute to a better understanding of how emotions, affective states, and intentions are represented in our speech, and how they are perceived; thus, we may learn more about humans' communicative behaviour.

References

- Alpert, Murray–Enrique R. Pouget–Raul R. Silva. 2001. Reflections of depression in acoustic measures of the patient's speech. *Journal of Affective Disorders* 66(1): 59–69.
- Banse, Rainer–Klaus Scherer. 1996. Acoustic profiles in vocal emotion expression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 70(3): 614–636.
- Bänziger, Tanja—Hosoya Georg—Klaus Scherer. 2015. Path models of vocal emotion communication. *PLoS ONE* 10(9): e0136675. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal. pone.0136675 (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Barbulescu, Adela–Rémi Ronfard–Gérard Bailly. 2017. Which prosodic features contribute to the recognition of dramatic attitudes? *Speech Communication* 95: 78–86.
- Berger, Stephanie-Oliver Niebuhr-Benno Peters. 2017. Winning over an audience A perception-based analysis of prosodic features of charismatic speech. In *Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference of the German Acoustical Society* Article 256: 1454–1457. Kiel, Germany. https://findresearcher.sdu. dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/125840719/Berger_etal_DAGA2017_000256.pdf (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Boersma, Paul–David Weenik. 2023. *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer* [computer program] v6.3.09. *www.praat.org.* (Last accessed: 16 March 2023).
- Bulut, Murtaza–Shrikanth Narayanan. 2008. On the robustness of overall foonly modifications to the perception of emotions in speech. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 123(6): 4547–4558.
- Cheang, Henry S.–Marc D. Pell. 2008. The sound of sarcasm. Speech Communication 50(5): 366–381.
- Glenwright, Melanie–Jayanthi M. Parackel–Kristene R. J. Cheung–Elizabeth S. Nilsen. 2014. Intonation influences how children and adults interpret sarcasm. *Journal of Child Language* 41(2): 472–484.
- Gocsál, Ákos. 2009. Female listeners' personality attributions to male speakers: The role of acoustic parameters of speech. *Pollack Periodica* 4(3): 155–165.

- 2023. Manipulált beszéd használata a személyészlelés kutatásában [Manipulated speech in researching social perception]. In Aczél Petra–Veszelszki Ágnes (eds), *Deepfake: A valótlan valóság* [Deepfake: The Unreal Reality], 173–187. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó.
- Gósy, Mária. 2004. *Fonetika, a beszéd tudománya* [Phonetics, the Study of Speech]. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
- Grichkovtsova, Ioulia—Anne Lacheret Michel Morel. 2007. The role of intonation and voice quality in the affective speech perception. In *Eighth Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association*. 2245—2248. https://www.isca-archive.org/interspeech_2007/grichkovtsova07_interspeech.html (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Gu, Wentao-Ting Zhang-Hiroya Fujisaki. 2011. Prosodic analysis and perception of mandarin utterances conveying attitudes. In *Twelfth Annual Conference* of the International Speech Communication Association. 1069–1072. https://www.isca-archive.org/interspeech_2011/gu11_interspeech.html (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Hughes, Susan M.–Noelle E. Miller. 2016. What sounds beautiful looks beautiful stereotype: The matching of attractiveness of voices and faces. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 33(7): 984–996.
- Imhof, Margarete-Tuula-Riitta Välikoski-Anne-Maria Laukkanen-Kai Orlob. 2014. Cognition and interpersonal communication: The effect of voice quality on information processing and person perception. *Studies in Communication Sciences* 14: 37–44.
- Koo, Terry K.–Li Mae Y. 2016. A guideline of selecting and reporting intraclass correlation coefficients for reliability research. *Journal of Chiropractic Medicine* 15(2): 155–163.
- Ladd, D. Robert–Kim E. A. Silverman–Frank Tolkmitt–Günther Bergmann–Klaus R. Scherer. 1985. Evidence for the independent function of intonation contour type, voice quality, and F0 range in signaling speaker affect. *The Journal of the* Acoustical Society of America 78(2): 435–444.
- Laver, John. 2003. Three semiotic layers of spoken communication. *Journal of Phonetics* 31(3–4): 413–415.
- Lieberman, Philip—Sheldon B. Michaels. 1962. Some aspects of fundamental frequency and envelope amplitude as related to the emotional content of speech. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 34(7): 922–927.
- Magdics, Klára. 1964. A magyar érzelmi hanglejtésformák akusztikájához [To the acoustics of the emotional intonational patterns in Hungarian]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 66: 417–420.
- Markó, Alexandra. 2017. Hangtan [Phonetics]. In Tolcsvai Nagy Gábor (ed.), *Nyelvtan* [Grammar], 75–203. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.

- Milosky, Linda M.–Janet A. Ford. 1997. The role of prosody in children's inferences of ironic intent. *Discourse Processes* 23(1): 47–61.
- Mozziconacci, Sylvie J. L.–Dik J. Hermes. 1999. Role of intonation patterns in conveying emotion in speech. In *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, ICPhS-99, San Francisco, CA, USA, August 1–7, 1999.* 2001–2004. https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/icphs-proceedings/ICPhS1999/p14_2001.html (Last accessed: 27 April 2024)
- Németh, Géza. 2006. Az akusztikai arculat szerepe az infokommunikációs szolgáltatók megítélésében [The role of acoustic appearance in the judgment of infocommunications service providers]. *Híradástechnika* LXI(8): 17–21.
- Olaszy, Gábor. 2006. *Hangidőtartamok és időszerkezeti elemek a magyar beszédben*. [Speech sound durations and temporal elements in Hungarian speech]. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 155. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Pakosz, Maciej. 1983. Attitudinal judgments in intonation: Some evidence for a theory. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 12(3): 311–326.
- Pell, Marc D.–Silke Paulmann–Chinar Dara–Areej Alasseri–Sonja A. Kotz. 2009. Factors in the recognition of vocally expressed emotions: A comparison of four languages. *Journal of Phonetics* 37(4): 417–435.
- Rodero, Emma. 2011. Intonation and emotion: Influence of pitch levels and contour type on creating emotions. *Journal of Voice* 25(1): e25—e34.
- Rodero, Emma–Lluís Mas–María Blanco. 2014. The influence of prosody on politicians' credibility. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice* 11(1): 89–111.
- Schelinski, Stefanie–Katharina von Kriegstein. 2019. The relation between vocal pitch and vocal emotion recognition abilities in people with autism spectrum disorder and typical development. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders* 49(1): 68–82.
- Scherer, Klaus. 1979. Personality markers in speech. In Klaus Scherer–Howard Giles (eds), *Social markers in speech*, *European Studies in Social Psychology*, 147–209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— 2013. Vocal markers of emotion: Comparing induction and acting elicitation. Computer Speech and Language 27: 40–58.
- Silva, Wegina Jordana–Leonardo Lopes–Melyssa Kellyane Cavalcanti Galdino–Anna Alice Almeida. 2024. Voice acoustic parameters as predictors of depression. *Journal of Voice* 38(1): 77–85.
- Strangert, Eva–Joakim Gustafson. 2008. What makes a good speaker? Subject ratings, acoustic measurements and perceptual evaluations. In *Ninth Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association*. Brisbane, Australia. 1688–1999. https://www.isca-archive.org/interspeech_2008/strangert08_interspeech.html (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).

- Szeteli, Anna-Ákos Gocsál-Gábor Szente-Gábor Alberti. 2022. Differentiation of segmentally identical expressions occurring in the same or different sentence zones in Hungarian by duration, pitch, intensity and irregular voicing. *Acta Linguistica Academica* 69(2): 163–187. https://akjournals.com/view/journals/2062/69/2/article-p163.xml (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Tisljár-Szabó, Eszter. 2014. *Investigation of Speech Features of Emotional States and of Altered States of Consciousness*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Technology and Economics. Budapest.
- Traunmüller, Hartmut. 2000. Evidence for demodulation in speech perception. In *Proceedings of the 6th ICSLP*, 790–793. https://www.isca-archive.org/icslp_2000/traunmuller00_icslp.html (Last accessed: 27 April 2024).
- Voyer, Daniel-Cheryl Techentin. 2010. Subjective auditory features of sarcasm. *Metaphor and Symbol* 25(4): 227–242.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0022

Arteries and Veins or Bowels and Vessels – On Lexical Fixedness in the Eighteenth-Century Medical Texts

Magdalena BATOR

Technical University of Liberec magdalena.bator@tul.cz https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9272-4633

Marta SYLWANOWICZ

University of Warsaw marta.sylwanowicz@uw.edu.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5547-4551

Abstract. The proposed paper aims to conduct a corpus-driven examination of the eighteenth-century English vocabulary used in various types of medical texts such as treatises, recipes, regimens, surgical texts, etc. It is argued that formulaicity in medical jargon depended on the text type. We focus on binomials, defined as "words or phrases belonging to the same grammatical category having some semantic relationship and joined by some syntactic device such as 'and' or 'or'" (Bhatia 1993: 108).

Apart from the investigation into the correspondence between the use of binomials and the text type, the analysis involves exploring their frequency, origin, the type of relationship between their components, and the (ir) reversibility of these elements. The study delves into the purpose of using binomials in the examined texts and addresses such key questions as: to what extent was the medical language of the eighteenth century formulaic, whether lexico-syntactic patterns of binomials were repeated across particular types of texts, and whether there was any stability in the structure of the phrases.

The material used for the analysis is the electronic corpus of *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (LMEMT, Taavitsainen and Hiltunen 2019), containing a representative collection of texts (of over two million words) from a wide range of eighteenth-century medical writings. We adopt the typology and methodology used by Kopaczyk (2013), Mollin (2014), and Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017).

Keywords: binomial, medical jargon, Late Modern English

1. Introduction

Fixedness of word combinations has been the subject of a number of scholarly discussions. Among these, there are studies concentrating on idioms (e.g. Moon 1998, Wray and Perkins 2000, Tabossi et al. 2009), collocations (e.g. Hausmann 2004, Schmitt 2013), phrasal and multi-word verbs (e.g. Claridge 2000, Pamies 2020), lexical bundles (e.g. Arnon and Snider 2010, Kopaczyk 2012), or binomials, which are the focus of the present study. Binomials are commonly defined as "words or phrases belonging to the same grammatical category having some semantic relationship and joined by some syntactic device such as and or or" (Bhatia 1993: 108). Although in literature one can find alternative labels for these expressions, such as repetitive word pairs (Koskenniemi 1968), tautological pairs (Leisi 1947), conjoined phrases (Tiersma 1999), word pairs (Tani 2010), paired opposites (Cummings 1980), or freezes (Fenk-Oczlon 1989), to name just a few, the term binomial will be used in this study. The label was first introduced by Malkiel (1959) and, unlike other terms, is "relatively neutral and leaves the precise formal and semantic relation between the elements of the pair open, thus allowing the inclusion of the maximum number of binomials and drawing attention to peripheral types" (Kopaczyk and Sauer 2017: 7). Earlier terms are less neutral, as they allow for the inclusion of a limited number of possible binomial expressions. For instance, conjoined phrases refer to longer lexical units; repetitive pairs refer to synonymous pairs only and exclude paired opposites that consist of antonyms; moreover, freezes and other related terms (fixed coordinates or formulae) categorize binomials as fixed and formulaic expressions, which can be "good criteria for a binomial" (Kopaczyk and Sauer 2017: 3), but are not the only ones. For instance, Malkiel (1959) and Mollin (2014) point out that although some binomials are irreversible (e.g. law and order), the sequence of components in other binomials may differ, depending on the preferences in the use of particular expressions. As illustrated by Mollin (2014: 1), in case of short and long and long and short, both sequences are equally frequent, whereas red and green is much more frequent than green and red. Therefore, in the present study, the distinguishing criterion for a phrase to be classified as a binomial will be the frequency of occurrence in the analysed corpus. This will also allow us to exclude examples of "accidental pairings", as Chapman (2017: 42ff) calls them.

Binomials can be divided into categories according to the semantic relations held between their two components. Malkiel (1959: 125ff), for instance, distinguishes five categories of binomials:

- a. (near-)synonymous binomials, e.g. fears and anxieties, checks and balances;
- b. antonymous binomials, e.g. true or false, near and remote;
- c. hyponymous binomials, in which one element is the hyperonym of the other, e.g. *face and body*;

d. mutually complementary binomials, in which both constituents share some characteristics, other than the three mentioned above, e.g. *head and shoulders, food and drink*;

e. binomials in which the second element functions as the consequence of the first, e.g. spit and polish, shoot and kill.

Although such a division is found in other studies, e.g. by Koskenniemi (1968: 90) and Gustaffson (1975: 85–87), it is possible to identify more types of semantic relations between the elements of binomials. For instance, Kopaczyk (2009: 92) distinguishes seven categories: (i) binomials proper – "the group involving semantic repetition", such as *cling and make clean*, (ii) complementation, (iii) cause and effect, (iv) contiguity (metonymy), (v) hyponymy, (vi) antonymy, and (vii) metaphor.

Another way to examine binomials is to identify motivation for their use. Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017: 11–15) list three sources of motivation for introducing binomials: semantic – to repeat the meaning, phonological – "to achieve a sound effect", and etymological – to explain or translate the meaning of one of the elements. Other scholars (e.g. Koskenniemi 1968, Bhatia 1993, Kopaczyk 2009, Mollin 2017) point out that the choice of binomials might depend on the register (e.g. literary texts, legal texts, sermons) in which they occur or on individual preferences of their authors.

The ordering of the elements in binomials and other coordinated lexical items is another issue discussed in a number of scholarly publications (e.g. Abraham 1950, Malkiel 1959, Cooper and Ross 1975, Szpyra 1983, or Landsberg 1995). According to these studies, various constraints (semantic, phonological, or lexical frequency) might affect the sequence of lexical items within binomials. Semantic constraints, for instance, involve cases of (i) experiential closeness, i.e. "the element which is emphatic to the world view of the virtual prototypical speaker will come first" (e.g. fear or famine, life and death), (ii) superiority, i.e. "the element which is spatially or hierarchically superior to the other will appear first" (e.g. chapter and verse, languages and dialects), or (iii) temporal iconicity, which refers to chronology as the ordering factor (e.g. born and bred, cut and paste) (Renner 2014: 447-448). When it comes to phonological constraints, they determine which elements come as second. For instance, syllable number constraint predicts that longer lexical items, containing more syllables than the first element, follow (e.g. cops and robbers). The same applies to items that have more initial consonants (onset constraint) or a longer vowel (nucleus constraint) than the second element, e.g. meet and greet, stop and go (Renner 2014: 449-452). Both, semantic and phonological constraints, as pointed out by Cooper and Ross (1975), Sobkowiak (1993), or Birdsong (1995), "tend to place in first position the element which is informationally poorer and therefore cognitively easier to

process" (Renner 2014: 455). As regards lexical frequency constraint, it involves cases in which the more frequent element appears first (Renner 2014: 453).

Most studies (e.g. Leisi 1947; Gerritsen 1958; Yada 1973; Markus 2006; Tani 2008, 2010) suggest that binomials in the English language are more frequently used in the texts representing earlier periods (Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English), and, as pointed out by Greenough and Kittredge (1920), their use in Present-Day English decreased significantly. This view is challenged, among others, by Mollin (2017), whose study shows that the frequency of binomials is highly register-dependent. In addition, as Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017: 5) observe, there are hardly any studies on the use of binomials in the genres representing particular periods in the history of English. This suggests that there is a need for more studies that would trace the preferences in the use of binomials within the same register.¹

In the light of the above, the present study aims to conduct a corpus-driven examination of the eighteenth-century English vocabulary used in various types of medical texts. The study investigates into the degree to which formulaicity in medical jargon depended on the text type. Moreover, the analysis involves exploring the frequency of binomials, the type of relationship between particular components, and the fixedness of the two elements composing the binomial. We shall concentrate on the following questions: (i) To what extent was the medical language of the eighteenth century formulaic? (ii) Were lexico-syntactic patterns of binomials repeated across particular types of texts? (iii) Was there any stability in the structure of the phrases?

The results will contribute to the forthcoming larger study of diachronic nature, which aims at a systematic and comprehensive examination of medical terminology and its evolution from the earliest records (i.e. the Old English period) until Modern English.

2. Corpus and methodology

The primary source for the collection of data was the electronic version of the corpus of *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (LMEMT, 2019) containing over two million words from a wide range of eighteenth-century medical compilations. It is the third corpus of a series that began with *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT, 2005) and continued with *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (EMEMT, 2010), covering the period from 1500 to 1700. The texts included in LMEMT represent three main categories: (i) specialized texts, (ii) remedies, and (iii) surgical texts. The first category is further subdivided into (a) general treatises and textbooks

¹ In the present study, register is understood as "a general kind of language associated with a domain of use, such as legal register, scientific register" (Biber, Connor, and Upton 2007: 8).

containing texts written for didactic purposes, whose aim was to disseminate current medical knowledge to both laypeople and students of medicine; (b) specific treatises,2 which focus on specific topics, such as diseases, methods of medical diagnosis and treatment, therapeutic substances, and midwifery; and (c) treatises on public health that concentrate, among others, on the idea of hygiene, on medical institutions or societies, on the status and position of medical practitioners, or on legislative issues within medical practice. The next category of texts – remedies – contains recipe collections which instruct people on how to prepare and use medicines, and regimens which provide advice on how to prevent illnesses and improve the quality of life. As regards surgical treatises, this category includes texts on anatomy, case studies and descriptions of specific surgical procedures. According to the editors of LMEMT, the distribution of the texts over the 100-year time is relatively even. The material included in the corpus reflects the contemporary textual reality as closely as possible. Table 1 below shows the total number of words in each collection and the number of texts scrutinized for the present study. Since there is a disproportion in the size of the text collections, whenever the data derived from the examined material is compared, normalized values per 10,000 words will be referred to.

Table 1. The size of the analysed material

	Word count	No. of texts
General treatises and textbooks (Gen.Treat./Txtbk)	173,389	20
Specific treatises (Spec.Treat.)	587,488	70
Public health (Publ.Health)	198,792	30
Recipes (Med.Rec.)	191,672	21
Regimens (Regim.)	134,503	15
Surgical and anatomical texts (Surg./Anat.Txt)	179,206	18
TOTAL:	1,465,050	174

In order to compose the database of binomials for the present study, first, all the occurrences of *and*, &, and *or* were automatically extracted from the corpus, giving the total number of 60,889 units. Next, we searched through the results manually to select coordinated phrases which consisted of the same part of speech, e.g. noun and/or noun, verb and/or verb, etc. We have disregarded cases which do not agree in terms of the part of speech, represent a complex type of

This subcategory includes two scientific periodicals (*The Philosophical Transactions* and *The Edinburgh Medical Journal*) and a general periodical (*The Gentleman's Magazine*). We have decided to exclude these from our analysis, as our aim was to concentrate on textbooks rather than journals that represent different genres.

coordination (e.g. a phrase on either side of the conjunction), numerals (e.g. the first and second), days of the week and months (e.g. April and May), coordinated pronouns (e.g. you and I), proper nouns (personal and place names), and repetitive phrases (e.g. more and more, less and less) (cf. also Bator 2021). In addition, all the examples of "possible false positives" (Mollin 2017: 283), i.e. coordinated phrases broken by a punctuation mark (slice, or cut the ingredients or Basil, and the flowers of Feverfew), were discarded. Also, we have limited the study to word pairs, thus excluding longer strings, such as vile frauds or perfidious neglects, the advice or probation of the Physicians, and lists of words, e.g. wine, spirits and water, cough, hoarseness and consumption, or inflammations, scalds, or burns (cf. Bator 2021: 119). Moreover, we decided to include only those pairs which were found at least three times and in more than one text. This resulted in a corpus of 414 phrases, including 348 and-phrases and 66 or-phrases. To facilitate the discussion of the material, the examples were grouped according to (i) parts of speech, (ii) text type, (iii) reversibility, and (iv) semantic categories. In order to identify the meaning relations between the two constituents of examined binomials and to divide the phrases into general and medical ones, we have consulted the Oxford English Dictionary and a number of medical dictionaries (such as Norri 2016,3 Dorland's Medical Dictionary online, Merriam-Webster Medical Dictionary online), which were especially helpful in terms of the right identification of the strictly medical senses of some lexemes. Since we have been working with historical material, sometimes a thorough reading of the texts was necessary in order to establish the right meaning of the particular examples.

3. Discussion

3.1. The structure and frequency

Similar to other studies on binomials, and-phrases dominate with 84.1% of the cases, the remaining 15.9% being or-phrases. Among the 414 potential binomials (= types) selected from the corpus, almost 70% are noun phrases (243 and-phrases and 39 or-phrases), which was anticipated. Additionally, adjectival coordination represents one fifth of the phrases (22.7%). The other parts of speech are rather infrequent and neither exceeds 5%, with adverbs amounting to over 4%, verbs almost 3.5%, prepositions slightly more than 1%, and a single phrase (0.2%) is composed of demonstratives.

³ Although this dictionary includes vocabularies from the Middle English medical texts, many of them were used in later medical compilations, e.g. caul, fluid, mithridate, etc.

Parto of process			
Part of speech	and-phrases	<i>or</i> -phrases	TOTAL:
nouns	243	39	282 (68.2%)
adjectives	77	17	94 (22.7%)
verbs	11	3	14 (3.4%)
adverbs	13	5	18 (4.3%)
prepositions	4	1	5 (1.2%)
demonstratives	0	1	1 (0.2%)
TOTAL	348	66	414

Table 2. The number of potential binomials (= types) representing particular parts of speech

Table 2 illustrates the ratio of different binomials representing respective parts of speech. When it comes to the frequencies with which particular phrases occur throughout the corpus, the most common pairings are among nouns: morning and evening (67 tokens), night and morning (57 tokens), animal and vegetable (24 tokens), meat and drink (21 tokens), or day and night (20 tokens). However, not only phrases representing the general language were repeated, as there are a few binomials representing the medical jargon, which were quite numerous in the corpus, e.g. arteries and veins (43 tokens), stomach and bowels (42 tokens), physician and surgeon (35 tokens), stomach and intestines (31 tokens), salt and sulphur (27 tokens), body and mind (25 tokens), etc.

Among the other parts of speech, the adverbial *now and then* prevails; with 61 tokens, the adjectival *solid and fluid* has 34 occurrences, and the verbal *eat and drink* has 18 tokens.

Within the *or*-phrases, *more or less* reappears 134 times. Apart from this adverbial phrase, as well as *internal or external* (11 tokens), *good or bad* (14 tokens), *greater or less(er)* (21 tokens), *seldom or never* (11 tokens), and *sooner or later* (15 tokens), no other *or*-binomial exceeded ten occurrences.

29 pairs were found with both and and or conjunctions (see Figure 1), which indicates a certain degree of flexibility of these pairings. Many of them display preference towards one of the conjunctions, the other one being used less frequently. For instance, and prevails in binomials, such as solid and fluid (34 tokens) vs solid or fluid (3 tokens), stomach and bowels (42 tokens) vs stomach or bowels (4 tokens), animal and vegetable (24 tokens) vs animal or vegetable (8 tokens). Or-phrases are more numerous in the cases of internal or external (11 tokens) vs internal and external (10 tokens), malignant or pestilential (7 tokens) vs malignant and pestilential (5 tokens). These differences, however, are too insignificant to claim dominance of or over and conjunction. Most of the phrases recorded with either conjunction display (close to) equal distribution, e.g. mouth and/or throat (3 tokens each), nature and/or art (4 tokens each), sea and/or land (3 tokens each). Additionally, three phrases (intestine or omentum,

malignant or pestilential, right or left) were found as or-phrases only in one text, elsewhere being used with and, which may testify to an author-specific choice of the conjunction.

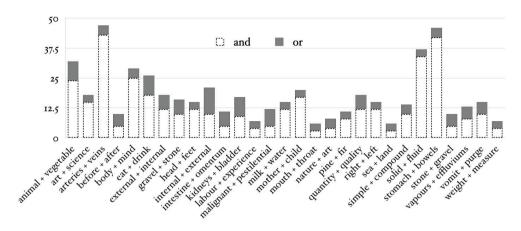


Figure 1. The list and frequencies of the phrases with a variable conjunction

3.2. The text type

As mentioned earlier, we have excluded from the corpus those coordinated phrases which occurred only in one text (e.g. ascites and anasarca, bolster or compress, gut or caul, quacks and apothecaries, trachea and bronchae, vinous or acetous, water and blood), assuming that they might be author-specific combinations rather than potential binomials. The majority of the pairings included in the analysis were found not only across various texts but also within different text types. That is, 64% of and-phrases and 54% of or-phrases were found at least in two different types of texts; the remaining 36% and 46%, respectively, were found within different texts representing one text type. For instance, acid and alkali (Spec.Treat. and Med.Rec.), acute and chronic (Spec. Treat., Gen. Treat., and Publ. Health), cause and cure (Spec. Treat. and Surg. / Anat. Txt), chorion and amnion (Spec.Treat. and Surg./Anat.Txt), inflammation and abscess (Spec.Treat. and Surg./Anat.Txt), kidneys and/or bladder (Spec.Treat. and Surg./Anat.Txt), simple and compound (Gen.Treat. and Med.Rec.). Among the binomials found in different texts representing a single text type are such phrases as child and afterbirth (Spec.Treat.), disease and casualty (Publ.Health), stomach and digestion (Regim.), thorax and abdomen (Surg./Anat.Txt).

As illustrated in *Figure 2*, the majority of *and*-binomials representing the general language were found in general treatises and textbooks, regimens as well as surgical and anatomical texts. The representation of the medical jargon

across the text types is very much similar, with the majority of types found in the surgical and anatomical texts and a slightly smaller variety of *and*-phrases found in general treatises and textbooks as well as specific treatises.

Within the *or*-phrases, the variety of types is much smaller; however, the distribution among text types resembles that of the *and*-phrases. That is, the greatest variety of types were found in general treatises, textbooks, and in regimens, both in terms of the general and medical language. It should be borne in mind, however, that the differences in numbers are tiny.

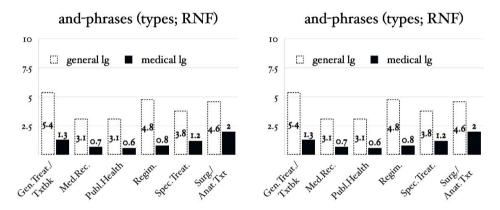


Figure 2. Normalized frequencies (per 10,000 words) of the binomial types found in the particular text types

3.3. Semantic categorization

It is of no surprise that the most frequently encountered and-binomials represent complementary binomials of the two components, that is, the two elements share some common property, different from synonymy, antonymy, or hyponymy, e.g. acid and alkali, anatomical and physiological, appetite and digestion, child and placenta, coats and humours, embryo and secundines, fibres and vessels, glands and vessels, intestine and omentum, learning and experience, quantity and velocity, stomach and guts, taste and smell, or temper and disposition. Almost 30% of these binomials belong to the medical jargon rather than general language. Such a dominance of complementation is in agreement with the previous studies, such as that by Gustafsson (1975), who suggested that this semantic relation might account for most binomials within English; or Bator (2021), who analysed the technical vocabulary within the field of life sciences. The other relations are mostly visible within the general language, the medical jargon being underrepresented. Some examples representing these semantic relations are: broken and dissolved, calculus and tartar, care and attention, changes and alterations (synonymy); above

and below, ancient and modern, ascent and descent, backward and forward, cold and hot, fluids and solids, male and female (antonymy); army and navy, body and limbs, chyle and lymph, face and body (hyponymy). The percentage of the four semantic relations is illustrated in Figure 3 below.

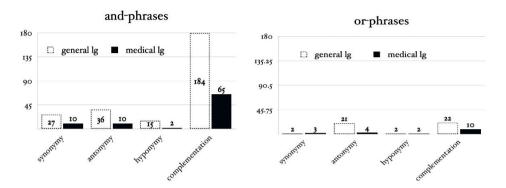


Figure 3. The percentage of binomials (types) representing the respective semantic relations

In the case of the *or*-phrases, the two relations which were found in the corpus are complementation (e.g. *effluvium or vapours, intestine or omentum, kidneys or bladder, mouths or throats, poison oak or sumach*) and antonymy (e.g. *external or internal, fluid or solid, good or bad, longer or shorter, midwoman or midmen, right or wrong, solid or fluid*). Both are more prominent in terms of the general language than in the medical jargon. Only single cases representing synonymy (e.g. *nubecula or urine-cloud*) or hyponymy (e.g. *burn or scald*) were attested.

3.4. Reversibility

The majority of the selected binomials seem to have a fixed structure, as they occur with the same ordering of the elements throughout the corpus. There are only 32 phrases which allow for a change in the component sequence. In most of these cases, however, one of the orders is dominant, the other being recorded only a few times, e.g. animal and vegetable (24 tokens) vs vegetable and animal (7 tokens), arteries and veins (43 tokens) vs veins and arteries (8 tokens), body and mind (25 tokens) vs mind and body (5 tokens). As a rule, the prevailing structure follows the alphabetical order principle.

Ten of the pairings recorded with two possible structures occur in both configurations with approximately equal frequency; however, these are low frequencies, not exceeding 5 tokens, e.g. arms and hands vs hands and arms (4 tokens each), art or nature vs nature or art (4 tokens each), cold and hot (3

tokens) vs hot and cold (4 tokens), experience and observation vs observation and experience (5 tokens each), fluid or solid (adj.) vs solid or fluid (adj.) (3 tokens each).

Among the irreversible pairings, the semantic and phonological constraints prevail in terms of the principles which govern the ordering of the components. Following Cooper and Ross (1975), the semantic criteria are superior to the phonological ones. We have taken into consideration a number of criteria and found the following constraints applied in the examined material:⁴

- a. alphabetical order, e.g. above and below, blood and humours, brain and nerves, clear and distinct;
- b. male before female, e.g. *male and female, masters and mistresses, men and women*:
- c. animate before inanimate and human before non-human, e.g. animal or vegetable, child and placenta;
- d. the superior or positive first, e.g. mother and child, good or bad, increased or diminished, right or wrong, sympathy and antipathy;
 - e. closeness hierarchy, e.g. here and there, now and then, this or that;
- f. temporal hierarchy, e.g. ancient and modern, before and after, cause and cure, cause and effect, disease and casualty, morning and evening, prevention or cure, receive and return, young and old;
 - g. food and drink hierarchy, e.g. eat and drink, food and drink, meat and drink;
- h. lexical fixedness, e.g. appetite and digestion, body and limbs, stomach and bowels, stomach and intestines, vomit or purge;
- i. morphological principle, e.g. art and science, changes and alterations, ladies and gentlemen, simple and compound.

4. Conclusions

The present paper has investigated the use of binomials in the eighteenth-century medical writings with the aim to verify the degree and character of formulaicity in Late Modern English medical texts (on the basis of LMEMT 2019). The collected examples of binomials (414 phrases, including 348 and-phrases and 66 or-phrases) were grouped according to (i) their structure, (ii) text type, (iii) semantic categories, and (iv) (ir)reversibility of components.

The majority of binomials within the analysed corpus are *and*-phrases, mostly in the form of nominal pairs. Although several pairs (29 examples, 7% of all types) are found with both linking elements (*and/or*), their insignificant frequency allows us to conclude that the structure of the examined binomials was considerably stable. Similar conclusions can be derived from the analysis

⁴ It should be borne in mind that some of the examples might follow more than one criterion.

of the ordering of particular components within the scrutinized binomials. Only 32 phrases (which is less than 8% of all the types) allowed for the reversibility of their components, whereas the remaining examples were found with a fixed ordering of the composing elements.

As regards the semantic relations between binomial components, the instances of complementation prevail (with 30% of strictly medical pairings), which is a common practice in English texts (cf. Gustaffson 1975, Bator 2021). These results are against our initial expectations, as a higher number of synonymous pairings was anticipated. This initial expectation originated from the assumption that medical texts, similarly to legal or other scholarly texts, contain technical vocabulary which might require some clarification and explanation (especially in the group of remedy collections which were also aimed at lay users, with no or little medical knowledge). And yet, the instances of synonymous binomials in the eighteenth-century medical corpus were very rare (cf. *Figure 3*).⁵

If we consider the distribution of binomials in the three major groups of texts: (i) specialized texts, (ii) remedies, and (iii) surgical texts, their frequency within each group is quite comparable, which further contradicts our initial assumption that the ratio of binomials would rely on the text type. This is also in disagreement with Mollin's (2017) study, who concluded that the use of binomials is highly register-dependent. In addition, it should be noted that the analysed texts contained binomial phrases representing both the general language and medical jargon.

To sum up, the medical language of the eighteenth-century medical texts was to a certain extent formulaic, but their fixedness did not depend on the text type (at least in the context of binomials). The examined word pairings were roughly evenly distributed within all the text types included in the analysis.

References

Abraham, Richard D. 1950. Fixed order of coordinates: A study in lexicography. *Modern Language Journal* 34(4): 276–287.

Arnon, Inbal-Neal Snider. 2010. More than words: Frequency effects for multiword phrases. *Journal of Memory and Language* 62(1): 67–82.

Bator, Magdalena. 2021. Lexical fixedness within the field of life sciences in Late Modern English. Evidence from the corpus of English Life Sciences

⁵ Studies on medical vocabulary in earlier English medical writings (e.g. Middle English) reveal that the use of synonymous word pairings, such as explicatory techniques, was a common practice. Readers of medieval medical texts often encountered unfamiliar words or expressions. Therefore, writers or translators of medical compilations often facilitated the meaning of new or more technical vocabularies by pairing them with more common words, e.g. dolor or payne, consumpcioun and wasting, purgaciouns and vomytes, caterysatif and brennyng (cf. Norri 1992, Sylwanowicz 2018).

- Texts. In Isabel Moskowich–Inés Lareo–Gonzalo Camiña (eds), "All Families and Genera". Exploring the Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts, 116–131. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Bhatia, Vijaj Kumar. 1993. Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings. London: Routledge.
- Biber, Douglas-Ulla Connor-Thomas Upton. 2007. Discourse on the Move. Using Corpus Analysis to Describe Discourse Structure. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Birdsong, David. 1995. Iconicity, markedness and processing constraints in frozen locutions. In Marge Landsberg (ed.), *Syntactic Iconicity and Linguistic Freezes: The Human Dimension*, 31–45. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chapman, Don. 2017. Fixity and flexibility in Wulfstan's binomials. In Joanna Kopaczyk–Hans Sauer (eds), *Binomials in the History of English*, 41–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Claridge, Claudia. 2000. Multi-Word Verbs in Early Modern English. A Corpus-Based Study. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Cooper, William E.–John Robert Ross. 1975. Word order. In Robin E. Grossman–L. James San–Timothy J. Vance (eds), *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism*, 63–111. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Cummings, Michael. 1980. Paired opposites in Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa 50: 233–243.
- Dorland's Medical Dictionary online. https://www.dorlandsonline.com/dorland/home (Last accessed: 10 February 2024).
- EMEMT: Taavitsainen, Irma-Päivi Pahta et al., eds. 2010. Early Modern English Medical Texts. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Fenk-Oczlon, Gertraud. 1989. Word frequency and word order in freezes. Linguistics 27(1): 517–556.
- Gerritsen, Johan. 1958. More paired words in Othello. *English Studies* 39: 212–214.
- Greenough, James Bradstreet–George Lyman Kittredge. 1920. Words and Their Ways in English Speech. London: MacMillan.
- Gustaffson, Marita. 1975. Binomial expressions in present-day English: A syntactic and semantic study. Ph.D. dissertation. *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis*. Turku: Turun Yliopisto.
- Hausmann, Franz Josef. 2004. Was sind eigentlich Kollokationen? In Kathrin Steyer (ed.), *Wortverbindungen mehr oder weniger fest.* [IDS Jahrbuch 2003], 309–334. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kopaczyk, Joanna. 2009. Multi-word units of meaning in 16th-century legal Scots. In Rod McConchie–Alpo Honkapohja–Jukka Tyrkkö (eds), *Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 2)*, 88–95. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

- —— 2012. Long lexical bundles and standardization in historical legal texts. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 47(2–3): 3–25.
- —— 2013. Formulaic discourse across Early Modern English medical genres. In Andreas Jucker et al. (eds), *Meaning in the History of English. Words and Texts in Context*, 257–299. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Kopaczyk, Joanna–Hans Sauer, eds. 2017. Binomials in the History of English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koskenniemi, Inna. 1968. Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Early Middle English Prose. Turku: Turyn Yliopisto.
- Landsberg, Marge. 1995. Semantic constraints on phonologically independent freezes. In Marge Landsberg (ed.), *Syntactic Iconicity and Linguistic Freezes: The Human Dimension*, 65–78. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Leisi, Ernst. 1947. *Die Tautologischen Wortpaare in Caxtons Eneydos.* Cambridge/MA: Murray LID.
- LMEMT: Taavitsainen, Irma-Turo Hiltunen et al., eds. 2019. *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (including CD-ROM). Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Malkiel, Yakov. 1959. Studies in irreversible binomials. Lingua 8: 113–160.
- Markus, Manfred. 2006. *Bed and board*: The role of alliteration in twin formulas of Middle English prose. *Folia Linguistica Historia* 26(2): 71–93.
- MEMT: Taavitsainen, Irma-Päivi Pahta-Martti Mäkinen, eds. 2005. *Middle English Medical Texts.* CD-ROM. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Merriam Webster Medical Dictionary. https://www.merriam-webster.com/medical (Last accessed: 10 February 2024).
- Mollin, Sandra. 2014. The (Ir)reversibility of English Binomials. Corpus, Constraints, Development. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- —— 2017. Developments in the frequency of English binomials, 1600–2000. In Joanna Kopaczyk–Hans Sauer (eds), *Binomials in the History of English*, 281–295. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moon, Rosamund. 1998. Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English. A Corpus-Based Approach. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Norri, Juhani. 1992. Names of Sicknesses in English, 1400–1550. An Exploration of the Lexical Field. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- —— 2016. Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English 1375–1550. New York: Ashgate.
- Oxford English Dictionary. https://www.oed.com (Last accessed: 10 February 2024).
- Pamies, Antonio P. 2020. Phrasal verbs, formulaicity and the fixedness continuum. In Joanna Szerszunowicz–Martyna Awier (eds), Reproducible Multiword Expressions from a Theoretical and Empirical Perspective, 55–73. Białystok: University of Bialystok Publishing House.

- Renner, Vincent. 2014. A study of element ordering in English coordinate lexical items. *English Studies* 95(4): 441–458.
- Schmitt, Norbert. 2013. Formulaic language and collocations. In Carol A. Chapelle (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, 1–10. Oxford: John Wiley and Sons.
- Sobkowiak, Włodzimierz. 1993. Unmarked-before-marked as a freezing principle. Language and Speech 36(4): 393–414.
- Sylwanowicz, Marta. 2018. Middle English Names of Medical Preparations. Towards Standard Medical Terminology. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Szpyra, Jolanta. 1983. Semantic and phonological constraints on conjunct ordering in English and Polish. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 30(1): 33–53.
- Tabossi, Patrizia–Rachele Fanari–Kinou Wolf. 2009. Why are idioms recognized fast? *Memory & Cognition* 37(4): 529–540.
- Tani, Akinobu. 2008. The word pairs in *The Paston Letters and Papers* with special reference to text type, gender and generation. In Masachiyo Amano–Michiko Ogura–Masayuki Ohkado (eds), *Historical Englishes in Varieties of Texts and Contexts*, 217–231. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- 2010. The word pairs in Chaucer's version. Comparison with those in his prose. In John Ole Askedal–Ian Roberts–Tomonori Matsushita (eds), Noam Chomsky and Language Description, 149–168. Amsterdam/Phil.: John Benjamins.
- Tiersma, Peter Meijes. 1999. *Legal Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wray, Alison–Michael R. Perkins. 2000. The functions of formulaic language: An integrated model. *Language & Communication* 20(1): 1–28.
- Yada, Hiroshi. 1973. 'A and B' construction in *Beowulf. Descriptive and Applied Linguistics* 14: 173–184.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0023

Semantic Variability of the Word 'Creature' in Elizabethan Prose Fiction

Liudmyla HRYZHAK

University of Liverpool (Liverpool, United Kingdom)
English Department
Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University (Chernivtsi, Ukraine)
English Department
l.gryzhak@chnu.edu.ua
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9485-778X

Abstract. The present research focuses on the exploration of the meaning of the word 'creature' in the context of Elizabethan prose fiction. The inherent vagueness and ambiguity of the lexeme 'creature', comprising diverse meanings, yields its multiple readings and interpretations. The aim of this study is to determine who or what this word denotes in narrative contexts, thereby elucidating its varied meanings and delineating the scope of its referents within the framework of denotational semantics. Through a comprehensive analysis of the compiled corpus of Renaissance narratives, employing qualitative and quantitative methodologies, this investigation establishes a range of meanings of the word 'creature' and identifies its referents in the corpus texts. The referential domain of this word encompasses humans, nonhuman beings, and unspecified entities. The findings reveal a distinct preference among Elizabethan authors to perceive "creature" as a human being, aligning with the biblical interpretation of this word. This research highlights the impact of biblical motifs on Elizabethan fiction, contributing to our better understanding of this literary era within its historical, cultural, and religious background.

Keywords: creature, corpus, Elizabethan fiction, meaning, referent

1. Introduction

The ability of a single lexeme to embrace various meanings has engaged scholars' minds for many years. Though this linguistic phenomenon has been extensively explored within the frameworks of various scientific paradigms (e.g. in structural semantics by Lyons 1977, in modal logic semantics by Kripke 1980, in cognitive

semantics by Geeraerts 2010, in denotational semantics by Kroeger 2022), it remains a compelling subject of scientific attention and debate.

The word 'creature' may serve as an illustrative example of how a lexeme can harbour diverse meanings, leading to its multiple readings and interpretations. Although it is widely used in modern English in diverse contexts, its meaning often remains ambiguous and vague. The simple question of what or who a "creature" is causes difficulty in explaining its exact denotation and indication of its single referent.

The primary objective of this research is to disclose the semantic range of this word in the context of the analysed Elizabethan narratives. Specifically, it addresses the following research questions: to delineate the scope of its referents in the corpus texts, to determine the prime perception of its meaning in Renaissance prose fiction, and to explore how it aligns with the biblical understanding of this term. The religious dimension of this word is foregrounded in this study due to its direct association with the biblical concept of world creation and the profound impact of historical circumstances on the development of Elizabethan narratives in the 16th century.

The sixteenth century was the epoch of the English Renaissance, distinguished by cultural, educational, and intellectual advancements that facilitated the flourishing of various literary genres in England. It was also a time of many significant transformative changes, notably the religious Reformation, the development and expansion of the print market, the restructuring of monarchy, and the establishment of the early modern English language (Pincombe and Shrank 2011). These events, occurring almost concurrently, were interrelated processes and had a profound effect on the whole Tudor society, shaping writers' viewpoints and contributing to the variety of genres and themes in their literary works. This social and cultural environment likely influenced the interpretation and understanding of the traditional biblical word 'creature', and my research aims to elucidate the meaning of this word in the corpus of Elizabethan prose fiction and compare how it corresponds to the biblical understanding.

2. Exploring the meanings of the word 'creature'

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the word 'creature' appeared in Middle English around 1300 as a borrowing from French but with roots in post-classical Latin, signifying 'anything created' (OED). Over time, this word has undergone significant semantic evolution, encompassing now a wide spectrum of meanings in the OED, within which three binary referential domains or categories may be identified:

- general notions (e.g. a created thing or being; creation) versus specific (e.g. a reprehensible or despicable person; alcoholic drink);
- inanimate objects (e.g. *a result, product, or offspring of something*) versus animate beings (e.g. *a human being; a person, an individual*);
- humans (e.g. a person who is ready to do another's bidding) versus animals (e.g. a farm animal).

Definitions and explanations found in biblical dictionaries and encyclopaedias reveal the complex semantics of the word 'creature', and its capability to encompass diverse referents with varying degrees of abstraction. In the *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, it is explained as "something having life, either animal or human" (Mitchell 2015: 364). It is used in *Genesis 2:7* in reference to mankind, translated as 'living soul', while "in all of the other references the phrase applies solely to animals." Denoting both people and other creatures, this term "applies to the similar physical makeup (same matter) rather than the higher relationship with God that is special to humans" (Mitchell 2015: 364). In *Easton's Bible Dictionary*, this word is defined as a broad notion of "the whole creation" (Easton 2015: 434) and "any created being" in *Nelson's New Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Youngblood 2014: 2780).

Biblical scholars and theologians also offer diverse interpretations of the word 'creature'. Harlow (2008: 178) distinguishes between "living and moving creatures (animals and humans)" and "non-living (sun, moon, and stars)". Further, Fretheim (2015: 194) states, "creatures such as water, earth, and vegetation are gifts for all creatures". Similarly, Joerstad (2019) notes that biblical writers describe "the heavens and the earth, mountains, trees, and rivers as creatures that engage with other creatures and are able to hear and obey commands, protest human misconduct, lament and offer praise, and affect human history" (Joerstad 2019: 3).

These varied definitions and understandings of the word 'creature' found in dictionaries and articulated by biblical scholars emphasize its inherent ambiguity. As a linguistic sign, the word 'creature' possesses a "conceptual meaning ('sense' or designation)", which is "a specific meaning in the mind (a concept)", and a referential meaning ('reference' or denotation)", pointing to "something in the outside world (an *object* or *referent*)" (Chandler 2017: 11). This explanation of meaning in semiotics reveals two modern approaches to the study of the word meaning: from the perspectives of denotational semantics, which focuses "on the link between linguistic expressions and the world", or cognitive semantics, which explores "the link between linguistic expressions and mental representations" (Kroeger 2022: 17). Although these two approaches may be regarded as complementary because both study the involvement of all three corners of the semiotic triangle (language, mind, world) in linguistic communication (Kroeger 2022: 16), exploring the variety of meanings of the

word 'creature' in Elizabethan fiction, this research deals with its reference and denotation, rather than its conceptual meaning or prototype.

As demonstrated earlier, the meaning of the word 'creature' in modern English lacks clarity and definitiveness due to its varied readings and perceptions. Moreover, as this study shows, it is challenging to definitively ascertain the complete set of its referents in many instances of its use. Consequently, the meaning of this word can be characterized as both ambiguous and vague.

Lexical "ambiguity" is commonly defined as the property of a word to have more than one meaning or sense (Tuggy 1993: 273, Cruse 2000: 108, Davis and Gillon 2004: 81, Clark 2009: 3, Murphy 2010: 84, Kennedy 2019: 240, Kroeger 2022: 77). The context in which the word is used plays a significant role in making the choice among its different senses and selecting the proper one. For example, in the following sentence fragments, there is no problem establishing that the word 'creature' refers to a man (1), a supernatural being (2), and vegetation (3):

- (1) [...] Luprates demaunded what he was, I am (quoth he) a most miserable forlorne creature, by missfortune drawne to all extremitie (Ford 1599: no pagination).
- (2) [...] with Famine on the one fide, a most horrible creature, whose yrkfome lookes were able to daunt the greatest courage of the most haughty minded wight (Rich 1574: no pagination).
- (3) [...] **herbs, trees, and other vegitable creatures** increafing from the earth [...] (Middleton 1597: no pagination).

Scholars (Davis and Gillon 2004: 81, Cruse 2000: 109, Kroeger 2022: 87, and others) distinguish between two types of lexical ambiguity: polysemy and homonymy, recognizing that the distinction between them is not always straightforward (Lyons 1977: 544, Kroeger 2022: 77). In the case of homonymy, a single word form is associated with "several unrelated meanings", whereas in polysemy, the meanings of the word are related (Davis and Gillon 2004: 81). Among the outlined criteria to distinguish polysemous words from homonymous ones (see further in Lyons 1977: 550–566, Kroeger 2022: 87–88), the relatedness/unrelatedness of meanings is regarded as "a relevant and important consideration" (Lyons 1977: 551). Relatedness may be in the form of a "figurative extension" of the primary meaning, or different senses of a polysemous word may "share at least one salient feature or component of meaning" (Kroeger 2022: 87–88). The word 'creature' is considered polysemous in this study because all of its 11 meanings listed in the OED share the same component of "creation".

When the context fails to disambiguate the meaning of the word, the latter is described as vague. The exact meaning of the word cannot be conclusively established contextually, as in example (4), where the word 'creature' is used

with a collective reference, encompassing all beings created by God. However, the specific identity of whom or what this word refers to remains unclear, as it may denote various referents.

(4) But that which God pretended hath, **no Creature** may withftande [...] (Chettle 1579: no pagination).

The term 'vague' does not have a "uniquely determinable value or interpretation" (Clark 2009: 3) in scholarly literature, and its definitions vary. It is described as a general meaning that can be applied to many things or as unspecified meaning (Tuggy 1993: 273, Murphy 2010: 84, Geeraerts 2010: 196); "ill-definedness", or "laxness (vs. strictness) of application" (Cruse 2000: 51); uncertainty about the meaning of a particular term (Gillon 2004: 186, Kennedy 2019: 236); involving fuzzy boundaries (Wasow 2015: 33, Kroeger 2022: 79). Summarizing scholars' views, 'vagueness' may involve general or unspecified meanings, uncertainty, or blurred boundaries.

The meaning of the word 'creature' is both ambiguous and vague. The ambiguity arises from its polysemy, and the context of discourse may assist in identifying its referent (as seen in examples 1–3). It is vague when the exact meaning of this word cannot be conclusively determined within the given context (example 4). Such vagueness poses challenges in ascribing 'creature' to some referential category although, as it is shown later in this work, it was used fairly frequently in Elizabethan parratives.

Upon a closer examination of the word 'creature', it becomes evident that this word maintains a certain level of indeterminacy across its many usages. For instance, in examples 1–3, various aspects regarding the specified referents of the word 'creature' remain unclarified, such as age, degree, dimensions, type, and others. Cook asserts (2011: 124) that "no linguistic expression whose meaning involves perception and categorization can be entirely free of vagueness". Consequently, when discussing the meaning of the word 'creature', it becomes evident that its meaning can be ambiguous in some contexts of its use and variably vague in others, as it is not completely devoid of vagueness.

3. Elizabethan prose and religion

The Elizabethan era (1558–1603) witnessed the emergence of original prose fiction written in the English language. The blooming printing market significantly increased the output of various types of literature in English as the vernacular language. It became a driving force for transformations in narrative fiction as well, a "change that would be important to a long history of vernacular narrative and prose writing in England" (Gillespie 2017: 121). These early narratives

differ markedly from stories and novels created in later periods in composition, storyline, character representation, and decorative language. As Blamires aptly noted, "the word 'novel' is scarcely applicable to anything written during the Elizabethan period, but it was from the prose fiction of the period that the English novel was born" (Blamires 1984: 151).

However, this pioneering genre was somewhat undervalued by literary historians and critics, who highlighted the prominence and achievements of drama and poetry in Elizabethan times. For instance, Baker observed that the "main sap of English literature" during that period "was to flow into poetry and drama" (1957: 11). Hadfield also claims, "[p]rose fiction, like drama, did not generally occupy a high literary status – as various forms of poetry did" (Hadfield 2010: 423). Nevertheless, the novelty of this genre for Elizabethan literature, the variety of its forms, and the peculiar writing style blending prose with verse, in my opinion, gave more freedom and opportunities for authors to experiment with classical and biblical stories, imitating and transforming them.

Religion was an indispensable part of everyday life and literacy in Tudor society. About half of Elizabethan book production consisted of Bibles and religious works (Hattaway 2008: 44). Therefore, Elizabethan narratives abound in religious exhortations, treatises, and debates, use biblical characters (e.g. St. Johns, Jude, Angel, Adam) and names (e.g. Amon, Cinthia, Judith, Phœbe), mention religious institutions and clergymen, and employ religious themes of world creation, a prodigal son, punishment, repentance, spiritual journey, and others. Shuger (1990) refers to the English Renaissance as "a religious culture" because religion during this period "supplies the primary language of analysis" (1990: 6). Similarly, Wald notices the recent shift of scholarly attention from the Renaissance to the Reformation in the studies of early modern literature, caused by "an invigorated awareness of the centrality of religious questions" for "literary texts and cultural discourses which had customarily been discussed in secular, humanist, or classicist terms" (Wald 2014: 20). By examining the use of the traditional biblical notion of a 'creature' in Elizabethan narratives, we touch upon the intimate relationship of humans with their beliefs. Investigating how this orthodox notion was presented in these literary works, we hope to provide an insight into its primary perception and understanding. Various historical and socioeconomic circumstances of the Elizabethan era inevitably shaped the manner in which this notion was presented in literature, since "the language we use does not reflect; it refracts a world" (Simpson 2005: 15).

Three important factors inspired my exploration of the word 'creature' in Elizabethan-era narratives. Firstly, it was the very beginning of literary prose, originally written in English. Secondly, the ongoing religious reformation, which, in my belief, could have influenced the understanding and interpretation of the meaning of this biblical word. And thirdly, the reestablishment of the Stationers'

Company in 1556 "for regulating what came out of the printing presses", which means that a fairly reliable catalogue of prose fiction written at that time may be available, although not every book was officially registered, as some "were published by special patent and many were printed illegally" (Hager 2005: 375). The methodology of the compilation of the corpus of early modern fiction for this research and its analysis are described in the next sections.

4. Methodology

To explore the nuances of meanings associated with the biblical word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction and to delineate the scope of its referents, a corpus comprising 89 prose fiction texts (see *Table 1* in the Appendix) was compiled. *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Watson 1974: 2051–2055) served as a reference source for the corpus compilation. Several criteria were applied to the sources listed in this catalogue during the corpus-building process, specifically: written between 1558 and 1603, originally written in English, not a straightforward translation, and not a compilation from other sources. Electronic copies of the originally printed texts of Renaissance narratives were retrieved from two online digital archives: Historical Texts (historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk) and ProQuest ExLibris (www.proquest.com), access to which was provided by the University of Liverpool.

The collected corpus enabled not only the estimation of the overall frequency of the occurrence of the word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction but also a comprehensive analysis of its various meanings from the perspective of denotational semantics. This analysis involved a thorough examination of its specific semantic manifestations within the micro and, if necessary, macro contexts of the corpus narratives. The micro context, typically a sentence or a clause, was inspected for the close language surrounding the word 'creature', primarily personal pronouns, common and proper names. When it was impossible to elucidate the referent of the word 'creature' in its immediate linguistic surrounding, the broader, macro context, was examined. This sometimes involved the analysis of several paragraphs due to the lengthy syntactic structure of Elizabethan narratives. All identified meanings of the word 'creature' were subsequently grouped into three referential categories, two of which contain more specific subcategories based on the particular referents they invoked.

The contextually specific semantic realizations of the word 'creature' were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, along with comparative analysis. This study allowed us to ascertain the predominant referential category of this lexeme within Elizabethan narratives and establish correlations between our findings and the biblical interpretation of this word.

5. Discussion and results

The corpus analysis of Elizabethan fiction enabled the identification of 620 instances of the occurrences of the word 'creature' in the corpus texts. The distribution of this lexeme varied across the Renaissance narratives, with no occurrences found in nine texts, including: "The deceyte of women"; "Merie tales of the mad men of Gotan"; "Penelopes web"; "Philippes Venus"; "The black bookes messenger"; "The nine worthies of London"; "The life and death of William Longbeard"; "Haigh for Devonshire"; "The thrie tales of the thrie priests". The highest frequency of its usage was observed in Johnson's "The Most Famous History of the Seaven Champions of Christendome" (37 occurrences), closely followed by Sidney's "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia" (32 occurrences).

Each appearance of the word 'creature' within the corpus texts underwent analysis to determine its meaning and identify referents. Contextual factors, particularly references to nouns and pronouns in immediate linguistic surroundings or broader contexts, played a crucial role in specifying its denotation. This thorough examination revealed the entire spectrum of referents, further classified into three categories: "humans", "nonhuman beings", and "unspecified entities" (*Figure 1*). However, while the narrative context helped disambiguate the meaning of the word 'creature' and define its referents in the first two categories, it hardly ever eradicated its inherent vagueness. Even when its referent is well defined, such as a specific person or an animal, certain aspects of the object remain unclarified by contextual factors. And in cases of unspecified referents, the word 'creature' exhibits even greater vagueness of its meaning.

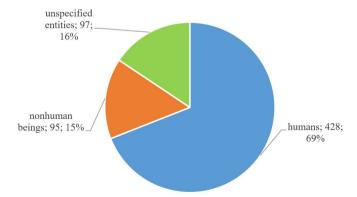


Figure 1. Referents of the word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction

The findings indicate that in 69% of instances of its use in the corpus texts, the word 'creature' denotes human beings. This prominence of a human-centric reading of the lexeme 'creature' in early modern prose fiction mirrors the

biblical perspective on the formation of the world and the paramount role of mankind within the hierarchy of creation. The emphasis on the human-centric understanding of 'creature' may be attributed to the genre-specific characteristics of Elizabethan fiction as well, predominantly comprising romances and novellas. These narratives are populated by human beings immersed in their emotions, worries, and contemplations about the nature of things and religious matters. Characters in these stories confront challenging situations and coexist on the same continuum with religious entities (e.g. angels, demons) and mythological figures (e.g. nymphs, Amazons, Orpheus). While the specificity of genres may provide plausible explanations for the dominance of the human-centric meaning in interpreting the word 'creature', the influence of religion is undeniable and primary and finds support in numerous references to religious themes in Elizabethan narratives, as have been mentioned earlier.

The referential category of "humans" encompasses references to males (50 instances), females (142 instances), and generic reference to humans without gender specifications (236 instances), as in examples 5–7 correspondingly:

- (5) I was a fouldier, and my Countries Champion; but now a loathfome creature, and a pray for dogs [...] (Johnson 1616: no pagination).
- (6) But ah frantik foole, why doe I in my rage, rage againft her who is the moft fayre and curteous creature vnder heauen? (Pettie 1576: 18)
- (7) There is nothing quoth he, which among **mortall creatures** is more detefted than deformitie (Greene 1593: no pagination).

Quantitative and comparative analyses revealed that generic reference to humans was the most prevalent sense of the word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction, surpassing direct denotations to females and males. In this generic reference, the word 'creature' frequently collocated with adjectives highlighting humans' perishability (mortal, earthly, human, living) and with determiners and pronouns (a/the, no, any, all, and others). When referring to female-creatures, it was often paired with adjectives conveying positive evaluation, such as divine, heavenly, fair, excellent, and others. Conversely, male-creatures were often characterized negatively, using adjectival modifiers like miserable, loathsome, cursed, weak, etc. (Hryzhak 2023).

The category of "nonhuman beings" encompasses animals (74 instances), supernatural and religious entities (15 instances), and inanimate things (6 instances). Animal-creatures were repeatedly juxtaposed with human beings in the corpus texts, being described as lower in status and irrational. Word clusters such as "all other creatures", "other thy creatures", "above other creatures" underscore human-creatures' dominance over animals. Animals' irrationality was emphasized through the lexemes and phrases used in their characterizations, e.g.

blockish, dumb, reasonless, senseless, without reason, unreasonable, unpolitic, and others, as seen in example (8).

(8) For beautie, who doubteth but that **other creatures excell men**: but it is wifedome onely that beautifieth (Rich 1584: n. p.).

The depiction of animals as beings devoid of rationality sets humans apart from the rest of the natural world and reflects the Elizabethan authors' anthropocentric worldview, placing human beings at the centre of the universe. This emphasis on human centrality also echoes the broader cultural and religious context of the Renaissance period, deeply intertwined with theological doctrines, where the man was made in the image and model of God "to rule or to exercise governance over or among the other creatures" (Ollenburger 2009: 146).

Supernatural and religious creatures include metaphorized images of *famine*, *ruin*, and *death* in Rich's "A right exelent and pleasaunt dialogue", exemplified in (2), along with various heavenly, infernal, or monstrous entities in other texts. Apart from divine beings, these creatures were frequently negatively portrayed, as illustrated in (9) and (10):

- (9) Hee had two heads, two mouthes, and foure eyes, but all as red as blood. Which deformed creature prefently ranne vnto the Uirgin, and caught her vp vnder his arme (Johnson 1597: n. p.).
- (10) The third was also **a cruell creature**, her eyes did fparkle like burning coales: her hayre was like a flame, and her garments like burning braffe (Deloney 1619: n. p.).

Inanimate creatures were natural objects, such as vegetation, rocks, gold, and waters, which were often personified (11). In Nashe's "The Unfortunate Traveller", even the abstract notion of liberality was presented as a 'creature' (12):

- (11) O, **defired gold**, **admired gold**! and haue loft their patrimonies to Gorinius, becaufe they haue not returned by their day **that adored creature**? (Greene 1592: n. p.).
- (12) [...] O it was a right noble Lord, liberalitie it felfe. (if in this yron age there were **anie fuch creature as liberality left on the earth**) [...] (Nashe 1594: n. p.).

The need to distinguish the referential category of unspecified entities arose from the fact that, in numerous cases (97 instances), authors employed the word 'creature' to refer to all entities created by God, as shown in examples (13) and (14):

(13) Of all the Creatures that God hath made, and all the features he hath formed, Man is eyther most vnfortunate, or in greatest vnhappinese (Saker 1980: 5).

(14) The chearefull Sunne, which comforteth **euerie earthlye Creature**, as the Lanterne of broade day, fo lightened euery Chamber of Segnior Phyloxenus Pallace (Whetstone 1582: n. p.).

As demonstrated in examples (13), (14), and earlier in (4), the precise meaning of the word 'creature' and its set of referents cannot always be definitively ascertained, even in the context of its usage. In such instances, its meaning has fuzzy boundaries and involves an unspecified number of referents. A generalized notion applicable to such occurrences of "a created thing or being; creation" in the OED is likewise vague, lacking clear demarcation, as theologians and biblical scholars attribute various entities to this referential category. The vagueness of the meaning of this word and its inability to specify its referents in such contexts contribute to its overall conceptual ambiguity.

In summary, with the aim of finding out who or what the word 'creature' predominantly refers to in Elizabethan fiction, this study revealed that in 69% (428 instances) of the word occurrences, it pertains to human beings, in 15% (95 instances) to nonhumans, and in 16% (97 instances) to unspecified entities. The predominance of the human-centric meaning of the word 'creature,' which characterizes Renaissance prose fiction, stems from the biblical understanding of the creation of the world and the role of humanity. These results underscore the strong influence of religious views on the literature of this period, emphasizing the interconnectedness of religious thought and artistic representation.

6. Conclusions

This research is focused on the exploration of the meaning of the traditional biblical word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction. Through an in-depth analysis of the multifaceted meanings of this word, the study provides insights into the historical and linguistic understanding of this ambiguous term and outlines the scope of its referents in early modern narratives. This topic is relatively novel in existing literature, and by addressing this gap, the presented research offers fresh perspectives and contributes to expanding scholarly knowledge about a linguistic phenomenon that has received limited attention thus far.

To achieve the objectives of this research, a corpus comprising 89 early modern narratives was compiled, and each occurrence of the word 'creature' was thoroughly studied. This examination yielded several significant conclusions.

Firstly, the distribution of the biblical word 'creature' exhibits variability across early modern fiction texts, with no occurrences found in nine of them and the most frequent use noted only in two narratives.

Secondly, the word 'creature' manifests a wide range of meanings in the corpus texts, and its denotations fall into three distinct referential categories: "humans", "nonhuman beings", and "unspecified entities". While the narrative context aids in the disambiguation of its meaning in the first two categories, pinpointing specific referents, in the third category, the meaning of the word 'creature' remains ambiguous, involving an unspecified number of referents. In such cases, the scope of its referents cannot be specified clearly or definitively. In all of its uses, the word 'creature' retains a certain degree of vagueness of meaning.

Thirdly, the word 'creature' predominantly refers to human beings in 428 instances of its occurrence (69%) in Elizabethan narratives. Human-creatures are juxtaposed with animal-creatures in the corpus texts and are depicted as rational beings, surpassing animals and having power over them. This portrayal emphasizes the anthropocentric perspective prevalent in Elizabethan prose fiction, underscoring the enduring influence of biblical motifs during this literary era.

This study reveals the rich semantic tapestry of the meanings of the word 'creature' in Elizabethan prose fiction, with a predominance of human-centric meaning. The complexity of the meanings of this lexeme and its indeterminacy in certain contexts attest to its ambiguity and vagueness. The results invite further examination of the nuances of its meanings across literary works in other historical periods. Such analysis may give awareness of how evolving historical and cultural landscapes influenced and transformed the meaning of the word 'creature'.

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the British Academy and Cara through the Researchers at Risk Fellowships Programme. The author is grateful to the University of Liverpool and the Head of the Department of English, Professor Greg Lynall, for their support. Special gratitude is extended to Paul Simpson, the Baines Professor of English Language at this university, for his invaluable help, expert guidance, and inspirational encouragement.

References

- Baker, Ernest Albert. 1957. *The History of the English Novel*. Vol. 2. New York: Barnes and Noble.
- Blamires, Harry. 1984. A Short History of English Literature. 2^{nd} ed. London: Routledge.
- Chandler, Daniel. 2017. Semiotics: The Basics. $3^{\rm rd}$ ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Clark, Billy. 2009. Ambiguity/vagueness. In Siobhan Chapman—Christopher Routledge (eds), *Key Ideas in Linguistics and the Philosophy of Language*, 3–4. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Cook, Roy T. 2011. Vagueness and meaning. In Giuseppina Ronzitti (ed.), *Vagueness: A Guide. Logic, Epistemology, and the Unity of Science.* Vol. 19: 83–106. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Cruse, D. Alan. 2000. *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davis, Steven–Brendan S. Gillon. 2004. Semantics: A Reader. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Easton, Matthew G. 2015. *Easton's Bible Dictionary*. New York City, NY: Scriptura Press.
- Fretheim, Terence E.—Brent A. Strawn. 2015. What Kind of God? Collected Essays of Terence. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 2010. *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gillespie, Alexandra. 2017. Fiction and the origins of print. In Thomas Keymer (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*. Vol. 1: 109–122. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gillon, Brendan S. 2004. Ambiguity, indeterminacy, deixis, and vagueness: Evidence and theory. In Davis, Steven–Brendan S. Gillon (eds.), *Semantics: A Reader*, 157–187. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hadfield, Andrew. 2010. Prose fiction. In Michael Hattaway (ed), *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*. Part 2: 423–436. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hager, Alan. 2005. *Encyclopedia of British Writers*, 16th and 18th Centuries. Vol. 1: 16th and 17th Centuries. Facts on File.
- Harlow, Daniel C. 2008. Creation according to genesis: Literary genre, cultural context, theological truth. *Christian Scholar's Review* 37(2): 163–198.
- Hattaway, Michael. 2008. Renaissance and Reformations: An Introduction to Early Modern English Literature. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons.
- Historical Texts. (n.d.). https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk. (Last accessed: 11 October 2023).

- Hryzhak, Liudmyla. 2023. Evaluation of human creatures in Elizabethan prose fiction. Scientific Proceedings of Ostroh Academy National University: Philology Series 18(86): 67–71. https://journals.oa.edu.ua/Philology. (Last accessed: 2 February 2024).
- Joerstad, Mari. 2019. *The Hebrew Bible and Environmental Ethics: Humans, Nonhumans, and the Living Landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kennedy, Christopher. 2019. Ambiguity and vagueness: An overview. In Klaus von Heusinger–Claudia Maienborn–Paul Portner (eds), *Semantics Lexical Structures and Adjectives*, 236–271. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kripke, Saul A. 1980. *Naming and Necessity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2022. Analyzing Meaning: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics. 3rd ed. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, Eric. 2015. Creature. In Chat Brand (ed.), *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 236–271. Nashville, TN: Holman Reference.
- Murphy, M. Lynne. 2010. *Lexical Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ollenburger, Ben C. 2009. Creation and peace: Creator and creature in Genesis 1–11. In Jon Isaak (ed.), *The Old Testament in the Life of God's People*, 143–158. University Park, USA: Penn State University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary. Creature. https://www.oed.com (Last accessed: 11 July 2023).
- Pincombe, Michael–Cathy Shrank. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 1485–1603. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ProQuest | Databases, EBooks and Technology for research. (n. d.). https://about.proquest.com (Last accessed: 11 October 2023).
- Shuger, Debora K. 1990. *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Simpson, Paul. 1997. Language through Literature: An Introduction. London: Routledge.
- Tuggy, David. 1993. Ambiguity, polysemy, and vagueness. *Cognitive Linguistics* 4(3): 273–290.
- Wald, Christina. 2014. The Reformation of Romance: The Eucharist, Disguise, and Foreign Fashion in Early Modern Prose Fiction. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Wasow, Thomas. 2015. Ambiguity avoidance is overrated. In Susanne Winkler (ed.), *Ambiguity*, 29–48. Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Watson, George, ed. 1974. The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: 600–1660. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Youngblood, Ronald F. 2014. *Nelson's New Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Appendix

Table 1. List of Elizabethan Prose Fiction Works Used for The Study of the Meaning of the Word 'Creature'

 The Deceyte of Women Boorde, A. – Merie Tales of the Made Men of Gotam Tilney, E. – A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage Baldwin, W. – A Maruelous Hystory Intitulede, Beware the Cat Gascoigne, G. – A Pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J. Rich, B. – A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Hyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus Greene, R. – Penelopes Vveb vveherein a Christall Myrror 	Year	Prose fiction
 Tilney, E. – A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage Baldwin, W. – A Maruelous Hystory Intitulede, Beware the Cat Gascoigne, G. – A Pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J. Rich, B. – A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1557	The Deceyte of Women
 Baldwin, W. – A Maruelous Hystory Intitulede, Beware the Cat Gascoigne, G. – A Pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J. Rich, B. – A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Civill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1565	Boorde, A. – Merie Tales of the Made Men of Gotam
1573 Gascoigne, G. – A Pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J. 1574 Rich, B. – A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier 1576 Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure 1576 Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard 1577 Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis 1579 Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy 1579 Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite 1579 Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England 1580 Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame 1580 Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie 1581 Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession 1581 Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of 1582 Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses 1583 Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1585 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1586 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1568	Tilney, E. – A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage
Rich, B. – A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, Betwene Mercury and an English Souldier 1576 Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure 1576 Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard 1577 Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis 1579 Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy 1579 Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite 1579 Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England 1580 Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame 1580 Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie 1581 Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession 1581 Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides 1582 Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses 1583 Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1586 Greene, R. – Planetomachia	1570	Baldwin, W. – A Maruelous Hystory Intitulede, Beware the Cat
and an English Souldier 1576 Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure 1576 Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard 1577 Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis 1579 Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy 1579 Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite 1579 Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit 1580 Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England 1580 Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame 1580 Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie 1581 Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession 1581 Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides 1582 Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses 1583 Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1573	Gascoigne, G. – A Pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J.
 Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1574	
 Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Doln Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1576	Pettie, G. A. – Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure
 Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1576	Whetstone, G. – The Rocke of Regard
 Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1577	Grange, J. – The Golden Aphroditis
 Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1579	Chettle, H. – The Forrest of Fancy
 Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1579	Gascoigne, G. – The Pleasant Tale of Hemetes and Hermite
 Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1579	Gosson, S. – The Ephemerides of Phialo
 Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1580	Lyly, J. – Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit
 Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1580	Lyly, J. – Euphues and His England
 Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1580	Munday, A. – Zelauto: The Fountaine of Fame
1581 Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides 1582 Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses 1583 Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse 1584 Melbancke, B. – Philotimus 1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1580	Saker, A. – Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie
Do[n] Simonides Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Kerene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Kich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1581	Rich, B. Riche – His Farewell to Militarie Profession
 Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1581	Rich, B. and Lodge, T. – The Straunge and Wonderfull Aduentures of Do[n] Simonides
 Melbancke, B. – Philotimus Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1582	Whetstone, G. – An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses
1584 Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings 1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1583	Greene, R. – Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse
1584 Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune 1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1583	Melbancke, B. – Philotimus
1584 Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love 1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1584	Averell, W. – A Dyall for Dainty Darlings
1584 Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie 1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1584	Greene, R. – Arbasto the Anatomie of Fortune
1584 Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie 1584 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers 1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1584	Greene, R. – Morando the Tritameron of Love
 Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx Greene, R. – Planetomachia W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1584	Greene, R. – The Myrrour of Modestie
1584 Rich, B. – The Second Tome of the Trauailes and Aduentures of Don Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1584	Greene, R. and Labé, L. – Gvvydonius the Carde of Fancie
Simonides 1584 Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1584	Lodge, T. – An Alarum Against Usurers
 1585 Greene, R. – Planetomachia 1585 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria 1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1584	
 W. C. – The Aduentures of Ladie Egeria Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus 	1584	Warner, W. – Pan His Syrinx
1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1585	Greene, R. – Planetomachia
1587 Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus	1585	
1587 Greene, R. – Penelopes Vveb vvherein a Christall Myrror	1587	Greene, R. – Euphues his Censure to Philautus
	1587	Greene, R. – Penelopes Vveb vvherein a Christall Myrror

Year	Prose fiction
1588	Greene, R. – Pandosto: The Triumph of Time
1588	Greene, R. – Perimedes the Blacke-Smith a Golden Methode
1589	Greene, R. – Ciceronis Amor: Tullies Love
1589	Greene, R. and Nash, T. – Menaphon Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphues
1589	Greene, R. and Nash, T. – The Spanish Masquerado
1590	Greene, R. – Greenes Mourning Garment
1590	Greene, R. – Greenes Neuer Too Late
1590	H. R. (Henry Roberts) – A Defiance to Fortune
1590	Lodge, T. – Rosalynde Euphues Golden Legacie
1590	Sidney, P. – The Covntesse of Pembrokes Arcadia
1590	Tartlons Newes out of Purgatorie
1590	The Cobler of Caunterburie
1591	Greene, R. – Greenes Farewell to Folly
1591	Lodge, T. – The Famous, True and Historicall Life of Robert Second Duke of Normandy
1591	M., I. – Phillipes Venus
1592	Greene, R. – The Blacke Bookes Messenger
1592	Greene, R. – Philomela the Lady Fitzvvaters Nightingale
1592	Greene, R. – Greenes, Groats-vvorth of Witte
1592	Fraunce, A. – The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes
1592	Johnson, R. – The Nine Worthies of London
1592	Lodge, T. and Greene, R. – Euphues Shadow, the Battaile of the Sences
1592	Rich, B. – The Adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria
1593	Chettle, H. – Kind-Harts Dreame
1593	Greene, R. – Mamillia the Second Part of the Triumph of Pallas
1593	Lodge, T. – The Life and Death of William Long Beard
1594	Dickenson, J. – Arisbas, Euphues Amidst his Slumbers
1594	Nashe, T. – The Vnfortunate Traueller
1595	Chettle, H. – Piers Plainnes Seauen Yeres Prentiship
1595	H. R. (Henry Roberts) – Pheander, the Mayden Knight
1595	Parry, R. – Moderatus, the Most Delectable & Famous Historie of the Blacke Knight
1596	C. M. and Middleton. C. – The First Part of the Nature of a Vvoman
1596	C. M. and Middleton. C. – The Second Part of the Historie, Called the Nature of a Woman
1596	Lodge, T. – A Margarite of America
1597	Breton, N. – The Vvil of Vvit, Vvits Vvill
1597	Johnson, R. – The Second Part of the Famous History of the Seauen Champions of Christendome

Year	Prose fiction		
1597	Middleton, C. – The Famous Historie of Chinon of England		
1598	Dickenson, J. and Greene, R. – Greene in Conceipt		
1598	Ford, E. – Parismus, the Renoumed Prince of Bohemia		
1598	H. R. (Henry Roberts) – Honours Conquest		
1599	Ford, E. – The Most Pleasant Historie of Ornatus and Artesia		
1599	Greene, R. – Greenes Orpharion		
1600	Armin R. – Foole vpon Foole		
1600	Breton, N. – The Strange Fortunes of Two Excellent Princes		
1600	H. R. (Henry Roberts) and Deloney, T. – Haigh for Deuonshire		
1600	Kittowe, R. – Loues Load-Starre		
1600	R. G. – The Famous Historie of Albions Queene		
1600	The Heroicall Aduentures of the Knight of the Sea		
1602	Corrozet, G. – Memorable Conceits of Diuers Noble and Famous Personages of Christendome		
1603	Dekker, T. – The Vvonderfull Yeare		
1603	Rolland, J. – The Thrie Tailes of the Thrie Priests of Peblis		
1608 reprint	Johnson, R. – The Most Famous History of the Seuen Champions of Christendome		
1612 reprint	Deloney, T. – Thomas of Reading		
1619 reprint	Deloney, T. – The Pleasant History of Iohn Winchcomb		
1631 reprint	Johnson, R. – The Most Pleasant History of Tom a Lincolne		
1637 reprint	Deloney, T. – The Gentle Craft: A Discovrse Containing Many Matters of Delight		
1639 reprint	Deloney, T. – The Gentile Craft: The Second Part		



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0024

Semantics of Idioms Containing Names of Body Parts in English, Slovak, and Hungarian (A Comparative Study)

Marta LACKOVÁ

University of Žilina (Žilina, Slovakia)
Department of English Language and Literature
marta.lackova@fhv.uniza.sk
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5784-7523

Brigita BERNÁTHOVÁ

Helmeczy Mihály Hungarian Elementary School (Kráľovský Chlmec, Slovakia) brigitabernathova@gmail.com

Abstract. The main objective of the paper is to study idioms containing names of body parts in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages. The traits of the selected idioms are investigated in terms of semantics. The research sample, which includes fifty idioms with the body part keyword, is inspected with the help of both quantitative and qualitative methods. To give the research a theoretical basis, it is firstly explored how idioms are understood within these typologically diverse languages in the matter of their typical features, and classifications from the viewpoint of semantics. As a result, the investigated idioms were divided into eight groups in accordance with the discovered semantic similarities and differences across the studied languages. Furthermore, the research outputs demonstrate that there appear six groups of idioms considering the correspondence of keywords of the studied idioms in English, Slovak, and Hungarian. The principal benefit of the study is the examination of the given lexical units in a trilingual environment of typologically different languages.

Keywords: idiom, semantics, comparative analysis, typologically diverse languages

1. Introduction

To really master a language, it is not enough to be acquainted with a wide range of single words and the rules on how to put them together to create clauses, sentences, and longer speeches. There are also plenty of metaphorical expressions, collocations, and idioms that reflect the surrounding world, the culture and history of a nation, community, or even a single family and form a fundamental part of their everyday language, making it more colourful, vivid, and expressive. That is one of the reasons why we decided to focus on the issue of idiomatology. Additionally, we grew up and live in the ethnically mixed territory of south-eastern Slovakia. Finally, we are not aware of a study dealing with the issue of comparison of idioms containing names of body parts in three languages simultaneously. The study can practically be used as a study material, as well as a teaching aid for teaching English in the ethnically mixed territories of Slovakia and Hungary.

The main objective of the paper is to investigate idioms having a body part as the keyword in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages. Through the analysis of their semantics, speakers of the languages can better understand different lexicosemantic possibilities of their usage, since they directly manifest language vitality and represent an intriguing subject of linguistic research.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. The delimitation of idioms in English, Slovak, and Hungarian

Idiomatic expressions such as metaphors, collocations, proverbs, sayings, and idioms proper are utilized by all human beings as "prefabricated elements", as Forgács (2012) calls them, in their everyday life, often without realizing it. Their usage is not limited exclusively to educated people. New idioms appear, already existing ones change, and some of them wane, mirroring the development of their users. It also happens that the beliefs or practices leading to their application disappear while the idiom itself continues to be used.

For the needs of our research analysis, we will debate how idioms are perceived in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages when it comes to their semantic characteristics and classification.

When discussing idioms in English, it needs to be mentioned that they have been studied by plenty of linguists from numerous points of view. It is rather demanding to define strict borders and classes of these expressions; even scholars do not always agree while doing that. As a matter of fact, when it comes to different academicians and different attitudes, there are discrepancies in the whole terminology of the field of study of idiomatic expressions. Within our study, we will follow Kvetko (2009), who distinguishes the following groups of idioms according to the degree of opacity (transparency) and differences in degree of motivation: 1. pure idioms (opaque, demotivated idioms, phraseological fusions) – the meaning of the whole cannot be understood from the meaning of individual constituents there, e.g.: *spill the beans* (tell somebody something that should be kept secret

or private), shoot the breeze (have a casual conversation), or pink elephants (hallucinations symptomatic of chronic alcoholism); 2. semi-opaque idioms (semi-transparent, "figurative idioms", transparent metaphors, phraseological unities) — the expressions in which the literal meaning of the single words indicates the idiomatic meaning of the whole expression, e.g.: behind closed doors (hidden from public or in secret), child's play (a task which is easily accomplished), or do / make a U-turn (completely change one's policy); 3. semi-idioms (restricted or bound collocations, phraseological combinations) — expressions in which one word has a literal meaning and the other or others have figurative meaning, e.g. promise the moon (promise something that is unlikely to be fulfilled), foot the bill (pay the bill), or dirty money (money obtained unlawfully or immorally).

The classification of Slovak idioms is basically discussed by linguists such as Mlacek (2001), Ďurčo (1995), and Magalová (2016). In their work, they present classifications from different aspects: semantic, structural, stylistic, and functional classifications; further, categorization according to the parts of speech, according to the relation to the literary language, to the basis on which they arise, and, eventually, grouping taking into account the relation between constancy and variability.

In fact, each of them emphasizes that not all criteria are equally important while researching idioms. Mlacek (2001), Ďurčo (1995), and Magalová (2016) distinguish three types of phrasemes: 1. phraseological fusions – type of phrasemes in which the individual word components lost their original meaning; 2. phraseological unities – their meaning is only indirectly related to the meaning of individual components. It means that some components of the phraseological unity have preserved their original or related meaning, but the others are bearers of the transferred meaning. Therefore, a phraseological unity does not lose any of its figurativeness; 3. phraseological combinations – here, one component has a figurative meaning, while the other members have their original lexical meaning.

Hungarian linguists who have inquired into idiomatic expressions are, for example, Ujváry, Nagy, and Forgács. Likewise, in the Slovak language, it is phraseology that deals with idiomatic expressions here. By way of contrast, proverbs and sayings have a much more prominent place in the study of phraseology here than in the Slovak or English languages.

For the needs of our research, we give a short overview of how Hungarian idioms are classified as reported by Forgács (2012). To do it, he applies the following five standpoints: classification according to: their communication function, their syntactic behaviour, the value of their parts of speech, their semantic behaviour, and structural-semantic classification.

Reconsidering the theories of the German linguists like Burger, Buhofer, and Sialm, Forgács (2012) elaborated the following semantic categorization of idioms: 1. non-idiomatic, 2. partly idiomatic, 3. fully idiomatic.

2.2. Contrastive analysis of idioms

Numerous scholars have concentrated on the investigation of idiomatic traits within two or more, even typologically diverse, languages. Pastor (2021) placed the focus on constructional idioms expressing insanity in English and Spanish from grammatical, semantic, and informative perspectives to coin a multi-linguistic prototype of the investigated structures. Recently, the grammar and semantics of idioms has been studied by corpus linguists, too. Blanco (2019) contributes to the contrastive studies within constructional idioms in the framework of the German and Spanish languages; he employed five parameters of comparison to develop a multi-level depiction procedure based on corpus for the determination and analysis of corresponding idioms across languages. Gizatova (2018) addressed the propositions of developing the first English–Russian dictionary of idioms utilizing data from textual corpora.

Surprisingly, the corpus evidence shows that idioms are not as frozen as it is often estimated; exchanges of lexemes are acceptable without the loss of the original meaning of the idiom in question. In the given context, Firenze (2007) provides a description of the disagglutination mechanisms of the determiners in idioms used by contemporary German speakers. In addition to this, Dobrovolskij (2020) discusses the implementation of parallel corpora for the needs of the study of idioms: his findings support the presupposition that the spreading of corpusbased data improves their description on the cross-linguistic level and helps identify the discrete linguistic traits of idioms that were regarded equivalent.

Marginally, idioms containing a name of an animal have been of interest for linguists. Zemtsova (2019) discusses such idioms for translation needs taking into account the point of view of cognitive linguistics. Her findings demonstrate that mapping systems existing behind the conceptual metaphor reveal human traits from animals' somatic, behavioural, and emotional features. Ngoc and Huyèn (2018) carried out a systematic inquiry into the semantics of English animal idioms; the scholars claim that they are the results of interaction between a man and nature, and therefore they represent an intriguing sphere for an investigator.

Colin (2006) examined animal idioms, focusing primarily on English idioms in comparison with Swedish ones, even if the Swedish counterparts do not contain an animal name. Two different standpoints were presented. One of them illustrates that half of the English animal idioms have a Swedish equivalent containing an animal name. The other one illustrates that the Swedish animal idioms are analogous with the English ones, and they mostly have identical structures and similar variations in degree of transformation, fixity, literalness, and manipulation. Furthermore, the use of metaphor, personification, and simile appears to be common both in English and Swedish animal idioms.

Eventually, Zhang (2021) provides an insight into the translation of animal idioms from the functional equivalence viewpoint with the goal to discuss factors that influence the translation of these idioms. One of such factors might be an animal transition, which is possible to overcome, namely with functional equivalence, and a pragmatic version of the idiom can be achieved.

3. Research methodology

The main objective of the study is to investigate idioms containing names of body parts in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages. To achieve this, two partial aims were stated: to find similarities and differences between them in terms of semantics and the keyword of the idiom. To direct the research properly, we specified the following questions that are required to be answered and hypotheses that need to be proved or disproved.

Q1: Are the studied idioms identical in terms of semantics in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages?

Q2: Are the keywords of the observed idioms the same in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages?

H1: The majority of the studied idioms are identical in terms of semantics in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages.

H2: The keywords within the observed idioms containing names of body parts are different in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages.

In view of that fact, we identified and investigated fifty idioms which contain expressions labelling the following parts of the human body and organism: arm, back, blood, brain, chest, chin, ear, elbow, eye, eyelid, eyelash, face, finger, fingertip, hair, hand, head, heel, heart, jaw, knee, leg, limb, lip, mind, mouth, muscle, nail, neck, nerve, nose, palm, shoulder, skeleton, skin, stomach, tongue, tooth. We took into consideration several criteria for the selection of these idioms. First, we decided to investigate relevant frequent idioms that are more likely to have a significant impact on communication and understanding. As this is a comparative cross-linguistic study, we chose idioms with strong cultural connotations within individual languages in question. The final point of our motivation was our own desire to explore new linguistic phenomena in the given context. We worked with the following dictionaries to single the idioms out: Prekladový anglicko-slovenský frazeologický slovník (Kvetko 2014) and Angolmagyar szólásszótár – English–Hungarian Idioms (Magay 2009).

To analyse the selected idioms, we applied both quantitative and qualitative methods. Of the quantitative methods, we implemented processing, statistical processing, evaluation, and subsequent interpretation of acquired knowledge together with their generalization. We categorized the idioms on the basis of their

semantics by processing. Then, statistical processing was used to express the number of idioms in each group. Besides the quantitative methods, qualitative ones were applied as well, namely observation and work with texts, work with dictionaries of phraseological expressions, linguistic analysis, and comparison. Observation and work with texts were crucial components while studying and reviewing literature. Thanks to these procedures, we were able to uncover new connections within the relevant sources. We took advantage of dictionaries of phraseological expressions for the purpose of revealing idiomatic expressions containing the selected names of body parts. The dictionaries provided us with a deeper understanding of how metaphorical language is utilized in literature. Together with this, we were able to gain a better comprehension of the symbolic meanings associated with different body parts. To answer the research questions and prove or disprove the hypotheses, we applied evaluation and subsequent interpretation of acquired knowledge, and generalizations as well.

4. Research results

This part considers resemblance of the idioms containing names of body parts in the English, Slovak, and Hungarian languages from the semantic standpoint. What is more, we check out whether their keywords in the Slovak and Hungarian languages correspond to those in the English language.

For the intention of comparing the idioms from this point of view, we will adopt Kvetko's classification according to the degree of opacity and differences in degree of motivation for English idioms, Mlacek, Ďurčo, and Magalová's classification for Slovak ones, and Forgács's categorization in terms of the transferred meaning for Hungarian ones. We will do so for the simple reason that in spite of the fact that categories in the mentioned classifications differ in name, their characteristics are very much alike, if not even identical in most cases.

From the overview of the idioms systematization, we can state that English pure idioms equal Slovak phraseological fusions and Hungarian fully idiomatic phraseological units (phrasemes). English semi-opaque idioms are identical to Slovak phraseological units and Hungarian partly idiomatic phrasemes. English semi-idioms have their counterpart in the Slovak language — phraseological combinations. However, this subgroup does not exist in the Hungarian language. Instead, there is a group of non-idiomatic phrasemes. Further, non-idiomatic phrasemes are non-variable expressions with a high level of conventionality and literalness.

After checking out the semanticity of the chosen idioms in all three languages, we divided them into the following groups in accordance with the similarities and differences across the studied languages:

- a) pure idioms in English, phraseological fusions in Slovak, and fully idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- b) pure idioms in English, phraseological fusions in Slovak, and partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- c) pure idioms in English, phraseological fusions in Slovak, and non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- d) pure idioms in English, phraseological unities in Slovak, and partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- e) semi-opaque idioms in English, phraseological unities in Slovak, and partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- f) semi-opaque idioms in English, phraseological unities in Slovak, and non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- g) semi-idioms in English, phraseological combinations in Slovak, and non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian;
- h) pure idioms in English, phraseological combinations in Slovak, and partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian.

a) Pure idioms in English – Phraseological fusions in Slovak – Fully idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

The following five idioms belong to the same group of expressions in terms of semantics in all three languages: (be) on sb's back – by' niekomu na krku – a nyakán van/ül valakinek; Blood is thicker than water – krv nie je voda – Vér nem válik vízzé; give sb the elbow – dať niekomu kopačky – kiadja az útját valakinek; twist sb (a)round one's (little) finger – omotať si niekoho okolo prsta – az ujja köré csavar valakit; (have sth) at one's fingertips / finger tips / finger ends – (mať niečo) v malíčku – a kisujjában van valami.

These idioms are classified as non-compositional, opaque, and demotivated units: the users of the languages utilize them to express various aspects of interpersonal relations. Moreover, the idiom (have sth) at one's fingertips / finger tips / finger ends bears two meanings. The meaning which corresponds with those in the Slovak and Hungarian languages is to have the knowledge or the ability to carry out a task easily.

b) Pure idioms in English – Phraseological fusions in Slovak – Partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

These two idioms: kick up one's **heels** – vyhodiť si z kopýtka – úszik a boldogságban; a/the **skeleton** in the cupboard – maslo na hlave – rejtegetett/titkolt családi szégyenfolt belong to the same group of opaque expressions in the English and Slovak languages. In the Hungarian language, there are words

which are used in their literal meaning: boldogság 'happiness' in the first one and everything except for folt 'spot' in the second one: rejtegetett/titkolt családi szégyen 'hidden shame of a family'.

c) Pure idioms in English – Phraseological fusions in Slovak – Non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

There is one idiom: (be) out on a **limb** – (byt') v štichu – hátrányos/veszélyes/veszélyeztetett helyzetben that belongs to the same group of opaque expressions in the English and Slovak languages. Its semantics covers the concept of being without support. In the Hungarian language, its meaning is completely literal.

d) Pure idioms in English – Phraseological unities in Slovak – Partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

These expressions: in cold **blood** – chladnokrvne – hidegvérrel; (know/learn) by **heart** – (vedieť/(na)učiť sa) naspamäť, z hlavy – fejből (tudja/megtanulja); get sth off one´s **chest** – uľahčiť si na duši – könnyít a szívén/lelkén; pull sb's **leg** – uťahovať si z niekoho – ugrat valakit, húz valakit; by the **skin** of one´s **teeth** – len tak-tak, o vlások/o chlp – hajszál híján fall under the same class in the Slovak and Hungarian languages, where some of the components help us guess the meaning of the whole. In the English language, they are fully demotivated. They express the semantics of various emotional states such as relief, ruthlessness, or deception.

e) Semi-opaque idioms in English – Phraseological unities in the Slovak language – Partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

This is the largest group of the investigated idioms from the semantics standpoint, where the meaning of the whole can be guessed from the meaning of the components in all three languages: cost (sb) an arm and a leg – stát celý majetok – egy vagyonba kerül; beat one's brain's out (about sth) – lámat si hlavu (nad niečím) – töri a fejét (valamin); Chin up! – Hlavu hore! Drž sa! – Fel a fejjel!; go in (at) one ear and out (at) the other – jedným uchom dnu, (a) druhým von – egyik fülén be, a másikon ki; (be) (like) music to sb's ears – (byť) rajskou/nebeskou hudbou (pre niekoho) – zene füleinek. These idioms mostly contribute to the description of mental states of the language users.

f) Semi-opaque idioms in English – Phraseological unities in Slovak – Non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

Here, the expressions are classified among the same category of semi-transparent idioms in the English and Slovak languages: flex one's muscles/muscle – napínať svaly – megmutatja, mit tud; have a loose tongue – nevedieť udržať jazyk na uzde – sokat fecseg, while their Hungarian counterpart is non-idiomatic. The metaphors hidden behind them communicate the connection between the part of the body and a secondary meaning that is tied to them.

g) Semi-idioms in English – Phraseological combinations in Slovak – Non-idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

The only expression here (pay) cash on the **nail** – (vyplatit') na ruku – azonnal/ készpénzzel fizet, az egészet kifizeti has one or more components applied in their literal meaning (pay cash and vyplatit') and the other in its figurative meaning (nail and na ruku).

h) Pure idioms in English – Phraseological combinations in Slovak – Partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian

The expression *give* sb the cold **shoulder** is a pure idiom in the English language, and it means to intentionally ignore someone or treat someone in an unfriendly way. In the Slovak and Hungarian languages, the words *prijat* niekoho and kezel valakit are used in their literal meaning and the words *chladne* and *hűvösen* in their figurative meaning.

In the upcoming part of the study, we will present the results of the investigation whether the keywords of the idioms in the Slovak and Hungarian languages correspond to those in the English one. Therefore, we divided the picked 50 idioms to different classes in this way:

- idioms with the identical keyword in all three languages,
- $\operatorname{\mathsf{-}}\nolimits$ idioms with the identical keyword in English and Slovak,
- idioms with the identical keyword in English and Hungarian,
- idioms with the identical keyword in Slovak and Hungarian,
- idioms with the identical keyword without a body part in Slovak and Hungarian,
 - idioms with different lexical units in all three languages.

Idioms with the identical keyword in all three languages

To begin with the largest group of the idiomatic expressions, it can be declared that there are 22 cases out of 50 when they use the same body part to reveal a piece of reality in all three languages. We feel it necessary to notice that even though we sometimes find two alternatives in the Slovak or Hungarian languages, one of them is that with the same body part as in the English language.

To speak of some peculiar examples, let us scrutinize the following ones: Blood is thicker than water. – here, the common body part is more likely a type of body fluid. Another kind of liquid, namely water, is found in the proverb in all three languages. An eye for an eye (and a tooth for a tooth) – there are two body parts – eye and tooth – in the saying in all three languages to refer to the belief that retaliation in kind is the appropriate way to deal with an offence or crime. Without batting an eyelid / eyelash – in this expression employed to express showing no emotional or other reaction, the Slovak and Hungarian counterparts apply the whole body part – eye –, while the English one only a part of it – the eyelid or eyelash. Have one's heart in one's mouth – expressions in all three languages work with heart as the body part to convey being greatly alarmed or apprehensive. Nevertheless, instead of mouth in the English language, the Slovak and Hungarian equivalents use 'throat' – hrdlo – torok to place sb's heart while feeling this way.

There are also instances when the Slovak and Hungarian equivalents are the exact translations of the English phraseme: go in (at) one ear and out (at) the other, twist sb (a)round one's (little) finger, give sb a free hand, bury/hide one's head in the sand, etc.

Idioms with the identical keyword in English and Slovak

In this class with 6 phrasemes, there are cases when the Hungarian counterpart engages a different body part from those in the English and Slovak ones – e.g. in *make sb's skin crawl*, in contrast to the English and Slovak *skin*, the Hungarian phraseme uses the person's 'back' *hát*. Yet, in *flex one's muscles/muscle*, the Hungarian equivalent does not include a body part at all.

Idioms with the identical keyword in English and Hungarian

Moreover, we found also examples of the similarity in the English and Hungarian languages, when the Slovak counterparts not only do not contain the same body part, but they do not contain any at all: (be) (like) music to sb's ears – (byt') rajskou/nebeskou hudbou (pre niekoho) – zene füleinek.

Idioms with the identical keyword in Slovak and Hungarian

Furthermore, there are cases, precisely 8, when the Slovak and Hungarian translations employ the same body part, but the English one differs: beat one's brain's out (about sth) – lámat' si hlavu (nad niečím) – töri a fejét (valamin). At this point, we would like to highlight one of them. Firstly, we consider it interesting to apply heart in the phraseme (know/learn) by heart as the organ used to express learning or mastering something from memory, while the Slovak and Hungarian translations comprise head completely self-explanatorily.

Idioms with identical keyword without a body part in Slovak and Hungarian

Additionally, we identified some examples when the Slovak and Hungarian expressions are mirror images of one another but none of them contain a body part: *pull sb's leg – ut'ahovat' si z niekoho – ugrat valakit, húz valakit, heccel valakit.* In all three languages, it is a very common expression used to describe joking with somebody in a light-hearted manner.

Idiomatic expressions with different lexical units in all three languages

Finally, there are expressions where there are no identical idiom key terms in any of the languages. However, we may find some common semantic features in the following examples: <code>face</code> to <code>face</code> (with) – the Hungarian equivalent <code>szemtől</code> <code>szemben</code> applies a face part: <code>szem</code> 'eye'. In like manner, both words in the Slovak <code>zoči-voči</code> involve the same face part: <code>oči.</code> (Pay) cash on the <code>nail</code> – although the Hungarian expression does not use a body part, the Slovak one contains 'hand' <code>ruka</code> as the place where nail is located. (Have) a <code>sweet</code> <code>tooth</code> – the Hungarian counterpart works with the whole 'mouth' <code>száj</code>, whereas the English and Slovak ones with a part of it. In the first one, it is tooth and the second one <code>jazýček</code> 'little <code>tongue</code>'. <code>Kick up one's heels</code> – the Slovak <code>vyhodit</code>' <code>si z kopýtka</code> encompasses <code>kopýtko</code> 'hoof' as the hard part on the bottom of the feet of some animals, the similar part where the human heel is located. The Hungarian phraseme does not contain a body part, though.

5. Discussion and conclusions

In this section, we will discuss the research findings regarding the research questions and research hypotheses. When considering Q1, in agreement with our analysis and the presented findings, we claim that not all the studied idioms are identical in terms of semantics in English, Slovak, and Hungarian, although most

of them are. In conclusion, the following can be said: 38 idioms out of 50 belong to the same category in all three languages from the semantic point of view. That equals 76%. Five expressions of this group belong to the category of pure idioms in English, phraseological fusions in Slovak, and fully idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian. Nonetheless, the most – 33 out of 38 – belong to the class of semi-opaque idioms in English, phraseological units in Slovak, and partly idiomatic phrasemes in Hungarian. On the other hand, in 11 cases out of the 50 (22%), the studied idioms belong to the same class only in two languages: in 6 cases, the class is the same in English and Slovak, in 5 cases in Slovak and Hungarian. In one case, idioms belong to different groups in all three languages from the viewpoint of semantics. The following chart clearly illustrates the described ones.

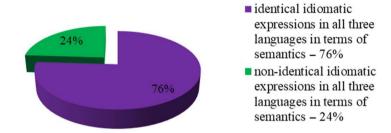
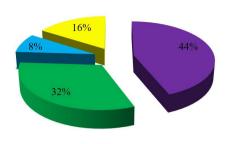


Figure 1. Similarity of idiomatic expressions in terms of semantics

In relation to Q2, as a result of our study, we demonstrate the following: the biggest class of idioms in terms of similarities and differences in observed lexical units containing names of body parts is the one with the same lexical unit in all three languages. This group consists of 22 phrasemes, which equals 44% of the whole research sample. Also, in 16 cases (32%), the lexical unit containing names of body parts is the same in two out of the three observed languages. Within that, in 8 cases, they are Slovak and Hungarian, in 6 cases English and Slovak, and the smallest class with two cases is that with the English and Hungarian ones. Alternatively, there is a small group of 4 phrasemes (8%) with the same lexical unit without a name of a body part in Slovak and Hungarian. For the sake of completeness, it is pointed out that in 8 instances (16%) the idioms contain different lexical units comprising names of body parts in all three languages. The described outcome is illustrated by the following chart.

The answer to the first research question says that 76% of the examined idiomatic expressions fall under the same category in all three languages from the semantic point of view. For that reason, we can confirm the hypothesis that most of the studied idioms are identical in terms of semantics in English, Slovak, and Hungarian.



- idiomatic expressions with the same lexical unit containing names of body parts in all three languages 44%
- idiomatic expressions with the same lexical unit containing names of body parts in two languages 32%
- idiomatic expressions with the same lexical unit without a body part in the Slovak and Hungarian languages – 8%
- idiomatic expressions with different lexical units containing names of body parts in all three languages – 16%

Figure 2. Similarity of lexical units denoting names of body parts

While the English and Slovak languages belong to different branches of the same language family, the Hungarian language comes from a completely dissimilar language family, hence our hypothesis 2. Surprisingly, among the examined idioms, the lexical units differ by 16% in all three languages. On the other hand, 44% of the whole research sample uses the same lexical unit containing names of body parts in all three languages and 32% in two out of the three. Therefore, we disprove the hypothesis that the keywords of the observed idioms containing names of body parts are different in English, Slovak, and Hungarian in most of the examined idioms.

The investigation outcomes highlight that the cultural aspects of the studied idioms vary greatly across English-, Slovak-, and Hungarian-speaking communities since they are an integral part of everyday communication. Moreover, the investigated idioms have historical origins and background that are not immediately apparent to non-native speakers of the above-mentioned languages. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the idioms containing body part names are applied to share common experience and understanding within a particular social group.

The research results of the study can be practically utilized as a study material for future translators and as a teaching aid for teaching English in the ethnically mixed territories of Slovakia and Hungary.

Our research has several limitations in terms of the research sample. These are factors that do not allow us to comprehensively examine the entire issue of the studied idioms. The first such factor is the size of the research sample. We worked with a selected sample of 50 expressions while there are incomparably more of them in all languages. The dictionaries of idioms which we worked with to select the research sample contain a very large number of them, not to mention that certain expressions are limited to residents of a smaller settlement or even

one family. They are not listed in the dictionaries we used. A great number of them are not even recorded in any dictionaries or collections at all.

Secondly, due to the dynamic nature of languages, we may not have noticed all shades of meaning of given expressions. Both limiting factors could be partially eliminated, for example, by studying language corpora or by personal discourses with members of various societies.

Regarding possible further research, it would be very interesting to develop the given topic in the direction of etymology. We mean to investigate the origin and reasons of similarities and differences of idiomatic expressions from the mentioned viewpoints. We assumed that the majority of idiomatic expressions would contain different lexical units comprising names of body parts in the three investigated languages for a very simple reason. These languages are completely different both typologically and genetically. Nevertheless, we concluded that lexical units containing names of body parts differ in all three languages in just 16% of the research sample.

References

- Blanco, M. Carmen. 2019. Constructional idioms in German and Spanish from a contrastive point of view: A corpus-based approach by means of ironic comparisons. *Yearbook of Phraseology* 10(1): 65–88.
- Colin, Nathalie. 2006. English and Swedish Animal Idioms: A Study of Correspondence and Variation in Content and Expression. Thesis paper. http://kau.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:5163/FULLTEXT01.pdf (Last accessed: 23 September 2024).
- Dobrovolskij, O. Dmitrij. 2020. Corpus-based approach to phraseology research: New evidence from parallel corpora. *Vestnik Sankt-peterburgskogo Universiteta* – *Yazyk i Literatura* 17(3): 398–411.
- Firenze, Anna. 2007. You fool her doesn't mean (that) you conduct her behind the light: (Dis)agglutination of the determiner in German idioms. In Christiane Fellbaum (ed.), *Idioms and Collocations: Corpus-Based Linguistic and Lexicographic Studies*, 152–163. London: Continuum.
- Forgács, Tamás. 2012. Bevezetés a frazeológiába: A szólás- és közmondáskutatás alapjai [Introduction into Phraseology. Foundations of the Research on Idioms and Proverbs]. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- Gizativa, Guzel. 2018. A corpus-based approach to lexicography: A new English–Russian phraseological dictionary. *International Journal of English Linguistics* 9(3): 357–363.
- Kavka, J. Stanislav. 2003. A Book on Idiomatology. Žilina: EDIS.

- Kvetko, Pavol. 2009. English Lexicology in Theory and Practice. Trnava: Univerzita Sv. Cyrila a Metoda.
- 2014. *Prekladový Anglicko-slovenský Frazeologický Slovník* [Translation English–Slovak Phraseological Dictionary]. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Magalová, Gabriela. 2016. *Frazeológia pre Pedagogickú Prax* [Phraseology for Pedagogical Practice]. Trnava: Trnavská univerzita v Trnave.
- Magay, Tamás. 2009. Angol–magyar szólásszótár English–Hungarian Idioms. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Mlacek, Jozef. 2001. *Tvary a Tváre Frazém v Slovenčine* [Shapes and Faces of Phrases in Slovak]. Bratislava: STIMUL Centrum informatiky a vzdelávania FF UK.
- Ngoc, Thi–Hồng–V. T. Huyền. 2019. An analysis of animal idioms in English for translation in the light of cognitive linguistics. *International Journal of Science and Research* 8(5): 1128–1134.
- O. Nagy, Gábor. 1976. *Magyar szólások és közmondások* [Hungarian Sayings and Proverbs]. 2nd ed. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó.
- Pastor, C. Gloria. 2021. Constructional idioms of "insanity" in English and Spanish: A corpus-based study. *Lingua* 254(3): 103013.
- Zemtsova, Valeriia. 2018. Semantics of animal idioms in English. Збірник тез доповідей IV Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції «Інноваційні тенденції підготовки фахівців в умовах полікультурного та мультилінгвального глобалізованого світу» [A collection of abstracts of reports of the 4th All-Ukrainian Scientific and Practical Conference "Innovative Trends in the Training of Specialists in the Conditions of a Multicultural and Multilingual Globalized World"], 420–422.
- Zhang, Xiaodi. 2021. A study of animal idioms translation from [the] perspective of functional equivalence. *Sino-US English Teaching* 18(6): 157–160.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0025

The Evolution of Toponyms in a Bilingual Context. Original and Current Forms of Oikonyms in Covasna County, Romania

Boróka-Emese SALAMON

Alexandru Ioan Cuza University (Iaşi, Romania) Doctoral School of Philological Studies salamonboroka@yahoo.com https://orcid.org/0009-0006-0312-7826

Abstract. One of the major encounters of identity and otherness one could witness is coming across names of places in a country, which appear in two languages. This situation can be witnessed in bilingual territories or in circumstances where there is a different official language than the one of the indigenous people. The aim of this paper is to gather the first official appearance of the names of human establishments in Covasna County, to establish their source language and examine their current forms, their translations into target language and to summarize the applied translation techniques in order to find the most common one among those appliable to the translation of toponyms.

Keywords: toponyms, oikonyms, translation techniques, etymology

Introductory notes, objectives of the research

Covasna County is located in Romania, where the official language is Romanian, but the area is inhabited by Hungarian minority. However, Covasna County is situated on the border between former Hungary and Romania, so the objective of this study is to issue a diachronic analysis in order to establish the original etymon from which later forms are derived, its modifications and translations throughout centuries. By analysing the original, first documented oikonyms, we can establish the source language of these place names, their translation into the target language, and, finally, the currently existing forms of the oikonyms in Covasna County, Romania. In order to do so, we rely on papal registers, official documents that contain first appearances of oikonyms and current, official names provided by administrative legal documents. As a result of this study, we will

have a more precise image of toponymic formation and evolution in a bilingual context, which may serve for further scientific approaches of similar situations.

1. Historical, geographical, and ethnographic facts about the researched area

Covasna County is located in the heart of today's Romania and in the eastern part of Transylvania, its vicinity including the counties of Braşov, Harghita, Bacău, Buzău, and Vrancea. However, around a hundred years ago, up to 1918, it was part of Hungary and had been located in the vicinity of the frontier between Hungary and Romania, resulting an interesting mix from the perspective of local toponyms.

Being part of Hungary for centuries, Covasna County has a strong Hungarian ethnic composition based on Szekler¹ traditions, ancestry, language, history, society, and culture, but due to its position, the contact between Romanian and Hungarian areas and cultures has made its mark on the evolution of the marginal areas. In the 1920s, due to historical events following World War I, Transylvania was incorporated in Romania, and Romanian became the official language. Naturally, names of places had to be translated in the official language of the country, so Hungarian toponyms were adapted to the new system. However, since the communities have not changed their ethnicity, both forms of toponyms are in circulation, usually the Romanian ones being used in official matters and the Hungarian ones in everyday communication, depending on the ethnic majority of the area.

In order to examine toponymic evolution in such a challenging situation, researchers have to rely on scientifically acceptable sources, such as etymological, historical, and geographical data, to obtain veritable results that can serve as basis for further investigations or similar studies.

2. Names of places. Form and content

Toponyms represent language units denoting elements of topographic environment, specifically names given to geographical locations such as towns, cities, rivers, mountains, and other features of the Earth's surface. They serve as labels to identify and distinguish different places from one another. Within this major category, every geographical location has its subcategory, for example, mountain and hill names are oronyms, the names of aquatic features are hydronyms, those of travelways, roads, and streets are hodonyms. This research examines the

¹ Subgroup of Hungarians living in the eastern parts of Transylvania, a region within Romania.

evolution of oikonyms, which are names of human establishments such as towns, cities, villages, and other countryside establishments. The importance of these place names relies in the precious historical and linguistic information within, because toponyms and anthroponyms are linguistic elements that freeze in time and remain preserved throughout centuries.

Based on their form and content, Hungarian and Romanian toponyms (Hoffmann 2003, Moldovanu 2014) can be classified as:

a. toponyms formed by direct transfer between onomastic and toponymic systems. This procedure transfers the name of the founder or of the owner onto the place without any linguistic mark, for example: (hu) Zoltán – (ro) Zoltan.² Direct transfer is a Hungarian specificity, since no other language in the European area transposes names from the onomastic system into the toponymic one without linguistic marking (Hoffmann 2003). This type of toponym formation is frequent in areas with a Hungarian majority, but, according to Iordan (1963: 157), some Romanian place names in the Transylvanian area also derive from anthroponyms by direct transfer. We believe this phenomenon is due to the contact of cultures since the Romanian toponymic system does not operate without linguistic marking.

b. toponyms formed by affixation. Affixation is a linguistic process whereby affixes, which are bound morphemes, are added to a base word to create a new word with a different meaning or grammatical function. Affixes can be prefixes, suffixes, infixes, or circumfixes. In toponymy, affixes usually mean suffixes, morphemes that are added to the end of the base word, and they can be inflectional, derivational, comparative, diminutive, and agentive ones, and they may suggest a feature of the place, a dominant occupation, or majority, ownership, etc. The main suffixes in Romanian toponymy are diminutive and derivational, usually showing a characteristic feature: -eni, -eşti, -ari, -os, -easa, -uţi, -iţă, -aş, -şor, -el, -ău, -eu. In Hungarian toponymy, suffixation is also a dominant way of creating place names; the most frequent ones are diminutive, inflectional - showing possession -, and derivational suffixes, referring to abundance in something, characteristic of the place: -i, -e, -d, -s, -ó, -ő, -ság/ség, etc. However, due to adaptation to the toponymic system of the target language, the original semantic content of the suffixes in the source language is rarely transferred into the target language. Another frequent phenomenon in toponymic translation is the use of suffixation when translating compound place names.

(1) Hungarian place names formed	Romanian translation
by suffixation	
Barátos	Brateş (phonetic translation)
Vargyas	Vârghiş (phonetic translation)
Borosnyó	Boroșneu (phonetic translation)

² All toponyms in this paper are existing ones in Covasna County.

(2) Romanian place names formed Hungarian translation

by suffixation

Floroaia (base word: *floare* 'flower') Virágospatak ('flower creek')³

Barcani (base word: barcă 'boat') Zágonbárkány (phonetic translation and

concretization by indicating the vicinity

of the place)

Brădet (base word: brad 'pine tree') Bredét (phonetic translation)

(3) Compound place names translated by suffixation in the target language:

Hungarian Romanian

Olasztelek (Italians' estate) Tălişoara (diminutive suffix) Miklósvár (Fortress of Miklós) Micloşoara (diminutive suffix)

- c. toponyms formed by composition: Compound place names are toponyms formed by combining two or more words to create a single name for a geographical location. These compound names often reflect significant features, characteristics, or historical associations with the place they represent. They can include combinations of various elements such as:
- 1. natural features: abundance in different natural resources like plants, fruits, animals, even dangerous features;
 - 2. built heritage: bridges, roads, castles;
- 3. geographical landmarks: valley, creek, hill, mountain, forest, river, etc. or names of different areas within the region: Sepsi, Orbai, Kászon, usually lost in translation;
- 4. anthroponyms, mainly showing founder- or ownership: fortress of, city of, village of, marketplace of, etc.;
 - 5. biblical names: names of saints, deities;
 - 6. dimensions: big, little;
 - 7. positions: upper, lower;
 - $8.\ {\rm social}$ or cultural references: occupation, ethnicity, religion.

Examples

(1) Hungarian compounds Romanian translation English translation Sepsiszentgyörgy Sfântu Gheorghe Saint George Szárazpatak Valea Seacă Dry Creek Kisborosnyó Boroşneu Mic Little Borosnyó/Boroşneu

³ The translations from Hungarian/Romanian literature and/or specialist literature are my own throughout the article.

(2) Romanian compounds Hungarian translation English translation Întorsura Buzăului Bodzaforduló Turn of Buzău/Bodza⁴

(3) Romanian compounds and their Hungarian compounds and their

translation in English translation in English

Lunca Ozunului ('Ozun's Meadow') Vesszőstelep ('a place with wicker')

3. The etymological question in toponymy

Studying the etymology of toponyms can provide valuable insights into the history, geography, and cultural heritage of a particular region. When two languages are involved, etymological research can shed light on the original toponym, its source language, and its variations throughout history.

The problem with the etymological approach is that it has to rely strictly on scientific basis. Nevertheless, etymological explanations of local communities are often romantic, based on mythology, which does not contain scientific concreteness. On the other hand, nationalist tendencies tend to bend reality in order to justify national continuity. Hence, the etymology of a toponym must be examined from more than one point of view. In order to do so, we apply the set of criteria developed by the Romanian scholar, linguist, and toponymist Dragoş Moldovanu (2010: 30). He stated that the etymology of a toponym has to fulfil the following conditions: socio-geographical verisimilitude, historical probability, and linguistic possibility.

3.1. Socio-geographical verisimilitude

Whether a toponym is reliable from the socio-geographical point of view is determined by its social and geographical reality. For example, if a toponym is formed from a common noun, with correspondent terms in both languages, researchers have to examine its demographic data, its position in the area and its vicinity. In order to establish socio-geographical verisimilitude, we examine different maps such as the Josephine Cartography from 1769–1773, censuses conducted in relevant periods of time such as the Klein Census from 1733 or the Nomenclature of the Crown of Hungary from 1873 based on the 1869 Census. The latter contains valuable data, including the number of households in a village, the number of people belonging to different nationalities and religions, and data regarding possessions.

⁴ Bodza is a river which passes through Covasna County.

3.2. Historical probability

Historical data play a crucial role in etymological research because by examining written records, manuscripts, inscriptions, and other historical documents, researchers can uncover the earliest occurrences of words and identify their linguistic roots. For this research, the uttermost importance bears the following: the papal register of 1332 called *Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria* 1332–1337, containing medieval documents such as establishment papers, testaments, jurisprudence, freedom letters issued by royals, military lists of participants in different events, and, finally, historical dictionaries of places, both in Hungarian and in Romanian language.

3.3. Linguistic possibility

Iordan (1963: 7) states that the source of toponyms must be searched for in the lexicon of the current language, since they had existed as common words before they were used to identify geographical objects. Hence, only those toponyms may be considered indigenous that are included in the lexicon of the language because they are its creations. Those which present foreign linguistic material must belong to populations that were able to leave their mark on the given territories, in other words, to populations that were the majority in the area in different historical times. Several toponyms of Covasna County bear such linguistic content, such as the words borrowed from the Cuman, Pecheneg, Uzbek, Italian, etc. languages.

A special interest regards those anthroponyms which were originally foreign, deriving from Greek or Latin, and became highly popular along with the spreading of Christianity. In the case of these names, we study the rules of phonetic adaptation to the first target language. For example, the Hungarian name *Miklós* is derived from the name of Saint Nicholas, an anthroponym of Greek origin, containing the words 'victory' *nikë* and 'people' *laos*. The name *Nikolaos* had infiltrated into Latin under the form *Nicolaus*, which later spread all over in the Christian culture. In Hungarian, Nikolaus was a popular name, and it was adapted to the Hungarian phonetic system: the first "o" vowel has been eliminated according to the rule of the two open syllables, and the "au" diphthong has become a monophthong, transforming into "o". The mutation of the initial consonant may have occurred due to Slavic influence (Hajdú 2010: 243).

⁵ According to the rule of the two open syllables, words with two or more syllables must be shortened, so one of the neighbouring open syllables loses its vowel.

4. The research: Methodology and results

In Covasna County, there are one hundred twenty-eight oikonyms, which have been examined from linguistic, historical, and socio-geographical perspective in order to establish the etymon on a scientific basis. From the socio-geographical perspective, we used the Josephine Cartography from 1769–1773, the Klein Census from 1733, the Bielz census called *Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens: eine physikalisch-statistisch-topographische Beschreibung dieses Landes*, written by Eduard Albert Bielz, and the Nomenclature of the Crown of Hungary from 1873, 1882, 1892, and 1900 based on previous censuses.

For correct historical data, the relevant documents are: the papal register of 1332 called *Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria* 1332–1337, *Székely Oklevéltár* [Sekler Chartulary], volumes I–VIII, containing medieval documents such as establishment papers, testaments, jurisprudence, freedom letters issued by royals, military lists of participants in different events, and, finally, historical dictionaries of places: *Erdély, Bánság és Partium történeti és közigazgatási helységnévtára* [Historical and Administrative Dictionary of Localities from Transylvania and Banat, Crişana, Maramureş Counties] by Attila M. Szabó from 2003 and *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania* [Historical Dictionary of Transylvanian Place Names] from 1967–1968 by Suciu Coriolan. The source language of the toponym was the one in which the toponym first occurred, according to official documents.

The linguistic content of lexemes was verified in etymological dictionaries in both Hungarian and Romanian languages and in collections of ancient names and surnames.

5. Results

The results of the research reveal that out of the one hundred twenty-eight analysed oikonyms, one hundred twelve were found to be Hungarian or to be phonetically adapted to Hungarian after borrowing from Latin, Greek, or Slavic; hence, their source language is Hungarian and sixteen are of Romanian origin, so the source language is Romanian.

Furthermore, after a thorough etymological analysis, we have found eighty Hungarian, twenty-three Slavic, thirteen Romanian, four Latin, two German, two Greek, two Turkish, and two unknown etymons. Based on these findings, the research has shown that the etymological distribution of oikonyms in Covasna County displays a Hungarian majority, followed by a higher Slavic presence and Romanian etymons.

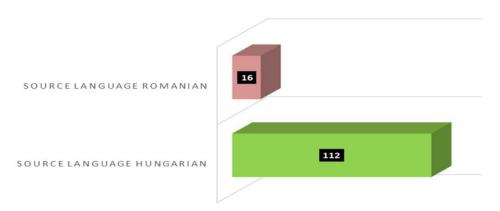


Figure 1. Source language of toponyms

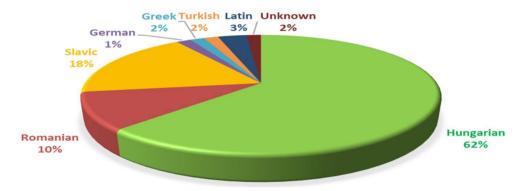


Figure 2. Percentual display of the original etymons

The source language being established, we can also determine which translation technique has been used to transpose the toponym into the target language.

a. Semantic translation involves semantically transparent elements, usually a geographical term and a circumstantial or a qualifier. Semantic translation occurred in the case of thirteen oikonyms, or 10% of the total number, e.g.:

(1) Nagypatak: nagy patak Valea Mare: mare vale 'Big Creek' big creek

b. Phonetic translation involves semantically not transparent elements; it usually preserves the original form, using phonetic transcription. Phonetic translation occurred in the case of eighty-eight oikonyms, or 69% of the total number, e.g.:

(2) Székelytamásfalva: székely tamás falva Tamaşfalău: secuiesc Toma satul lui 'Village of Thomas' Szekler Thomas village of

c. Combined translation means that one of the elements of the toponym is semantically transparent, while the other one is not, so there is a translatable and a non-translatable element. Combined translation occurs in twenty-one cases (16%), e.g.:

(3) Kiskászon: kis kászon
Caşinu Mic: mic Caşin
'Little Casin' little Casin⁶

d. Non-equivalence means neither semantic nor phonetic translation, and it occurs in cases of artificially modified toponyms by force of state or demanded by the community. Non-equivalence appears in five cases (4%), e.g.:

(4) HU: Sepsibesenyő: sepsi besenyő 'Pecheneg village' Sepsi⁷ Pecheneg RO: Pădureni: pădure -eni

'Forestry' forest Romanian toponymic suffix

e. Substitution, or cultural translation, involves finding a culturally appropriate term for the word of the target language. The example is the only oikonym translated by substitution:

(5) HU: Kézdiszentlélek: kézdi⁸ szent lélek 'Kézdi Holy Spirit' kézdi saint soul, spirit

RO: Sânzieni sânziene 'Fairies' fairies

⁶ Casin is a hydronym which has been phonetically translated.

⁷ Sepsi is the name of a former administrative authority of the Szeklers, and it is usually omitted in translation.

⁸ Kézdi is the name of a former administrative authority of the Szeklers, and it is usually omitted in translation.

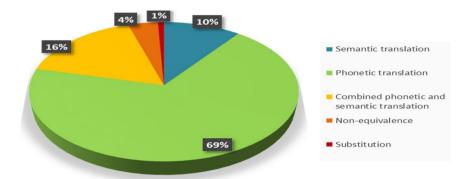


Figure 3. Percentage display of translation techniques

Conclusions

Toponymic research is always interdisciplinary, as it gathers insights from history, linguistics, geography, anthropology, archaeology, and cultural studies, whether the aim of the research is only one of the topics mentioned above or not. As we can see, the discovery of the source language of 128 oikonyms reveals historical, geographical, and linguistic information regarding at least two different languages, in our case mainly Hungarian and Romanian. We managed to establish that in this particular bilingual context the majority of place names in Covasna County are originally Hungarian, based on correct, scientifically justified historical, geographical, and linguistic data. We have also found traces of different nations passing through the area of Covasna County, such as Cumans, Pechenegs, Germans, Slavs, Turks, and Uzbeks, since toponyms preserve the presence of people and important events, along natural features.

As far as the translation of toponyms is concerned, we found that the main technique is phonetic translation, since nearly 70% of the toponyms, regardless of the source language, were transposed into the target language by this translational procedure. First of all, the application of phonetic translation is congruent with the function of toponyms, i.e. identification of a place, in the eyes of both the indigenous people and that of strangers. Since semantic translation does not come with an explanation, recognition in another language may be affected by those who are not familiar with the places in question. Phonetic translation is therefore important from a functional point of view, since a toponym can only function as a toponym if it is integrated in the toponymic system of the target language.

Further investigations may expand to other regions of similar context in order to establish whether the toponyms of two different languages are treated in the same manner in translation, or there are different choices translators made during the translation process.

Annex

No.	Romanian, official name	Hungarian name	Source language	Etymon and meaning	Translation technique (t. = translation)
1.	Sfântu Gheorghe	Sepsiszentgyörgy	Hungarian	Saint George (anthroponym)	combined t.
2.	Chilieni	Killyén	Hungarian	Kilian (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
3.	Coşeni	Szotyor	Hungarian	szatyor 'bag'	equivalation
4.	Târgu Secuiesc	Kézdivásárhely	Hungarian	<i>vásár</i> 'market' <i>hely</i> 'place'	equivalation
5.	Lunga	Nyújtód	Hungarian	<i>nyújtani</i> 'to extend'	equivalation
6.	Baraolt	Barót	Hungarian	<i>Bárót</i> (anthroponym) or <i>Boralten</i> (oronym)	phonetic t.
7.	Biborțeni	Bibarcfalva	Hungarian	Tiburc (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
8.	Bodoş	Bodos	Hungarian	Bodos (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
9.	Căpeni	Köpec	Hungarian	Köpec (hydronym)	phonetic t.
10.	Micloşoara	Miklósvár	Hungarian	Miklós (anthroponym) vár 'fortress'	phonetic t.
11.	Racoşul de Sus	Felsőrákos	Hungarian	felső 'upper' rákos 'with crabs'	combined t.
12.	Covasna	Kovászna	Hungarian	kvasnij 'sour' (Slavic)	phonetic t.
13.	Chiuruş	Csomakőrös	Hungarian	<i>Kőrös</i> (hydronym)	phonetic t.
14.	Întorsura Buzăului	Bodzaforduló	Romanian	Buzău (hydronym) întorsura 'turning'	combined t.
15.	Brădet	Bredét	Romanian	brad 'pine tree'	phonetic t.
16.	Floroaia	Virágospatak	Romanian	floare 'flower'	equivalation
17.	Scrădoasa	Szkredósza	Romanian	scradă 'type of grass'	phonetic t.
18.	Aita Mare	Nagyajta	Hungarian	<i>nagy</i> 'big' <i>Aita</i> (hydronym)	combined t.
19.	Aita Medie	Középajta	Hungarian	<i>közép</i> 'middle' <i>Aita</i> (hydronym)	combined t.
20.	Arcuş	Árkos	Hungarian	<i>Árkos</i> (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
21.	Barcani	Zágonbárkány	Romanian	<i>barcă</i> 'boat' or <i>borcan</i> 'can, jar'	phonetic t.
22.	Lădăuți	Ladóc	Romanian	<i>Lădăuți</i> (hydronym)	phonetic t.
23.	Sărmaş	Saramás	Hungarian	sárma 'grass lily'	phonetic t.
24.	Belin	Bölön	Hungarian	<i>bölény</i> 'buffalo'	phonetic t.
25.	Belin-Vale	Bölönpatak	Hungarian	bölény 'buffalo' patak 'creek'	combined t.
26.	Bixad	Sepsibükkszád	Hungarian	bükk 'beech' szád 'hole'	phonetic t.
27.	Bodoc	Sepsibodok	Hungarian	Bodok (oronym)	phonetic t.
28.	Olteni	Oltszem	Hungarian	Olt (hydronym) szem 'eye'	phonetic t.
29.	Zălan	Zalán	Hungarian	Zalán (anthroponym)	phonetic t.

No.	Romanian, official name	Hungarian name	Source language	Etymon and meaning	Translation technique (t. = translation)
30.	Boroşneu Mare	Nagyborosnyó	Hungarian	<i>nagy</i> 'big' <i>Borosnyó</i> (hydronim)	combined t.
31.	Boroşneu Mic	Kisborosnyó	Hungarian	<i>kis</i> 'little' <i>Borosnyó</i> (hydronym)	combined t.
32.	Dobolii de Sus	Feldoboly	Hungarian	fel 'upper' dob 'drum'	combined t.
33.	Leţ	Lécfalva	Hungarian	<i>les</i> 'forest' (Slavic) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
34.	Valea Mică	Kispatak	Hungarian	kis 'little' patak 'creek'	equivalation
35.	Ţufalău	Cófalva	Hungarian	<i>Czó</i> (anthroponym) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
36.	Brateş	Barátos	Hungarian	barát 'friend'	phonetic t.
37.	Pachia	Páké	Hungarian	<i>Páké</i> (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
38.	Telechia	Orbaitelek	Hungarian	Orbai 'socionym' telek 'plot, property'	phonetic t.
39.	Breţcu	Bereck	Hungarian	bereck 'landmark'	phonetic t.
40.	Mărtănuş	Kézdimartonos	Hungarian	<i>mart</i> 'rive' <i>Márton</i> (anthroponym) <i>Martonos</i> (hydronym)	phonetic t.
41.	Oituz	Ojtoz	Romanian	oltuz 'thirty' ottuz 'fraternity'	phonetic t.
42.	Brăduț	Bardóc	Hungarian	Bardóc (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
43.	Doboşeni	Székelyszáldobos	Hungarian	székely 'Sekler' (ethnonym) száldob 'basswood'	phonetic t.
44.	Filia	Erdőfüle	Hungarian	erdő 'forest' fül 'ear'	phonetic t.
45.	Tălișoara	Olasztelek	Hungarian	olasz 'Italian' telek 'plot, property'	phonetic t.
46.	Bățanii Mari	Nagybacon	Hungarian	no information	combined t.
47.	Aita Seacă	Szárazajta	Hungarian	Dry Aita (hydronym)	combined t.
48.	Bățanii Mici	Kisbacon	Hungarian	no information	combined t.
49.	Herculia	Magyarhermány	Hungarian	<i>Magyar</i> 'Hungarian' <i>érmány</i> 'spring'	phonetic t.
50.	Ozunca-Băi	Uzonkafürdő	Hungarian	Uzon (anthroponym)	combined t.
51.	Catalina	Szentkatolna	Hungarian	Katalin (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
52.	Hătuica	Hatolyka	Hungarian	supposed Slavic origin, linked to water	phonetic t.
53.	Imeni	Imecsfalva	Hungarian	Imecs (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
54.	Mărcuşa	Kézdimárkosfalva	Hungarian	<i>Márk</i> (anthroponym) <i>mărcuş</i> 'mare' <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
55.	Mărtineni	Kézdimartonfalva	Hungarian	<i>mart</i> 'rive' <i>Márton</i> (anthroponym) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
56.	Cernat	Csernáton	Hungarian	cerna 'black' (Slavic)	phonetic t.
57.	Albiş	Kézdialbis	Hungarian	Albert (anthroponym)	phonetic t.

No.	Romanian, official name	Hungarian name	Source language	Etymon and meaning	Translation technique (t. = translation)
58.	Icafalău	Ikafalva	Hungarian	<i>Ika</i> (anthroponym) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
59.	Chichiş	Kökös	Hungarian	kök 'blue'	phonetic t.
60.	Băcel	Kökösbácstelek	Hungarian	kök 'blue' bács 'shepherd' telek 'plot, property'	phonetic t.
61.	Comandău	Komandó	Hungarian	<i>Grentzkommando</i> German military term	phonetic t.
62.	Dalnic	Dálnok	Hungarian	Dálnok (hydronym)	phonetic t.
63.	Dobârlău	Dobolló	Hungarian	dob 'drum'	phonetic t.
64.	Lunca Mărcuşului	Bélmező	Romanian	<i>lunca</i> 'meadow' <i>mărcuş</i> 'mare'	nonequivalence
65.	Mărcuş	Márkos	Hungarian	<i>Márk</i> (anthroponym) <i>mărcuş</i> 'mare'	phonetic t.
66.	Valea Dobârlăului	Dobollópatak	Hungarian	dobʻdrum' patakʻcreek'	combined t.
67.	Estelnic	Esztelnek	Hungarian	stol 'table' (Slavic)	phonetic t.
68.	Cărpinenii	Csángópatak	Hungarian	<i>csángó</i> (etnonym) <i>patak</i> 'creek'	nonequivalence
69.	Valea Scurtă	Kurtapatak	Hungarian	kurta 'short' patak 'creek'	equivalation
70.	Ghelința	Gelence	Hungarian	glina 'clay' (Slavic)	phonetic t.
71.	Harale	Haraly	Hungarian	<i>har</i> 'mountain' <i>alj</i> 'under'	phonetic t.
72.	Ghidfalău	Gidófalva	Hungarian	gidó 'baby goat'	phonetic t.
73.	Angheluş	Angyalos	Hungarian	angyal 'angel'	phonetic t.
74.	Fotoş	Fotosmartonos	Hungarian	fotos (hydronym) mart 'rive' Márton (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
75.	Zoltan	Étfalvazoltán	Hungarian	Zoltán (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
76.	Hăghig	Hídvég	Hungarian	<i>híd</i> 'bridge', <i>vég</i> 'end'	phonetic t.
77.	Iarăși	Nyáraspatak	Hungarian	<i>nyár</i> 'poplar', <i>patak</i> 'creek'	phonetic t.
78.	Ilieni	Illyefalva	Hungarian	<i>Ilyés</i> (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
79.	Dobolii de Jos	Aldoboly	Hungarian	<i>dob</i> 'drum' <i>alj</i> 'under'	combined t.
80.	Sâncraiu	Sepsiszentkirály	Hungarian	szent 'saint' király 'king'	equivalation
81.	Lemnia	Lemhény	Hungarian	Lemhén (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
82.	Malnaş	Málnás	Hungarian	málna 'raspberry'	phonetic t.
83.	Malnaş-Băi	Málnásfürdő	Hungarian	<i>málna</i> 'raspberry' <i>fürdő</i> 'bath'	combined t.
	Valea	7-144-1-	Hungarian	Zalán (anthroponym)	combined t.
84.	Zălanului	Zalánpatak	Tiungarian	patak 'creek'	Combined t.

No.	Romanian, official name	Hungarian name	Source language	Etymon and meaning	Translation technique (t. = translation)
86.	Micfalău	Mikóújfalu	Hungarian	Mikó (anthroponym) <i>új</i> 'new' <i>falu</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
87.	Moacşa	Maksa	Hungarian	Maksa (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
88.	Pădureni	Sepsibesenyő	Hungarian	besenyő 'Pecheneg'	nonequivalence
89.	Ojdula	Ozsdola	Hungarian	Ozsdola (hydronym)	phonetic t.
90.	Hilib	Hilib	Hungarian	hirib 'bolete'	phonetic t.
91.	Ozun	Uzon	Hungarian	Uzon (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
92.	Bicfalău	Bikfalva	Hungarian	bükk 'beech' falva 'village'	phonetic t.
93.	Lisnău	Lisznyó	Hungarian	Lisznyó (hydronym)	phonetic t.
94.	Lisnău-Vale	Lisznyópatak	Hungarian	Lisznyó (hydronym) patak 'creek'	combined t.
95.	Lunca Ozunului	Vesszőstelep	Romanian	lunca 'meadow' Ozun (anthroponym)	nonequivalence
96.	Măgheruş	Sepsimagyarós	Hungarian	mogyoró 'peanut'	phonetic t.
97.	Sântiolunca	Szentivánlabor- falva	Hungarian	<i>Iván</i> (anthroponym) falva 'village'	phonetic t.
98.	Poian	Kézdiszentkereszt	Hungarian	szent 'saint' kereszt 'cross'	nonequivalence
99.	Belani	Bélafalva	Hungarian	Béla (anthroponym) falva 'village'	phonetic t.
100.	Reci	Réty	Hungarian	rét 'meadow'	phonetic t.
101.	Aninoasa	Egerpatak	Hungarian	eger 'alder' patak 'creek'	equivalation
102.	Bita	Bita	Hungarian	Bita (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
103.	Saciova	Szacsva	Hungarian	Szacsva (hydronym)	phonetic t.
104.	Sita Buzăului	Szitabodza	Hungarian	szita 'sifter'	phonetic t.
105.	Crasna	Bodzakraszna	Hungarian	crasna 'beautiful'	phonetic t.
106.	Merişor	Almás	Hungarian	alma 'apple'	equivalation
107.	Zăbrătău	Zabrató	Romanian	zabră 'species of herbs'	phonetic t.
108.	Sânzieni	Kézdiszentlélek	Hungarian	<i>szent</i> 'saint' <i>lélek</i> 'spirit'	substitution
109.	Caşinu Mic	Kiskászon	Hungarian	<i>kis</i> 'little' <i>kvasnij</i> 'sour' (Slavic)	combined t.
110.	Petriceni	Kézdikővár	Hungarian	<i>kő</i> 'rock' <i>vár</i> 'fortress'	nonequivalence
111.	Valea Seacă	Kézdiszárazpatak	Hungarian	<i>száraz</i> 'dry' <i>patak</i> 'creek'	equivalation
112.	Turia	Torja	Hungarian	Torja (hydronym)	phonetic t.
113.	Alungeni	Futásfalva	Hungarian	<i>futás</i> 'running' <i>falva</i> 'village'	nonequivalence
114.	Valea Crişului	Sepsikőröspatak	Hungarian	<i>Kőrös</i> (hydronym) <i>patak</i> 'creek'	equivalation
115.	Calnic	Kálnok	Hungarian	kálnok 'muddy' (Slavic)	phonetic t.

No.	Romanian, official name	Hungarian name	Source language	Etymon and meaning	Translation technique (t. = translation)
116.	Valea Mare	Nagypatak	Hungarian	nagy 'big' patak 'creek'	equivalation
117.	Vâlcele	Előpatak	Hungarian	elő 'in front' patak 'creek'	equivalation
118.	Araci	Árapatak	Hungarian	árva 'orphan' patak 'creek'	phonetic t.
119.	Aliuşd	Erősd	Hungarian	<i>erős</i> 'powerful'	phonetic t.
120.	Hetea	Hete	Hungarian	hét 'seven'	phonetic t.
121.	Vârghiş	Vargyas	Hungarian	varjú 'crow'	phonetic t.
122.	Zagon	Zágon	Hungarian	zagon 'behind the ground' (Slavic)	phonetic t.
123.	Păpăuți	Papolc	Hungarian	Papolc (hydronum)	phonetic t.
124.	Zăbala	Zabola	Hungarian	Zabola (hydronym)	phonetic t.
125.	Peteni	Székelypetőfalva	Hungarian	<i>Pető</i> (anthroponym) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
126.	Surcea	Szörcse	Hungarian	Szörcse (anthroponym)	phonetic t.
127.	Tamaşfalău	Székelytamásfalva	Hungarian	<i>Tamás</i> (anthroponym) <i>falva</i> 'village'	phonetic t.
128.	Băile Balvanyos	Bálványosfürdő	Hungarian	<i>bálvány</i> 'idol' <i>fürdő</i> 'bath'	combined t.

Notes

The sources of the anthroponyms are the works of Tamás Farkas and Mihály Hajdú, collections of Hungarian names and their origins, both mentioned among the references.

The sources of the hydronyms are the works of Lajos Kiss and István Kniezsa, both mentioned among the references.

Sources for etymological findings are the works of Gábor Zaicz and Dragoş Moldovanu, both mentioned among the references.

References

Bielz, Eduard Albert. 1857. Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens: eine physikalisch-statistisch-topographische Beschreibung dieses Landes [Handbook of Regional Studies of Transylvania: A Physical, Statistical, Topographic Conscription of This Land]. Sibiu: Hermannstadt Filtsch.

Farkas, Tamás, ed. 2009. *Régi magyar családnevek névvégmutató szótára XIV–XVII század* [The Dictionary of Ancient Hungarian Names, XIV–XVII Centuries]. Budapest: ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi és Finnugor Intézet Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.

- Hajdú, Mihály. 2010. *Családnevek enciklopédiája* [Encyclopaedia of Surnames]. Budapest: Tinta Kiadó.
- Hoffmann, István. 2003. *Magyar helynévkutatás 1958–2002* [Hungarian Toponymic Research 1958–2002]. Debrecen: Egyetemi Kiadó.
- Iordan, Iorgu. 1963. *Toponimie românească* [Romanian Toponymy]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române.
- Kiss, Lajos. 1988. Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára [Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kniezsa, István. 1942. *Erdély víznevei* [Hydronyms of Transylvania]. Cluj: Editura Minerva.
- —— 1948. Szláv eredetű víznevek a Székelyföldön [Hydronyms of Slavic Origin in the Szekler Territories]. *Magyar Nyelv* XLIV: 1.
- Micu-Klein, Ioan Inocențiu. 1733. Românii din Transilvania la 1733 [Romanians in Transylvania in 1733]. https://dspace.bcucluj.ro/handle/123456789/81923 (Last accessed: 7 May 2024).
- Moldovanu, Dragoş. 2010. *Teoria câmpurilor toponimice (cu aplicatie la câmpul hidronimului MOLDOVA)* [Theory of Toponymic Fields. With Application to the Field of Moldova Hydronym]. Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza".
- —— 2014. Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova. Volumul II. Mic dicționar toponimic al Moldovei structural și etimologic [Toponymic Thesaurus of Romania. Volume II. Structural and Etymological Toponymic Dictionary of Moldova]. Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza".
- Suciu, Coriolan. 1967. *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania. Vol. I. A–N* [Historical Dictionary of Places in Transylvania. Vol. I. A–N]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- 1968. Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania. Vol. II. O–Z [Historical Dictionary of Places in Transylvania. Vol. II. O–Z]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- Szabó, Károly, ed. 1872. *Székely Oklevéltár I* [Szekler Chartulary I] (1211–1519). Kolozsvár: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága.
- —— 1876. *Székely Oklevéltár II* [Szekler Chartulary II] (1520–1571). Kolozsvár: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága.
- —— 1890. *Székely Oklevéltár III* [Szekler Chartulary III] (1270–1571). Kolozsvár: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-Alapra Felügyelő Bizottság.
- Szabó, Károly–Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss, eds. 1895. *Székely Öklevéltár IV* [Szekler Chartulary IV] (1264–1707). Kolozsvár: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-Alapra Felügyelő Bizottság.
- —— 1896. *Székely Oklevéltár V* [Szekler Chartulary V] (1296–1603). Kolozsvár: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-Alapra Felügyelő Bizottság.

- —— 1897. *Székely Oklevéltár VI* [Szekler Chartulary VI] (1603–1698). Kolozsvár: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-Alapra Felügyelő Bizottság.
- 1898. *Székely Oklevéltár VII* [Szekler Chartulary VII] (1696–1750). Kolozsvár: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-Alapra Felügyelő Bizottság.
- Szabó, M. Attila. 2003. *Dicționarul istoric și administrativ al localităților din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș vol. I–II* [Historical and Administrative Dictionary of Localities from Transylvania and Banat, Crișana, Maramureș Counties. Vols. I–II]. Miercurea Ciuc: Editura Pro-Print.
- Zaicz, Gábor. 2006. *Magyar etimológiai szótár* [Dictionary of Hungarian Etymology]. Budapest: Tinta Kiadó.

Databases, online bibliography

- 1873. A Magyar Korona Országainak helységnévtára [Nomenclatures of the Crown of Hungary from 1873, 1882, 1892, 1900]. Magyarország Helységnévtára 1873 (KSH Könyvtár és Levéltár) (kshkonyvtar.hu) (Last accessed: 12 May 2024).
- Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria 1332–1337. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/KozMagyOkmanytarak_Vatikani_1_01/?pg=191&layout=s&query=zozacha (Last accessed: 21 March 2024).
- The Josephine Cartography from 1769–1773. https://maps.arcanum.com/de/map/firstsurvey-transylvania/?layers=142&bbox=2882212.9347559945%2C 5724975.40519261%2C2907991.3225451703%2C5734052.302301474 (Last accessed: 20 March 2024).



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0026

Walking a Tightrope between Languages: Challenges in Translating Atwood's *Hag-Seed*. A Case Study on the Romanian and Hungarian Translations

Enikő PÁL

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Human Sciences
paleniko@uni.sapientia.ro
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4026-7562

Judit PIELDNER

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Human Sciences

pieldnerjudit@uni.sapientia.ro

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9383-624X

Abstract. Literary translation, in general, has its own multiple difficulties; many of the challenges in translating Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed* are due in particular to its transfextuality (juggling through a rhizomatic nexus of texts, eminently Shakespeare's The Tempest, rewritten into a contemporary story) and its multilayered complexity (employing multiple voices and registers, mixing styles and genres, combining prose and verse) that make the novel an exquisite case of adaptation and recontextualization (Pál and Pieldner 2023). These peculiarities may be the source of several dilemmas of translators who have engaged in translating the novel. The aim of this research is to compare two translations of the novel in order to shed light on the possible options the translators had, as well as on their possible motivations when resorting to particular solutions in different situations. The comparative study of the translators' choices encompasses the translation of intertextual elements (title, chapter titles, direct quotes, and covert references to Shakespeare and other authors), verse inserts that constitute a major originality of Atwood's text as well as the stylistic chords it plays, in between the vernacular and the formal, the grave and the jocular. In doing so, we would focus on whether it is possible to delineate a certain "concept(ion)" of translation adopted by the Hungarian and the Romanian translators, whether there are any common solutions/techniques that correspond to certain translation traditions, and whether or to what extent each translator is free in choosing their path, resulting in disparate reading experiences.

Keywords: translation, intertextuality, shifting registers, *Hag-Seed*, *The Tempest*

1. Translating a "translation"

As a rewriting of The Tempest, Margaret Atwood's Hag-Seed (2016) may be regarded as a "translation" of Shakespeare's work into the contemporary age. Rendering a previous literary work as its "retelling", just as literary translation, in general, has its own multiple difficulties; many of the challenges in translating Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed* are due in particular to its transtextuality (juggling through a rhizomatic nexus of texts, eminently Shakespeare's The Tempest, reimagined into a contemporary story) and its multilayered complexity (employing multiple voices and registers, mixing styles and genres, combining prose and verse) that make the novel an exquisite case of adaptation and recontextualization (Pál and Pieldner 2023). By turning the play into a novel, "[t]he narrator really goes into the depths of the drama, extracting from it everything that Shakespeare has encoded in any way, whether hidden, latent or incidental" (Horváth 2018: n. p.). These peculiarities may be the source of several dilemmas of translators who have engaged in translating the novel. Translating a rewriting also implies the idea of translation as rewriting, elaborated by André Lefevere, in the sense that it "reflect[s] a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate[s] literature to function in a given society in a given way" (1992: vii).

The novel has been translated into over twenty languages;1 the Romanian (Pui de cotoroanță, 2017) and Hungarian (Boszorkánymagzat, 2017) translations are among the first ones which appeared shortly (only a year) after the publication of the novel. The aim of this research is to compare these two translations in order to shed light on the possible options the translators had, as well as on their possible motivations when resorting to particular solutions. The comparative study of the translators' choices encompasses the translation of intertextual elements (title, chapter titles, direct quotes, and covert references to Shakespeare and other authors), verse inserts that constitute a major originality of Atwood's text, as well as the stylistic chords it plays, in between the vernacular and the formal, the grave and the jocular. In doing so, we would focus on whether it is possible to delineate a certain "concept(ion)" of translation adopted by the Hungarian and Romanian translators, whether there are any common solutions/techniques that correspond to certain translation traditions, and whether or to what extent each translator is free in choosing their path, resulting in disparate reading experiences. Our observations are not meant to evaluate the two translations according to their quality, which is unquestionable in both cases, but to show

¹ See: https://www.goodreads.com/work/editions/49490147-hag-seed (Last accessed: 4 December 2023).

how different skoposes of translation and diverse approaches to it are central as to which strategy to operationalize.

2. *Hag-Seed* in Hungarian and Romanian: Translation concepts and strategies

The Romanian translation, Pui de cotoroantă (Humanitas Fiction, Bucharest, 2017), translated by George Volceanov, funded by the British Council Romania, appeared only a year after Atwood's original.2 It is the fourth novel translated by George Volceanov in the collection "Raftul Denisei" [Denisa's Bookshelf], which deals, one way or another, with the Great Will (Volceanov 2018: 17). This is not surprising at all, since George Volceanov is "the most renowned Romanian Shakespeare scholar today" (Stanciu 2018: 46), who translated several of the Bard's works. At the time of translating the novel into Romanian, he was also the general editor of the latest Romanian edition of Shakespeare's oeuvre, a project launched back in 2010 at Paralela 45 Publishing House and later continued with Tracus Arte Publishing House (Ro. Opere, vols I-XVI, 2016-2019). Moreover, he had previously translated The Tempest as well (Ro. Furtuna, 2010; reissued in 2016). He also wrote studies pertaining to literary criticism and/or philological research, broadly speaking. His latest contribution to the field of Shakespeare studies, entitled Un Shakespeare pentru mileniul trei: istoria unei ediții [A Shakespeare for the Third Millennium: The History of an Edition (2021), deals particularly with the issue of the Romanian translation of Shakespeare's oeuvre.

The Hungarian translation, *Boszorkánymagzat* (Kossuth, Budapest, 2017; 2nd edition 2020) was made by Zsuzsanna Varga (main prose text) and Viktor Horváth (verse inserts). Zsuzsanna Varga is also the translator of the first two volumes of Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam* trilogy and miscellaneous contemporary books; Viktor Horváth is a contemporary writer and literary translator, currently working on the re-translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. He translates poetry from English, French, Dutch, and Provençal. Earlier, the two translators had worked together on the translation of Atwood's *The Year of the Flood* (2009).

Generally, the translator remains rather invisible in the translation, their presence being signalled solely by a name on the cover page. In his seminal

As the translator himself states, the actual translation process took three months (see Volceanov 2023), and the published book was launched at the Gaudeamus International Book Fair on 24 November 2017. It soon became popular within Romanian readers since it enjoyed a second launch as well, which was held on 17 January 2018, with the help of Angelo Mitchievici and actress Oana Pellea. "I was happy to see that our celebrated actress kept reading on and on at the request of the audience gathered in the Humanitas Cişmigiu Bookshop", says the translator (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). On its critical appraisal, see Irimia (2018), Stanciu (2018), and several bloggers' laudatory reviews.

book on the translator's invisibility, Lawrence Venuti (1995: 17) states that "[t]he concept of the translator's 'invisibility' is already a cultural critique, a diagnosis that opposes the situation it represents". Starting out from Venuti's insights but focusing on instances of the translator's visibility in contemporary translations of Latin American fiction, Heather Cleary discusses the significance of textual interventions such as addenda, footnotes, or even interpretations made by the translator in comments, which "[open up] rifts in the 'original' work upon which it [the translation] is supposedly dependent" and that "[reconfigure] the relationship between the original and its version(s)" (2021: 112).

George Volceanov interacts with the source text, "completes" it with his own remarks. There is an extensive *apparatus criticus*, including explanatory notes and/or critical remarks; several footnotes make the translation process explicit as they indicate the existing Romanian translations of the Shakespearean source texts used; there are notes on (mostly Canadian, but not solely) cultural history; commentary belonging to literary criticism; linguistic remarks and/or explanations of meanings of words, etc. Furthermore, the act of translation is undoubtedly made obvious by phrases like "in the original" (e.g. Atwood 2017a: 286); and the translator even reflects on the "impossibility" of translating certain word plays (e.g. *fishy monsters*, Atwood 2017a: 242).

None of these supplements are superfluous or unjustified. As a matter of fact, this proceeding fits the Romanian translator's general concept(ion) of a translation.³ Since he intended to be a literary critic himself, he has "always produced 'translation and notes by...', not just mere translations", though he "never thought of expressly producing 'critical editions,' per se" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). The stakes of his choices lie elsewhere, namely: "As a literary translator, I've always found it necessary to aid the implied reader as much as possible, to act as a guide" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). Moreover, "Atwood herself acknowledges the fact that she uses documentarists to gather information on a given topic. If the author's process of writing a novel has a learning component, why should the reader not enjoy the same experience of learning facts while enjoying a good writing?" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). Thus, in the case of the Romanian translation of Hag-Seed, the principle at work is that of "dulce et utile", as the translator himself puts it. "One might say that the Romanian readers are better guided... Why should Atwood's erudition be lost to her native or foreign readers?" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). Such an approach is most welcome, even the more so since "my explanations and interventions do justice to both Atwood and the Romanian readers, especially nowadays, when literary studies have been displaced by

Though he himself claims that "[t]heory destroys practice", and that he doesn't elaborate translation concept(ion)s / theories, per se: "I usually sit down and don't give any thought to the 'how' of my translations" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.).

'cultural studies' [...], a mess of radical ideologies and no respect for literature, canon, world literature, and so on" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.).

The Hungarian translation does not choose the path of adding translators' comments. There is just a scarce number of notes: on the front cover, it is specified that the title derives from Ádám Nádasdy's translation of *The Tempest*, published in the same year as the Hungarian translation of Atwood's book (2017), and that in the chapter titles and in the text, for the translation of quotes and paraphrases, the translators resorted to Dezső Mészöly's rendering of *The Tempest* (Shakespeare 1972). Further on, the text contains eight footnotes that indicate the source of the Hungarian translation of in-text references to other works by Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Henry VI*) and works other than by Shakespeare (Christopher Marlowe, Richard Lovelace, and the 1956 film *The Court Jester*). There is no preface, postscript, or any other explanation added by the translators to Atwood's text whatsoever.

3. Challenges in translating intertextual elements

Intertextuality, that is, the actual presence of one text within another, is definitely the more salient in Atwood's *Hag-Seed*. Such a peculiarity may raise different approaches regarding the issue of how to translate these intertextual elements. The most conventional practice – chosen by both translations – is that of adopting previous translations of well-known or detectable opus whenever possible, i.e. if there is available such a translation, if the translation is of good quality, and if it fits the taste of the translator. In this way, those quotes which make their way into a work to be translated – if recognized – would not be translated once again, but they would be excerpted from the already existent translation. This is not a mere strategy of work economy or "recycling", but rather it corresponds to the principle of preserving tradition. Thus, to quote Jolanta Wawrzycka on "intertextual reverberations" of Shakespeare in Joyce's *Ulysses*, we will look at "how much Shakespeare, recognizable or not, is woven into the text of translations" (Senn, Wawrzycka, and Kovács 2016, qtd. in Wawrzycka 2023: 6) in both of the examined translations.

Though both translations conform to this tradition, the Romanian one presents a rather unique case, namely: the translator, George Volceanov, did not only have the required expertise in Shakespeare's life and works, but – as mentioned before – he had also translated several of the Bard's works, including *The Tempest*. His latest translation (*Furtuna*, 2021 [2016]) is the source text for all intertextual elements regarding the play in the Romanian translation of the novel. By doing so, the translator also wanted to promote the Romanian Shakespeare series he coordinated at the time (Volceanov 2023). His choice was based on the assumption

that "the most recent edition is way better than the Communist editions of Shakespeare's works" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.; see also Volceanov 2021).

The Hungarian source texts for intertextual elements from *The Tempest* are those of Ádám Nádasdy and Dezső Mészöly. Nádasdy lends the phrase "boszorkánymagzat" 'witch's fetus' (Shakespeare 2017) – while György Jánosházy's "boszorkányfajzat" 'witch's brood' (Shakespeare 2000) or Péter Fábri's "banya fattya" 'hag's bastard' (Shakespeare n. y. (a)) could also have provided feasible options. As for the connotations raised by the Hungarian title, Viktor Horváth considers,

Hag-Seed is too human, too close, too permissive, too friendly, etc. The magzat 'foetus' is the initial stage of human ontogenesis, it associates something tender, fragile, primordial and pure, which we instinctively protect and which has great value for us. We cannot associate such a quality to Caliban, because he is rather a half-animal monster, a symbol of the human unconscious, locked in his unbridled instincts. [...] The fattyú 'bastard' would not have been perfect either [for the title], because it is the other extreme: over-civilized, insofar as the Hungarian language uses it for a child born without the approval of the institutions, in a stylistic layer lower than neutral. The vetemény 'crops' could be interesting. Impersonal and neutral, it could be an agricultural term, which is fine here, and the morpheme VET and its possible derivatives bring a tinge of ostracism, of being a social outcast. Perhaps the argument against it is that the seed is a promise for the future, and this is not Caliban. The mag 'seed' might also be an option. Its disadvantage is that it has the old-fashioned meaning of semen, but Caliban is past that stage of life. Perhaps the best might have been the csíra 'germ'. Not only because it is already a functioning living being but also because, as a typical word for argot, it means: vile, despicable, despised, lowly, etc. After all, the magzat 'foetus' is fine if we slip the point of view and assign it to Sycorax, the mother; after all, she can call Caliban her foetus. However, we find no support for this in the text because the mother does not appear in it, nor does she take any other action. (Horváth 2024: n. p.)4

3.1. Translating chapter titles and (other) chunks of intertext

One of the many ways in which references to *The Tempest* inundate *Hag-Seed* is excerpting short passages from the play and designating them as chapter and subchapter titles.⁵ This endeavour is not without any consequence, however.

⁴ Our translation, E. P. and J. P.

⁵ The great majority of the chapter titles of the novel – including its leading title *Hag-Seed* – are taken from the Shakespearean play either as a word-for-word quotation of a certain phrase or as a paraphrase thereof.

Some of the subtitles of the novel – if the Shakespearean context is disregarded – may sound rather odd, or at least they are susceptible of interpretation due to the fact that they are excerpted from a larger context within the source play in which, in turn, they make perfect sense, thus making the translators choose between fidelity (to the novel and/or to the play) and comprehension (e.g. "To the Present Business" – Ro. "La ce se-ntâmplă cu noi acum" 'To what is happening to us now' – Hu. "A mai állapot" 'The present state of affairs', only the latter being perfectly intelligible on its own, free of any aiding context, though the actual context of the novel significantly differs from the original context of the extracted phrase).

Though the source text of these intertextual elements is overt in the translations, there are still a few aspects worth mentioning. Comparing the English subtitles with their translations, there are a few differences, regarding either their content (i.e. semantic differences) or their form (strictly linguistic differences, due to the peculiarities of the target languages). Most frequently, the differences are, naturally, due to the two different contexts from which the titles are excerpted, i.e. the original play and its Ro/Hu translations. Here are a few examples of semantic differences between the English title and its Ro/Hu correspondents, but, in each case, the translation perfectly fits the context from which it was excerpted from: "A Brave Kingdom" – Ro. "Un regat a-ntâia" (literally) 'a kingdom of first [hand]' - Hu. "Nekem való ország" (literally) 'a kingdom to my taste / for me; "Some Vanity of Mine Art" - Ro. "O scorneală din cele simple" (literally) 'a fabrication of the simple ones' - Hu. "Művészetem káprázatos játéka"; "This Thing of Darkness" - Ro. "Tuciuriul ăsta" - Hu. "Ez a pokol-fia". In the English version, the word darkness may refer both to the dark colour of the character's (i.e. Caliban's) skin and to the wickedness of his soul. In the Romanian translation, however, the word tuciuriu refers (exclusively) to the dark colour of skin or to generally black or dark colour. In the Hungarian version, ez a pokol-fia (literally) 'son of Hell / devil's son', the reference is to the meaning of 'evil nature'. Thus, strictly speaking, both translations particularize the possible meanings of the English word, limiting it to only one interpretation, though the selected meaning to be conveyed is different. In other words, the differences lie in the changes already operated in the Ro/Hu version of the play.

Apart from the semantic changes mentioned above, there are also cases in which changes had to be made for reasons of prosody, in order to create the rhyme of certain verses, for instance: the title of chapter 35, "Rich and Strange", is excerpted from Ariel's song (Act I, Scene II). Its analogous Romanian title is "Straniu, rar" 'Strange, rare', from a passage in which these two Romanian words play a role in rhyme as well. And the same goes for the Hungarian correspondent "Kivirul, nem avul", in which the non-literal translation gives way to the primacy of musicality, the quoted words co-sounding with *pazarul* 'lavishly'. Dezső Mészöly's *jeu de mots* may evoke for the Hungarian reading public Mihály

Babits's famous translation of this passage: "s igy semmije szét nem omol, / hanem éri dús, csodás / tengeri elváltozás" (Shakespeare 1957).

Another way in which Shakespeare's oeuvre makes its way into Atwood's novel is via direct - i.e. word-for-word - or indirect citation, whether these chunks of intertexts are explicitly marked or not. While Atwood most often leaves her readers to reunite her quotes with their originals, letting the readers themselves discover, as detectives, the bits of intertextuality, the Romanian translator aids his readers at every step of the way, signalling all quotes found: "I only referred to the authors and source-texts that I could detect myself, but there are certainly more bits of intertext than the ones I could detect" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). The Hungarian translation, however, is less pointed at, overtly indicating all instances of intertextuality in the form of footnotes and comments, perhaps for the sake of a more flowing reception of the storyline itself. In some cases, covert references, such as the one to the tempest and to the sea in tongue twisters such as "tempestuous teapot" or "she sells sea shells on the shore", are dropped in both translations by choosing more distant yet domesticated equivalents: Hu. "Két pék két szép kék képet kért. Mit sütsz, kis szűcs?" – Ro. "Capra calcă piatra, piatra crapă-n patru... Sase sași în șase saci."

In what follows, we shall discuss a few peculiar cases of translating chunks of intertext, each calling for a different translational strategy, namely word-by-word excerption, compilation, omission, and compensation.⁶

3.1.1. Translating word-by-word excerpts

The quotes take different forms, from small fragments of words or syntagms, or short sentences, to large passages excerpted word by word from the play. Atwood's text excels in weaving Shakespeare into the novel's discourse, letting the italicized intertexts live their own life in the contemporary context. This may pose a real challenge for the translators: to simultaneously render the intertext and to smoothly insert the phrase into the new (con)textual frame. Whenever Atwood cites from the play, the Ro/Hu translators take the action of excerpting the passage from the previous translations. The Romanian translation sometimes accompanies these

The classification proposed here only partially overlaps the typology of transfer operations commonly used in translation studies (see Klaudy 2007). Though by terms, such as "omission" or "compensation", we also refer to the "technical performance" as the basis of our classification, and we, in our turn, adopt the broader view of transfer operations (i.e. "all operations conducted by the translator in order to transform the source-language text into the target-language text" – Klaudy 2007: 165), we do not restrict our scope to the realm of translation from one language to another per se, neither do we seek further subtypes as those traditionally distinguished in the linguistic theory of translation (see lexical vs grammatical transfer operations). Our focus is rather on translating intertextuality, and, as such, omission, for instance, may refer not only to the Ro/Hu translators' transfer operation when translating the novel but also to the strategy used by Atwood herself when quoting from Shakespeare.

quotes with brief commentaries as well. The Hungarian translation, in contrast, only marks covert references with italicization, following the original text, with a few exceptions, when the overt forms of intertextuality and explicit references in the text to Shakespeare and other authors are also signalled in footnotes. It may happen, however, that italicization is dropped. E.g. by italicization, Atwood urges the reader to become suspicious that the phrase "Howl, howl, howl..." (Atwood 2016: 24)7 is a covert intertextual reference; indeed, it is from King Lear, Act V. Scene II, while in *The Tempest* there also appears the word *howl* in the following context: "Prospero: 'Thy groans / Did make wolves howl" (Shakespeare n. v. (b)). The Hungarian translation is not italicized, it simply and playfully becomes: "Aúúú, aúúú... De Felix nem tudott úgy üvölteni, mint egy farkas" 'Ouch, ouch... But Felix could not howl like a wolf' (Atwood 2017b: 18). In some instances, not even Atwood indicates the intertext with italicization, such as in the case when Felix, getting ready for revenge, expresses himself in a Hamletian manner: "The readiness is all" (Atwood 2016: 136). Here, instead of resorting to the famous translation by János Arany, "készen kell rá lenni" (Shakespeare 1989: 318), the Hungarian translation opts for a more colloquial solution: "Készenléti állapotban van" 'He is in a standby mode' (Atwood 2017b: 164).

3.1.2. Compilation

An interesting case of quoting from Shakespeare is the one in which Atwood quotes the first part of the passage but changes the ending with her own verses, as in: "Full fathom five thy father lies. / [...] a sea change / Into something rich and strange. / Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell. / Burden, [within:] Ding dong. / Hark, now I hear them: ding dong bell" (Shakespeare n. y. (b): 41; emphasis ours), which in her version becomes: "Full fathom five thy father lies, [...] a sea change / Into something rich and strange. / Lies, lies, lies, lies, / Suffer, suffer, suffer, suffer, suffer, rich, rich, rich, rich, / Strange, strange, strange, strange..." (Atwood 2016: 192; emphasis ours). The same compilation technique is used by the Romanian translator preserving the first part from the Romanian translation of the play and changing the final verses: "N adânc ți-e tatăl scufundat, / Oasele-i devin mărgean; / Ochii-n perle s-au schimbat; / Nu se descompune-n van, / Ci el se preschimbă doar / Într-un lucru straniu, rar. / Scufundat, scufundat, / Straniu, straniu, straniu, / Rar, rar, rar, rar, rar..." (Atwood 2017a: 228; emphasis ours), 8 but

⁷ Throughout the article, we refer to the non-paginated .pdf version of Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed. The Tempest Retold* (London and New York: Hogarth, 2016). In what follows, the references will contain the number of the respective .pdf page.

⁸ Cf. "N adânc ți-e tatăl scufundat, / Oasele-i devin mărgean; / Ochii-n perle s-au schimbat; / Nu se descompune-n van, / Ci el se preschimbă doar / Într-un lucru straniu, rar. / Nimfele-i bat clopotul. / (Refren) Bing-bang. / Aha, se-aude dangătul" (Shakespeare 2021: 228; emphasis ours).

there is a difference in meaning and prosody between Atwood's closing lines and those of the Romanian translation. Atwood changes the Shakespearean quote by adding to it four verses each made up of one different word, repeated four times each, whereas the Romanian translator adds only three verses made up of one different word each, repeated two, three, and four times respectively. The tail of the Hungarian translation, instead of: "Nimfák húzzák a harangot - / (Kar) Bimbam! / Bim-bam! - csitt, hallom a hangot!", is "Alakul, alakul, alakul, / Nem avul, nem avul, nem avul..." (Atwood 2017b: 236), further restricting the echoing lines to two, repeating Ariel's famous words three times in each.

3.1.3. Omission

Another technique employed by Atwood is omission, leaving out a small portion of the otherwise quoted passage, like in: "My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up, / My father's loss, the weakness that I feel, / The wreck of all my friends, are but light to me, / Might I but through my prison once a day / Behold this maid. All corners else o' th'earth / Let liberty make use of—space enough / Have I in such a prison" (Atwood 2016: 193).9 In the English version, leaving out the part "nor this man's threats / To whom I am subdued" does not affect the intelligibility of the sentence, which is why Atwood may have disregarded it. But this is not the case in the Romanian version, in which leaving out the part in question would lead to a complete reformulation of the sentence, which is why the Romanian translator excerpts this quote in its full extent, as it is in the previous translation of the play: "Aşa-i. Mi-e cugetul încătuşat / Ca într-un vis. Tatăl pierdut, sfârșeala, / Dezastrul alor mei și-amenințarea / Acestui om lesne le-aș îndura / De-ar fi s-o văd din temniță pe fată / O dat' pe zi. Să zburde libertatea / În cele patru zări - mi-ajunge spațiul / Acestei închisori (Atwood 2017a: 229; cf. Shakespeare 2021: 231). The Hungarian translation by Dezső Mészöly also quotes integrally the previous translation, which ingeniously contracts "the man... to whom I am subdued" into one word, zsarnokom 'my tyrant.'

3.1.4. Compensation

A quite unique situation is the one in which excerpting a direct quote from *The Tempest* puts the Romanian translator in a bit of difficulty since keeping the source text (i.e. the Romanian version of the play) as it is affects the

⁹ Cf. "My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up. / My father's loss, the weakness which I feel, / The wrack of all my friends, nor this man's threats / To whom I am subdued, are but light to me, / Might I but through my prison once a day / Behold this maid. All corners else o' th' Earth / Let liberty make use of. Space enough / Have I in such a prison" (Shakespeare n. y. (b), 49; emphasis ours).

textual cohesion of the subsequent passages. This is the case of the scene in which Felix and the inmates interpret the last lines of the play: "As you from crimes would pardoned be, / Let your indulgence set me free" (Atwood 2016: 242; our emphasis). This passage does not only entail intertextuality (i.e. the presence of the direct quote taken from the play) and metatextuality (i.e. the textual interpretation of the play), but it also involves a brief linguistic insight into semantics and an implicit excursion into (cultural) history, since the novel then continues with interpreting not only the quoted last lines per se but also the meaning of the word indulgence present in the quotation: "It has a double meaning. [...] 'An indulgence was a get-out-of-hell-free card,' says Felix. 'You could buy those once.' 'Still can,' says SnakeEye. 'It's called a fine.' 'It's called bail,' says Leggs. 'Only that's not free, right?' 'It's called early parole,' says 8Handz. 'Only you don't pay for that. You're supposed to kind of earn it" (Atwood 2016: 242; our emphasis). Thus, the cohesion and contiguity of the whole passage is provided in the novel by the occurrence of the very same word both in the citation and as the term coined to denote the custom in Early Christianity which it alludes to. 10 But this is not the case in the Romanian translation, since the term coined for denoting '(in the Roman Catholic Church) a partial remission of the temporal punishment', i.e. indulgentă 'indulgence', does not appear in the Romanian version of the play, where the last two lines, as quoted by the translator as well, are: "De păcate absolviti, / Milostivi - mă dezrobiți" (Shakespeare 2021: 269). Under these circumstances, the inherent connection between the quote and the following discussion on indulgence (translated as Ro. indulgență in the subsequent part) is less explicit in the Romanian translation. Nevertheless, it is compensated by the translator's explanation given in the footnote: "În original, versul final este Let vour indulgence set me free, în traducere literală 'Indulgenta voastră să mă elibereze'" (Atwood 2017a: 286). Providing the English original and its literal translation, the translator metalinguistically marks the relation between the two parts of the passage from the novel. Similarly, in the Hungarian translation, we find a different word in the reutilized translation: "Ha vártok bűnbocsánatot, / Ti is mind megbocsássatok", and in the prisoners' further comments, where there appears the word búcsúcédula 'indulgence', a synonym for "bűnbocsátó cédula". Although using the latter could have provided the same contiguity of the passage as in the original, understanding is not hindered, since the phrase "bűnbocsánat" smoothly associates the Roman Catholic reference within the Hungarian culture rooted in this religion.

According to another interpretation, Shakespeare might have alluded, in his play, to obtaining the pardon of an exiled English nobleman, Robert Dudley Jr. (see Volceanov, in his study on the play, Shakespeare 2021: 184–185), in which case the term *indulgence* has a strictly historical reference, not a religious one.

4. Challenges in translating Atwood's originality

4.1. Translating character names

From the point of view of translation strategies, the most interesting cases are the character names "inside" the walls of the Fletcher Correctional, i.e. the inmates' names. Since they are telling names, reflecting the origin, former occupation, conviction, or other features of the characters they denote, the most suitable way of rendering them is, of course, by translating their meaning(s), i.e. providing a semantic equivalence. This is precisely what the Ro/Hu translations do. They generally render these names by their semantic correspondents; see: 8Handz - Ro. 8Mâini – Hu. 8Kéz '8 hands'; WonderBoy – Ro. Băiatu' Minune – Hu. CsodaFiú; Bent Pencil - Ro. Creion Strâmb - Hu. GörbeCeruza; SnakeEye - Ro. OchideŞarpe 'eye of snake' – Hu. KígyóSzem; Red Coyote – Ro. Coiotu' Roşu – Hu. VörösKojot; PaleFace Lee - Ro. Lee Față-palidă - Hu. Sápadtarcú Lee; Riceball - Ro. Cocoloș de Orez 'ball of rice' - Hu. Rizsgolyó. What is more, the translations do not only render the meaning itself, but they succeed in preserving the stylistic effect of the original name as well, their colloquial nature, pertaining to slang; see: Leggs - Ro. Gaibarace '[fam./ colloquial] [too long] leggs'; Shiv 'a knife, especially a switchblade; shank' - Ro. Şuriu 'knife, dagger, pocketknife, stiletto' - Hu. Pengés 'sharpy'; HotWire - Ro. Liță 'electrical conductor consisting of a group of thin metal wires wound together in the same direction'; VaMoose 'to leave hurriedly or quickly; decamp' - Ro. Uşcheală 'precipitous, unexpected departure from a place' - Hu. NyúlCipő (literally) 'Rabbit shoe', but in Hungarian there exists the saying felhúzza a nyúlcipőt 'puts on the rabbit shoe' meaning 'runs off'; and/or its wordplay effect: Phil the Pill – Ro. Phil Pilulă – Hu. Pirulás Phil.

Still, there are a few cases in which the translations do not "translate" the characters' names, but instead they keep them in their original forms. This is the case of the name Krampus, which is preserved unaltered in both translations, though for understandable reasons, since its origin is foreign to both English and Ro/Hu languages and, also, since Atwood herself provides little information in her character's description, which would elucidate the reasons of this naming: "Krampus. Maybe forty-five. Mennonite background. Long horse-face. Member of a Mennonite ring ferrying drugs from Mexico through the US in farm machinery, under a cloak of piety. Depressive. Played Banquo in *Macbeth*, Brutus in *JC*" (Atwood 2016: 122). The other untranslated name is PPod. The option for "foreignizing", i.e. preserving it instead of creating Ro/Hu corresponding names, may seem rather curious if we consider that all the other names are translated, and that Atwood herself offers some hints regarding its interpretation: "PPod. African Canadian. Musical talent, and yes, I know about the clichés. A dancer, not as good as he thinks, but good. Conviction: Drugs, extortion, assault, gang-related.

Would have been a fine Caliban but is needed in other capacities" (Atwood 2016: 124). As such, PPod may refer to the street name for Marijuana (i.e. *pod*), since his conviction is drug-related. In these circumstances, for the English readers, the name may be (somewhat) intelligible, but it surely is not for the Ro/Hu readers, who would probably not make these associations, and, consequently, the name remains just foreign-sounding / odd to them.

As for differences between the two translations, TimEEz is untranslated in Ro, whereas in the Hu version we have Csöröge, which could be an interpretation based on Atwood's description of this character: "TimEEz. Chinese family background on one side. [...]. Took his stage name from the Timmy's doughnut chain because he claims to have nothing in the middle of his head. Acts stupider than he is" (Atwood 2016, 123; emphasis ours). Thus, TimEEz could refer to the pronunciation of the possessive construction "Timmy's", and, as such, the Hu translation may preserve the reference to the Hungarian version of the doughnut chain which bears this name.

4.2. Translating verse inserts

"Not all good prose translators are also good versifiers. Most of them tend to translate specific prosodical forms based on rhythm and rhyme as free verse" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.). The lyrics composed by the inmates were among the first passages translated by the Romanian translator: "When you get used to verses, the translation of prose begins to feel like the work of a mineworker" (Volceanov 2018: 17). This is the reason why the task of translating the prose and verse parts was divided between the two Hungarian translators, the latter being performed by a professional verse translator. "This is not necessary if the prose translator is also a qualified poet and poetry translator. Nor does it happen when the publisher, the editor or the prose translator are not qualified enough to assess the need for it. Zsuzsa Varga was erudite and skilled enough to realise that the audience would benefit if the poems were translated as poetry" (Horváth 2024: n. p.).

In the hip-hop verses composed by the inmates (Atwood's own characters), we may find the themes of the play itself (the power struggle, betrayal, social inequity, etc.), reinterpreted in the keynotes of contemporary pop culture (Volceanov 2018: 17). The register and style somewhat contrasts with the expectations formed while reading the title of the play, i.e. *The Tempest*, by William Shakespeare, though it might have been forecasted by naming the actors: "with The Fletcher Correctional Players".

The greater part of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is written in blank verse (i.e. unrhymed or with no specific rhyme pattern) iambic pentameter, which is kept in Atwood's introduction to the play and all the verse inserts. By occasionally breaking the iambic rhythm, the Ro and Hu translations effect dissonance

that even adds to the stylistic deviation and playfulness of these lines. The stylistically most challenging verse inserts are Antonio's and Caliban's songs; "their slang had to be matched with some eighth district [nyóckeres]11 nuance" (Horváth 2024: n. p.). Caliban's lines go like this: "I smell like a fish and not like a man—/ But my other name's Hag-Seed, or that's what he call me;/ He call me a lotta names, he play me a lotta games:/ He call me a poison, a filth, a slave, / He prison me up to make me behave, / But I'm Hag-Seed!" (Atwood 2016: 157) - Ro. "Şi put ca un peşte, nu ca un om oarecare— / Dar mă mai cheamă și Pui de Cotoroantă, așa-mi zice; / Mă face-n toate felurile, mi-o trage întruna: / Mă face otravă, javră, sclav jegos, / Mă bagă la bulău, ca să mă port frumos, / Dar eu sunt Pui de Cotoroanță!" (Atwood 2017a: 187) – Hu. "pikkely borít, és a szagom a halé; / Boszorkányfattyú a másik nevem. / Sok nevet ad, sok tréfát űz velem; / méregnek hív, rabszolgának, mocsoknak; / betör és rabságban tart Prospero; / a Banyavetemény vagyok" (Atwood 2017b: 191). While the Ro text solves the translation of "Hag-Seed" with "Pui de Cotoroanță" all along these lines, the Hu rendering inserts variation by alternating "Boszorkánymagzat" with other names such as "Boszorkányfattyú" 'witch bastard', "Boszorkányfajzat" 'witch breed,' "Banyavetemény" 'harridan crops'. Each name contributes with a distinct rhythm, atmosphere, and connotation.

These verse inserts (i.e. song-like outpouring of the characters'/narrator's thoughts) are perfectly justified within the context of the novel, since the Shakespearean play was from the beginning meant to be performed as a musical, as Felix states in the novel: "'Well, *The Tempest* spent the whole eighteenth century as an opera,' says Felix. 'So I pitched it to the guys as a musical. Puts it in more of a context for them. They were having trouble with the fairies and the beesucking song and so forth'" (Atwood 2016: 129). According to Viktor Horváth, the presence of the verse inserts

concerns the macrostructure of the novel, the proportions and rhythm of the whole composition. [...] We might think that this is only a feature of popular genres [e.g. musical], but rhythm- and speed-shifting devices are also important in the structure of autonomous works of art. Cervantes, Homer, Milton knew this as well as Zsigmond Kemény, Miklós Jósika, Géza Ottlik and Thomas Mann. And Atwood (Horváth 2024: n. p.).

This explains the (stylistic and other) changes made regarding the script of the play as well: "They could redo the wording. In the other plays we've put on,

¹¹ Nyócker is a pejorative name given to District VIII (Józsefváros) in Budapest, expressing its ambivalent socio-cultural status. The nyóckeres language use refers to street language, slang, the register of rap/hip-hop songs.

they've written some new material for sequences they felt needed some updating. Using the, ah, the contemporary vernacular'", says Felix (Atwood 2016: 129).

Quite often, both translations of the verse inserts are more "forthcoming" and colloquial, stylistically more uptuned than the English original, which stays rather neuter and suggestive, subtle, e.g.: "He'd help me steal it, I'd pay him back" (Atwood 2016: 142) – Ro. "M-ajută să-l găbjesc, eu spagă îi plătesc" (Atwood 2017a: 169) - Hu. "ő nyeregbe segít, én fizetek" (Atwood 2017b: 172). Some other times the Ro translation is more explicit, adding explanatory words/ phrases which would clarify the passage (of course, for reasons of prosody, as well), e.g.: "We tossed him into a leaky boat, / No chance in a million that thing would float" (Atwood 2016: 142) - Ro. "L-am îmbrâncit într-o barcă găurită, de lua apă, / Ziceam că sigur nu mai scapă" (Atwood 2017a: 169). By comparison, the Hungarian rendering disregards rhyme, or rather, plays upon the lack of rhyme and also introduces uncertainty as to whether it is Prospero or the boat that cannot "swim": "begurítottuk egy lyukas hajóba, / látszott, hogy mindent tud, csak úszni nem" (Atwood 2017b: 172). And there are cases in which, in the Romanian translation, there is a small semantic change, introducing a portion pertaining to another semantic field than the one in the original, which makes the interpretation of the given passage, in the Romanian version, even more unequivocal, e.g.: "Told the folks he went away, took a break, took a vay-cayshun / On a tropical isle" (Atwood 2016: 142) – Ro. "Şi am mințit poporul cum că-și ia o vacanță, / Pe-o insulă tropicală" (Atwood 2017a: 170). The Hungarian version shifts the semantic change to another part of the passage, turning "vaycay-shun" into "holiday" and concretizing the meaning of the "tropical isle" in Seychelle Islands, both with a jocund Hungarianized spelling: "A népnek mondtuk: halidéjre ment / a Szesől szigetre" (Atwood 2017b: 172).

4.3. Shifting registers

"Margaret Atwood exploits to the maximum the social context in which she places the action of the novel and plays not only with the slang of the prisoners, but also with the one taken up from the Shakespearean characters' vocabulary" (Volceanov 2018: 17). This combination of vernacular and formal/literary/standard, even "genteel" contemporary and old English is well argued in the discussion between Felix and Anne-Marie where the former justifies the changes he made in the play: "They could redo the wording. In the other plays we've put on, they've written some new material for sequences they felt needed some updating. Using the, ah, the contemporary vernacular.' 'The contemporary vernacular,' says Anne-Marie. 'You mean trash talk. How now, grave sir?' 'It's the literacy part of the course,' he says a little apologetically" (Atwood 2016: 129; emphasis ours).

As a matter of fact, one of the key "problems" in translating Shakespeare's The Tempest has always been its language, the stylistic layers it encompasses, its vulgarity which has generally been euphemized or stayed hidden by previous generations of Romanian translators (Volceanov 2018: 17). The most recent Romanian translation, on the contrary, makes it quite obvious, converting it to contemporary slang abundant of curse words. This is only natural since Atwood herself was not reticent in this sense. What is more, she "masterfully answers this question in the chapter entitled First Assignment: Curse Words", which contains quite a longer list of curse words that "prudish" translators have previously unravelled (Volceanov 2018: 17). And this is precisely what delights the readers. By doing so, contemporary readers may "recover" something about Shakespeare, namely the fact that he was a great "realist" playwright who "described life as it is, i.e. not always as beautiful as we would like it to be. And the language of the characters who populate it is not one of test tube or ivory tower, tailored after the dreams of a Prospero secluded for several decades on an island", and Atwood perfectly understood this fact (Volceanov 2018: 17). To give an example from the text and its translations, when the actress Anne-Marie, the future Miranda, is presented to the prisoners, who are only allowed to use the curse words quoted from The Tempest, they react like this: "'Whoa,' says a voice. 'That's...what the pied ninny is this?' 'She could tear a whoreson strip off you!' 'She's got a plaguey tattoo!' 'Poisonous poxy!' 'What's it scurvy about?'" (Atwood 2016: 94) - Ro. "Oho, se aude un glas. - Asta-i... ce gogomanie tărcată mai e și asta? – Băi, pui de lele, ar putea să smulgă o fâșie din tinel! – Ce tatuaj ciumat are! - Spurcat de bengos! - Ce chestie scârboasă vrea să fie?" (Atwood 2017a: 110) – Hu. "'Azta... – hallatszik egy hang. – Ez meg mi a kanördög korcsa volt? – Szíjat tudna hasítani a pokolvaros hátadból! – Még egy fekélyes tetoválása is van! - Azt a rusnya ragyaverésit! - Mi a fészkes fenéről szólt ez?" (Atwood 2017b: 109). The way Shakespearean curse words sound in a present-day jail gives a special tint to Atwood's discourse. Since Shakespeare himself resonates with the present-day public in the use of curse words for a comic/dramatic effect and Atwood consciously plays upon this, the translators faced the situation of simultaneously having to serve the target audience and reflect on the specificities of the Shakespearean intertext. Relying on the achievement of the source text and also the existing Shakespeare translations, both renderings successfully create a lively "contemporary Shakespearean" linguistic-cultural amalgamation.

In certain passages, the Romanian translation seems to be even more colloquial than the English original. In fact, Volceanov "capitalizes on the colloquial language and contemporary slang, somewhat offending the prudes' sensitivity" (Stanciu 2018: 46). For instance, there are cases in which the Romanian translation fails to render certain wordplays in English – due to linguistic differences – but compensates by introducing colloquial language usage instead of the neutral

English words, e.g.: "Beggars can't be choosers,' says Krampus the doleful Mennonite" – "Cerşetorii n-au voie să facă mofturi, îl pune la punct Krampus, menonitul melancolic" (Atwood 2016: 94; Atwood 2017a: 111; emphasis ours). One of the strengths of the Hungarian translation is to render the dense show business, tabloid style that colours Atwood's text by resorting to foreignization, making use of Anglicisms and even keeping English words: e.g. glamorous becomes glamorózus (Atwood 2017b: 148); "It [revenge] tastes like steak, rare" becomes "Olyan az íze, mint a rare-re sült steaké" (Atwood 2017b: 79).

Some other times the Romanian translation renders the wordplay admirably, such as the one overtly quoted from the comedy *The Court Jester*: "The chalice with the palace is the potion with the poison" (Atwood 2016: 180) – Ro. "Potirul cu satirul are vinul cu veninul" (Atwood 2017a: 214), while the Hungarian translation resorts to an existing Hungarian saying instead of juggling with the words: "A méreg csak méreg aranypohárból is" 'Poison remains poison, even from a golden glass' (Atwood 2017b: 220).

5. Concluding notes to the dialogue of translations

In his review of Atwood's novel in Romanian, Virgil Stanciu (2018: 47) notes, "Hag-Seed has been a tour de force not only for the author (who confesses in the Acknowledgement section that she had a lot of fun writing it), but also for the translator." The Romanian translator does not only empathize with the author, but he also puts the intended readers in the foreground of his translation, leading them at every step of the way and making the translator's imprint more visible by adding substantial comments in footnotes. While the Hungarian translators resort to textual intervention to a lesser degree, they also mediate effectively between the source text and the target readers, aiming at a free-flowing, easily digestible rendering which, at the same time, plays the multi-register organ of stylistic varieties.

As the comparative study of the translation concepts and strategies has tried to demonstrate, both translations have their own merits and strengths: the Romanian one is well documented, providing a both enjoyable and instructive rendering of Atwood's novel, while the Hungarian rendering is more economical with metatextual guidance for the sake of a smooth and straightforward reception. This is the reason why, while they both play with Atwood's text – and with Shakespeare – in their own ways and manage to fulfil their purposes, still, they result in disparate reading experiences. The different approaches may be due to: 1) individual translatorial decisions, such as that of George Volceanov's, to pour into the translation his vast scholarly knowledge on Shakespeare, also resulting from his previous translations, in the form of footnotes and critical comments;

the Hungarian translation also betrays Zsuzsanna Varga's and Viktor Horváth's vast professional experience, not least, in translating Atwood herself; however, 2) socio-cultural reasons may overwrite the individual translatorial decisions, e.g. in Hungary, publishers prefer to reduce footnotes to the minimum in the case of translations; in the case of the Romanian translation, on the contrary, "it was the publishers' wish to have the edition and page added to the footnote" (Volceanov 2023: n. p.) when signalling a source text used within the translation. These factors lead to outputs that bear the translators' signature/style while also reflecting the cultural context in which they were born.

The concluding ideas lead towards further research into the theory and practice of translation as cultural transfer. As András Kappanyos (2013: 28) suggests, "[t]ranslation – which is, by default, merely transcoding, but in practice a multilayered cultural transfer with a partially unpredictable effect – is a touchstone and a particular experimental laboratory of the study of cultural operations." Ultimately, it is for readers belonging to the two cultures to gauge the translations' overall effect, their linguistic resourcefulness, and their fine-tuning of the original. The translators' choice of different strategies does not entail any difference in the value and success of their work. It rather reflects the multitude of possibilities, the diversity of feasible solutions, and, all in all, the freedom and beauty of literary translation. Though translation can never be completed, since it endlessly calls for translation anew, Atwood's novel and Shakespeare embedded in it graciously transit into both Romanian and Hungarian.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the translators George Volceanov and Viktor Horváth for sharing, in the form of written interviews, their reflections on literary translation in general and on translating Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed* and its verse inserts, respectively, in particular. Our gratitude goes to their openness to collaborate as well as to their invaluable professional insights which did not only guide us but also complete the present paper.

References

Atwood, Margaret. 2009. The Year of the Flood. Canada: McClelland & Stewart.

- —— 2016. Hag-Seed. The Tempest Retold. London and New York: Hogarth.
- —— 2017a. *Pui de cotoroanță [Hag-Seed]*. Trans. George Volceanov. Bucharest: Humanitas Fiction.

¹² Translation is ours.

- —— 2017b. *Boszorkánymagzat [Hag-Seed]*. Trans. Zsuzsanna Varga and Viktor Horváth. Budapest: Kossuth Publishing House.
- Cleary, Heather. 2021. The Translator's Visibility: Scenes from Contemporary Latin American Fiction. New York, London, Oxford, New Delhi, and Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Horváth, Viktor. 2018. "Prospero a sitten" [Prospero in jail]. *Litera* 9 November. https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/prospero-a-sitten.html (Last accessed 9 March 2024).
- —— 2024. "In the Translator's Workshop. Interview with Viktor Horváth about Translating the Verse Inserts of Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed*". Interview by Judit Pieldner. Manuscript.
- Irimia, Florin. 2018. "Ceva rău se pregătește" [Something wrong is going to happen]. Observator cultural no. 920, 3 May. https://www.observatorcultural.ro/articol/ceva-rau-se-pregateste/ (Last accessed: 6 January 2024).
- Kappanyos, András. 2013. Lefordíthatatlan reáliák [Untranslatable realia]. *Hungarológiai Közlemények* 44/14(1): 21–29.
- Klaudy, Kinga. 2007. Languages in Translation. Lectures on the Theory, Teaching and Practice of Translation. With Illustrations in English, French, German, Russian and Hungarian. Budapest: Scholastica.
- Lefevere, André. 1992. *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame.* London and New York: Routledge.
- Pál, Enikő–Judit Pieldner. 2023. "A Sea Change into Something Rich and Strange". Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed*: A Metatextual Approach. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae*, *Philologica* 15(1): 17–36.
- Senn, Fritz–Jolanta Wawrzycka–Veronika Kovács. 2016. Spectral Shakespeare in Ulysses Translation. In John McCourt (ed.), *Shakespearian Joyce, Joycean Shakespeare*, 131–152. Rome: Editoriale Anicia.
- Shakespeare, William. 1957. *A vihar Babits Mihály fordításával [The Tempest* in Mihály Babits's Translation]. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.
- 1972. A vihar [The Tempest]. In Dezső Mészöly (ed.), *Shakespeare új tükörben. Esszék és fordítások* [Shakespeare in a New Mirror. Essays and Translations], 653–713. Budapest: Magvető.
- —— 1989. Hamlet. Trans. János Arany. In *Öt dráma* [Five Plays], 195–324. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó.
- —— 2000. A vihar [The Tempest]. Trans. György Jánosházy. *Látó* 11(8–9): 150–213.
- —— 2017. *A vihar* [The Tempest]. Trans. Ádám Nádasdy. Budapest: Magvető.
- —— 2021. Furtuna [The Tempest]. Trans. George Volceanov. In *Opere* [Works], vol. 1, 2nd ed. ePub (see also the 2010 edition, Piteşti: Paralela 45; reissued by Tracus Arte in 2016).

- n. y. (a) *A vihar* [The Tempest]. Trans. Péter Fábri. Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár. *https://mek.oszk.hu/00400/00483/00483.pdf* (Last accessed: 5 April 2024).
- n. y. (b) *The Tempest*. Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine, eds. Folger Shakespeare Library. https://folger-main-site-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/2022/11/the-tempest_PDF_FolgerShakespeare.pdf (Last accessed: 15 April 2024).
- Stanciu, Virgil. 2018. În umbra lui Shakespeare [In Shakespeare's Shadow]. *Steaua* 7: 46–48. *https://revisteaua.ro/wp-content/uploads/Steaua-nr-7-din-2018.pdf* (Last accessed: 6 January 2024).
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Volceanov, George. 2018. Margaret Atwood, Gelu Ionescu & Furtuna lui Shakespeare [Margaret Atwood, Gelu Ionescu & Shakespeare's *The Tempest*]. Luceafărul de dimineață 1093(3) (March): 17.
- —— 2021. *Un Shakespeare pentru mileniul trei: istoria unei ediții* [A Shakespeare for the Third Millenium: The History of an Edition]. Bucharest: Tracus Arte.
- —— 2023. In the Translator's Workshop. Interview with George Volceanov about Translating Margaret Atwood's *Hag-Seed*. Interview by Enikő Pál. Manuscript.
- Wawrzycka, Jolanta. 2023. 'Taking Arms against a Sea of Troubles:' Intertextual reverberations of Shakespeare in translations of *Ulysses. Studia Litteraria Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* Special Issue (2023): 5–16.



DOI: 10.47745/ausp-2024-0027

Literature for Children in Translation: The Hungarian Public Encounters Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*

Zsuzsanna AJTONY

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Department of Human Sciences
ajtonyzsuzsa@uni.sapientia.ro
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8613-7918

Abstract. The aim of the present study is to investigate the Hungarian translation of children's literature in English, focusing on a prose text. The first and last books of Michael Bond's popular Paddington Bear book series (1958–2018) were translated into Hungarian by Dezső Tandori and published in 2008. The present article explores the question how the world of such a stereotypically British character like Paddington is rendered in Hungarian. After a brief outline of research on children's literature in translation, a thorough comparison of the source and target texts is carried out, highlighting the preservation or change of the stereotypical culture-specific elements in the target text, the marking of formal or informal address forms (Tu/Vous pronouns). Besides, as the ST abounds in wordplay and verbal humour, their rendering in the TL is also examined. As a result, it is concluded that through the translation of children's literature - the Paddington stories are no exception - youngsters can learn about cultural differences and gain access to one of the finest examples of English children's prose in their Hungarian mother tongue.

Keywords: children's literature, British stereotype, foreignization, domestication, humour, wordplay

1. Introduction

Since the first publication of *A Bear Called Paddington* in 1958, Michael Bond's Paddington series has become one of the most popular books for children in its home country. Over the past almost 70 years, the Paddington books have sold more than 35 million copies worldwide and have been translated into over 40 different languages, including Latin. Despite its huge popularity around the world, the first translations into Hungarian were only published to honour the

50th anniversary of the original. In spite of the relatively great bulk of research on the translations into such big languages as German (O'Sullivan 2005; House 2004, 2014; Pleyer 2023) and French (Frank 2007, 2009), no research can be found on the Hungarian translation of the Paddington books. The present article is meant to address this shortcoming.

2. The writer and his oeuvre

The Paddington stories were inspired by Michael Bond's own life (1926–2017). The figure of the toy bear goes back to the author's memories of children seen in newsreels, who, during the Second World War, had been evacuated from London to escape the Blitz to the safety of the countryside. These children carried little suitcases and a label around their wrist with their names on it.¹ The first waves of evacuees were followed by additional influxes of refugees (Jewish and Polish children threatened with deportation) arriving from continental Europe, following the *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass). By the time the war began, around 10,000 children had fled to England (Zahra 2011).² A further source of inspiration was Bond's literary agent, Harvey Unna, who was also a refugee from Nazi Germany, and who inspired him in the creation of Paddington's best friend, Mr Gruber, the Jewish Hungarian immigrant, owner of an antique shop in Portobello Road.

The first Paddington book was followed by 28 further collections of stories published between 1958 and 2018, containing 6-8 short stories each. Besides these, Bond is the author of books about a guinea pig called Olga da Polga, a series of adult novels about a French detective turned food guide inspector, Monsieur Pamplemousse. In all, Bond wrote almost 150 books, including his autobiography entitled *Bears and Forebears*.

The Paddington stories are centred around the title character, the immigrant bear trying to find his way in his new home country, who gets into unpleasant situations usually stemming from a misunderstanding of the new cultural environment he is plunged into. Following his adventures, children can learn about how to find their way in everyday life situations like who to ask for help

The UK began to move British children out of London and other large cities, places likely to be bombed. The evacuation of London was called the Operation Pied Piper, with the intention of saving as many British children and their mothers as possible. https://history.blog.gov.uk/2019/08/30/child-evacuees-in-the-second-world-war-operation-pied-piper-at-80/ (Last accessed: 11 May 2024). In this way, smaller towns would become children's temporary homes, Reading, Bond's hometown being one of these. In this process, around 3.5 million civilians were relocated.

These events inspired not only Bond's Paddington stories but also C. S. Lewis's book series entitled *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950), the first book from *The Chronicles of Narnia*, and William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954), all narrating situations where young children are removed from their homes without their parents.

in case they get lost on the beach, why not stroll away in a busy underground station, or how to behave in the theatre.

Having been hidden in a lifeboat as a stowaway, Paddington arrives in England from 'Darkest Peru' and is found by the Brown family in London's Padding railway station wherefrom he gets his name. The Browns take him home and, due to his excellent command of English, polite behaviour, and good manners, he soon becomes part of the family with two children, Judy and Jonathan, as well as Mrs Bird, their housekeeper. Having lost his own parents in an earthquake in Peru, he is raised and educated by his Aunt Lucy, who, as she needs to go to the Home for Retired Bears, sends Paddington to England.

While following his adventures, children get acquainted with English emblematic cultural items (buildings, the market in Portobello Road, semidetached houses, small gardens, English tea, fireplaces, the underground) and characters (the taxi driver, the shop assistant and the policeman, in the last volume, even Harry Potter). In this way, the Paddington series becomes a guide to the lifestyle of the English middle class. The text is loaded with references to the British socio-cultural background: serving tea with sandwiches whenever necessary, politeness and good manners, indirectness when making requests, concern for others, idioms about the weather, English Christmas customs, and glimpses of English humour.

Having become a typical English icon, the Paddington books have been translated into several languages, including Hungarian. The question arises: How can these stereotypical English cultural features, verbal behaviour of the characters be rendered in the Hungarian translations of these books? In order to answer this question, in the present article, the first novel of the series entitled *A Bear Called Paddington* (source text, hereinafter ST) is compared to its Hungarian translation by Dezső Tandori, considering *A medve, akit Paddingtonnak hívnak* [The bear called Paddington] as the target text (TT), by looking at its vocabulary, typical English realia (esp. cultural items), negative politeness strategies, verbal humour, and wordplay. As a research hypothesis, it is assumed that, this set of short stories being the very first translation of the ST, the translator will tend to domesticate the original text, moving it towards the target culture readers, i.e. making it accessible for Hungarian children.

3. The Paddington books in Hungarian translation

In the history of Hungarian literary translation, there is a strong tradition of domesticating children's stories; this trend was mainly established by the first generation of writers and poets of the literary magazine *Nyugat*, who were

translators themselves.³ The results of these endeavours became landmarks of Hungarian literature, including Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, translated by Frigyes Karinthy as *Micimackó*, Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, translated by Dezső Kosztolányi with the title *Évike Tündérországban* [Little Eve in Fairyland], later adapted by Tibor Szobotka as *Alice Csodaországban* [Alice in Wonderland], as well as Travers's *Mary Poppins* books, translated by Marcell Benedek entitled *A csudálatos Mary* [The Wonderful Mary].

This domesticating tradition is continued by Dezső Tandori (1938–2019) in the translation of *A Bear Called Paddington*. Tandori was himself a writer of several volumes of children's poems with the same topic, e.g. *Medvék minden mennyiségben* [Bears in All Quantities] (1977), *Medvetavasz és medvenyár* [Bear Spring and Bear Summer] (1979), *Játékmedvék verébdala* [Sparrow Song of Teddy Bears] (1981), *A felhúzható medveorr* [The Wind-up Bear Nose] (1990), *Medvetalp és barátai* [Bear Claw and His Friends] (2015).

His poetic oeuvre contains playful verses of philosophic depths. One of the greatest inventors of 20th-century Hungarian language, Tandori's linguistic ingenuity can also be traced in the six volumes of Paddington translations published between 2008 and 2009. With Tandori, the English text and its translator found each other, the TT equally abounding in humour and linguistic playfulness. The language of the translations is idiosyncratically Hungarian, with charmingly complicated phrases, malapropisms,⁴ misunderstandings, and pragmatic failures. An avid bear-lover himself, Tandori considered the translation assignment to be a blessing to him.⁵

4. Translation of literature for children: A brief overview

An integral part of literary translation, the translation of literature for children (also called children's literature in translation, translation of children's literature) has a relatively short research tradition (cf. Oittinen 2000, O'Sullivan 2005, Tabbert 2002, Alvstad 2010, Van Coillie—McMartins (eds) 2020).

The term "children's literature" covers several types of texts: "[t]exts intentionally written for children, texts written for adults but subsequently appropriated for children, and texts that are addressed to or read by both children and adults" (Lathey 2011: 198).

The language of children's literature has been researched only marginally so far, with a few exceptions (Stephens 1992, Knowles and Malmkjaer 1996, Sunderland

³ For the chronology of Hungarian children's literature in translation, see Farkas-Seres 2017.

⁴ The habitual misuse of similar-sounding words, especially with humorous effect.

⁵ Consider his letter to the musician György Kurtág. https://www.holmi.org/2012/07/tandoridezso-kurtag-gyorgynek (Last accessed: 18 March 2024).

2011). According to these findings, its main features include simplicity (both in vocabulary and syntactic structure) and didactic character, which stem from the asymmetrical nature of the communication between the reader and the writer: "A young reader's cognitive capacity, life experience, and linguistic skills are normally different from those of an adult writer... Some scholars claim therefore that children's literature is always adapted to the needs of its audience... involving subject matter as well as form" (Nikolajeva 2005: xv).

Similarly, there has been a relatively limited circle of research regarding the translation of children's literature. These studies highlight that a translator for children will need to pay attention to the same demands as those experienced by a translator for adults, i.e. accuracy, fluency, flexibility, register, and style. However, due to the special needs of a child audience, other considerations (e.g. the age level, appropriate illustrations, political correctness) also need to be taken into account. Special topics like death, sexuality, illness, family controversies, or divorce are to be handled with great care (Landers 2001: 107).

One of the purposes of literature for children is to encourage and sometimes teach them to read (Landers 2001: 108), a path that translations of such texts also need to follow. Translators are supposed to adjust translation strategies to the requirements of a children readership. Oittinen (2000), for instance, is a strong supporter of a child-centred approach to translation. Other studies (e.g. Puurtinen 1995) stress the importance of readability and naturalness, as children's books, mainly for under teens, tend to be read by adults to a child audience.

A further viewpoint is the didactic nature of children's texts, considered to be sources of knowledge since the 17th century when societies became aware of childhood as a special period of life (Nikolajeva 1996: 3). This idea is also supported by House (2014), who claims, "[a]n important function of translations of children's books is to broaden their young readers' mental horizon, to lead children into the new and foreign discourse world and to stimulate their curiosity for things alien to them..." (House 2014: 16).

Interestingly, the demand for accessibility (i.e. adaptation to the needs of the child reader) goes against this requirement. It is assumed that it causes the emergence of translation universals, namely simplification, explicitation, and normalization (Čermáková 2018: 118). However, all these expectations (readability, naturalness, accessibility) may provide translators with more space for creativity.

Simplification also means the neutralization of culture-bound elements aiming to reduce the child reader's effort to decode the message. "On the one hand, translation primarily serves intercultural encounters, on the other hand, it is precisely the culture-specific elements that are usually omitted (referential

⁶ In the past recent decades, however, these issues tend to be more and more frequently attended to in children's literature and its translation as well.

adaptation), or sometimes replaced by more well-known ones, which questions the basic purpose of translation, namely introducing foreign culture to domestic readers" (Sohár 2021).

The diverging tendencies for domestication (linked to the adaptation requirement) or foreignization (introducing the foreign culture to the child reader) have also been addressed in several studies (Puurtinen 1995; Frank 2007, 2009; Farkas 2014; Varga 2015; Kérchy 2020; Sohár 2021).

All in all, we cannot but agree with Sohár (2021) when saying that "the literary translator needs to navigate in the thick net of loyalties in such a way as to please everybody: the author, the young reader, the parent buying children's literature, the teacher, the bureaucrat prescribing obligatory or required readings, the producing publisher, the analysing critic, the researcher".

5. Translation issues in Dezső Tandori's *A medve, akit Paddingtonnak hívnak*

Based on the above enlisted demands regarding the translation of children's literature as well as Tandori's authorial stance, we assume that being the first translation of the original, *A medve, akit Paddingtonnak hívnak* is characterized by a strong domesticating tendency, a great extent of freedom and ingenuity in rendering the original into Hungarian. In the subchapters below, I will look at stereotypical English culture-specific vocabulary items, politeness issues, and pragmatic failure present in the ST, and how they are reproduced for the Hungarian public. As the ST and the TT have been read parallelly, the analysed examples are also presented side by side, completed by the possible English back translation of the Hungarian text.

5.1. Culture-specific vocabulary items

In order to make Hungarian child readers familiar with English culture, foreign person's proper names and address forms have been retained (Mr and Mrs Brown, Jonathan, Judy, Mrs Bird, Mr Gruber). The ever-presence of these vocabulary items stands at the basis of creating the image of an English world full of polite and well-mannered characters.

This image is further enlarged by the maintenance of typical English units of measurement (currency items like *pounds* and *pence*), although the latter used in the plural in the Hungarian translation, instead of the singular: *I bought it for 50 pence = 50 pence-ért vásároltam* (instead of '50 pennyért vásároltam'); *That bear*

⁷ English translations of Hungarian sources are all mine, Zs. A.

gets more for his ten pence than anyone I know = Ez a medve tíz pence-ért többet tud vásárolni, mint bárki a világon, instead of 'tíz pennyért'; etc.

The Peruvian currency centavo is also maintained in the TT, but in order to facilitate young readers' understanding, the translator resorts to explicitation, with two additional sentences in the TT, explaining the source of Paddington's knowledge of these coins.

Table 1. Culture-specific items 1

	EN	HU	Back translation	
1.	And some centavos – they're a sort of South	Pár centavo. Tudod, olyan dél-amerikai	A couple of centavos. You know, some kind of	
	American penny.	penny. A "penny"	South American penny.	
		szót a sofőrtől hallotta ugyanis!	He heard the word 'penny' from the driver.	

However, there is also an instance of mistranslation (misprint?) of an English currency item: In the ST, we read *Penalty for Improper Use - £50*. However, in the TT this is rendered as Szükségtelen használat esetén 0,50 font bírság fizetendő. 'In the case of needless use, a fine of 0.5 pounds will be paid.' – which is a much smaller sum than in the ST.

Hat sizes are ingeniously transferred, keeping the numbers, but in a different structure: in the English version, hat size 4 7/8 is mentioned, which is nonexistent in England, but the Hungarian text renders this as 47/8, which is an existent size.

Two further examples of stereotypical English realia can be found in the following excerpts.

Table 2. Culture-specific items 2

- 2. "It's rather hard drinking Csak nekem nem out of a **cup**. I usually get my head stuck, or else my hat falls in and makes it taste nasty." Mr Brown hesitated. "Then you'd better give your hat to me. I'll pour the tea into a **saucer**⁸ for you. It's not really done in the best circles, but I'm sure no one will mind just this once."
 - könnyű dolog ilyen csészéből inni. Általában beszorul az ábrázatom, vagy épp a kalapom esik le, csupa víz lesz, vagy mi. - Hát jó, akkor add ide a kalapodat. Teát meg egy bögrébe töltök neked. Nem szokás, de talán nem nézi majd senki – így Mr. Brown.
- 'Only that it is not easy for me to drink from a **cup** like this. Usually my face gets stuck, or my hat falls, it gets full of water or something.' 'Well then, give me your hat. I will pour tea for you in a **mug**. It is not usual, but perhaps nobody will look', said Mr Brown.

⁸ The words in bold are my emphases, Zs. A.

3. Mr and Mrs Brown and Judy sat in the back, while Paddington stood on a **tip-up seat** behind the driver so that he could see out of the window.

... a házaspár hátra, Judy külön ülésre, míg az **elülsőn** Paddington állt, hogy kilásson. ... the couple in the back, Judy on a separate seat, while Paddington was standing on the **front seat**, to be able to look out.

In Britain, tea is normally drunk from a teacup. However, Mr Brown pours tea into a saucer for Paddington in the restaurant, and he is embarrassed by the situation. In the Hungarian translation, Mr Brown offers to pour tea into a mug, but this is similarly difficult for a bear to drink from, and the additional explanation is also maintained, which gives young readers some idea of the traditional English teadrinking rules and people's attitude towards them. Another possible explanation for Tandori's choice of the term mug is that Hungarian children associate bears' love for honey with a mug, and thus they appreciate Mr Brown's help. However, this explanation has nothing to do with English stereotypical tea-drinking habits.

The other culture-bound reference is the special *tip-up seat*⁹ in the English taxi, situated behind the driver, in our fragment used by the bear wherefrom he can see out of the window. As such seats are non-existent in Hungarian taxis, the translator resorted to a different solution, placing Paddington standing on the *front seat*: *az elülsőn Paddington állt* 'on the front (seat) Paddington was standing'. From the TT version, Hungarian children can (wrongly) infer that in England children regularly sit/stand on the front seat so that they can look out of the window. Therefore, this translational solution is hardly the best, as it misleads the TT audience. It would have been a better option to render the ST realia as *lehajtható pótülés* 'foldable spare seat' or *gyermekülés* 'child seat'.

A further term is *scrapbook*, which denotes 'a book of blank pages for sticking clippings, drawings, or pictures in'. Regularly, it is translated into Hungarian as *emlékkönyv*, i.e. an album for memories. However, as it is a bear's possession, Tandori resorts to a noun coined by himself: *körmölőkönyv* 'scraping book', adding explicitation to it: *ebbe körmölgetek*, *jegyezgetek* 'this is where I scribble, take notes'. In the Hungarian term, one cannot help noticing the blend of two English morphemes: *scrap* (= small piece or portion, fragment) and scrape (= scratch, remove outer layer), which ingeniously renders the typical English object for young target-language readers.

A recurrent element of Paddington's life is marmalade. 10 Originally made of quince, the term denotes a soft substance with a sweet but slightly bitter taste,

⁹ A seat that is able to be pulled down for sitting on and returns to an upright position when not in use https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/tip-up-seat (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).

¹⁰ https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/marmalade (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).

made from citrus fruits, regularly oranges, by cooking them with sugar to preserve it. In the Hungarian text, however, we notice a different term, *marmeládé*, similar in form to the English one but having a different meaning. It is also called *tömblekvár*¹¹ in Hungarian, i.e. thick fruit jam, in the form of a larger bar, made of different kinds of fruit. In spite of their difference in meaning, the translator transmits the same message to the TT readers as was the ST writer's intention.

Table 3. Culture-specific items 3

_	1 7		
4.	Then I expect you like marmalade.	- Jó, de akkor, azt hiszem, szereted a tömblekvárt . A marmeládét , ahogy nevezik. Igaz?	OK, but then, I expect, you like bar jam , marmelade , as they call it, don't you?
5.	It had been standing all by itself on a counter in the food store. The biggest one he'd ever seen. Almost as big as himself. "Please," he said. "I'd like one of those jars of marmalade. One of the big ones."	A közeli pulton lekváros köcsögök álltak. Bennük marmeládé. GYÜMÖLCSÍZ, ez volt rajtuk a felirat. De Paddington tudta, egy ilyen edényben nemcsak íz van. Hanem igazi marmeládé Uram – mondta hát –, ha lehetne, egy ilyen edény lekvárt kérnék. De a nagyobbik változatot.	On the counter nearby, jars of jam were standing. With marmelade in them. FRUIT JAM [lit. fruit flavour], this was the label on them. But Paddington knew that a jar like that did not only contain flavour. But real marmelade. 'Sir', he said, 'if it is possible, I would like a jar of jam like this. But the bigger version.'

Example (5) contains another term for marmalade in the TT: <code>gyümölcsíz</code> 'fruit jam', a compound noun the second element of which is made up of the noun <code>iz</code>, which in Hungarian is homonymous with another noun, meaning taste or flavour. The pun that derives from this overlap is developed in Tandori's addition: "But Paddington knew that a jar like that did not only contain flavour. But real marmelade."

Another item, iconically linked to Paddington's figure, is his *duffle coat* bought by Mrs Brown soon after he had become part of the family.

¹¹ The Hungarian marmeládé also has the same origin as the English one, meaning quince jam, deriving from Spanish marmelada. https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-etimologiai-szotar-F14D3/m-F2FC3/marmelad-F3087/ (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).

Table 4. Culture-specific items 4

6. a nice warm coat for the winter. Something like a duffle coat with toggles so that he can do it up easily, I thought. télikabát... Valami olyan bélelt micsoda, de kigombolható legyen a bélés, meg olyan is az egész, hogy könnyen fel lehessen húzni. Kiválasztott egy pirosas csíkozású és szegélyű úgynevezett "düftint" a winter coat...
Something lined but
the lining should be
unbuttonable, and the
whole thing should be
so that it can be pulled
up easily. She selected
a so-called 'duftin' with
reddish stripes and
borders.

A duffle coat¹² is made from duffel cloth, designed with toggle-and-rope fastenings, patched pockets, and a large hood. In the Hungarian translation, this typical English item of clothing is generalized by the term télikabát 'winter coat' but completed with the explicitation of the term, highlighting the material it is made of: düftin, which resembles in form with the ST item.

5.2. Rendering relative social distance: Familiar and distant address forms

A typical reference to signalling social distance in verbal communication is by using forms of address. While in present-day English there are no distinct pronouns to express such differences, the only pronoun addressing the $2^{\rm nd}$ person is you, in Hungarian there are different forms of address to mark smaller or greater social distance between the speakers (te for Tu pronoun vs $\ddot{o}n$ for Vous pronoun). Still, the dynamics of these changes are marked in both languages. Tandori found excellent solutions to do that, as it can be seen in the following examples.

As it can be seen in the above examples, in the English ST, the $2^{\rm nd}$ person singular pronoun you is used all through the conversation between the Browns and Paddington, the greater social distance and respect occasionally signalled by the introduction of formal address forms (Mr or Mrs Brown, Mrs Bird) and relatively closer distance marked by using the conversational partners' first names (i.e. Paddington, Henry). However, in the Hungarian TT, there is constant change: first, they employ the $\ddot{O}n$ 'Vous' pronoun as a sign of respect towards each other, then a mixture of Vous and tu pronouns, signalling the phase of the conversation when the speaking partners are in the process of adjusting themselves to the new, closer social distance, the final stage being when the adults use tu pronouns to address Paddington and the children, while Paddington employs Vous pronouns to address the adults but tu pronouns in addressing the children. This phenomenon was the accepted rule in Hungarian middle-class families until

¹² https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/duffel-coat (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).

recently. This asymmetrical use of pronouns can be noticed in the last example as well, where Mrs Bird uses the tu pronoun in addressing Paddington, but the bear does not dare to use the same pronoun in addressing the elderly housekeeper, so the polite formal address Mrs Bird is maintained.

Table 5. Rendering relative social distance

7.	You are a very small	Ön egy nagyon piciny	You (Vous) are a very
	bear.	medve!	tiny bear!
8.	"We found you on Paddington station so we'll call you Paddington! () Paddington it shall be." Mrs Brown stood up. "Good. Now, Paddington , I have to meet our little daughter, Judy, off the train.	 Ez a pályaudvar Paddington Station. Lehetne az ön neve Paddington netán? () Ez az, meg is van akkor. Paddington mindenki benne van? De akkor hagyjuk ezt a rémes önözést kérte Paddington. – Nem akarok tolakodó lenni, de mégis! Jaj, hát szervusz, Paddington, isten hozott! – kiáltották Brownék egy emberként. 	'This railway station Paddington Station. Could your name be Paddington? () That's it, here we go. Paddington is everybody in?' 'Then let's leave these awful Vous pronouns', P. asked. 'I don't want to be intrusive but still' 'Of course, well, hello, Paddington, welcome!' the Browns exclaimed univocally.
9.	I'm sure you must be thirsty after your long journey, so you go along to the buffet with Mr Brown and he'll buy you a nice cup of tea.	Gondolom, a hosszú úton megszomjazott, hát Mr. Brown elmegy önnel jaj, Henry elmegy veled a büfébe, vesz neked is egy csésze finom teát.	I think you (Vous) have become thirsty on the long way, so Mr Brown will go with you (Vous) oh, Henry will go with you (tu) to the buffet, and will buy you (tu) a nice cup of tea.
10.	"After you, Mr Brown."	Csak ön után utánad , Henry .	Only after you (Vous) after you (tu) , Henry .
11.	"It's all right, Mrs Bird ," said Paddington.	- Ó, nekem semmi bajom, Mrs. Bird () akit Paddington nem mert azért visszategezni.	Oh, I'm fine, Mrs Bird – Paddington did not dare call her by using the tu pronoun.

5.3. Humour and wordplay

It can be noticed that whenever the author introduces a new, unknown word to the child reader, that is explained by additional sentences in the TT. Tandori frequently resorts to explaining the word in Hungarian, often in the form of wordplay or humorous extra sentences, even extra dialogues, thus making the newly created text become less a translation but rather an adaptation of the ST. This adaptation tendency can be traced in the examples below.

Table 6. Rendering humour and wordplay 1

- 12. "Darkest Peru. I'm not really supposed to be here at all. I'm a stowaway!" "A stowaway?" Mr Brown lowered his voice and looked anxiously over his shoulder. He almost expected to see a policeman standing behind him with a notebook and pencil. taking everything down. "Yes," said the bear. "I emigrated, you know."
- Az a hely a legsötétebb Peru. Onnan emirgáltam. Újra kihúzta magát. – **Emirgáns** vagyok, illegálánsan vagyok itt. - Hogy micsoda? Ön emigráns? – kérdezte ámulva Mr. Brown. - Vagy úgy, igen, emigráns, mindig belebotlom ebbe a szóba. - És illegálisan...? – hápogott Mrs. Brown. - Vagy úgy, igen, úgy vagyok itt, illegálisan – dörmögte halkan, nagy zavarban már a medve.
- That place is the darkest Peru. I **emirgated** from there. he straightened his shoulders again. 'I'm an emirgant, I'm here illegallantly.' 'What? Are you an emigrant?' Mr Brown asked greatly surprised. 'Oh, yes, emigrant. I always stumble into this word.' 'And illegally...?' Mrs Brown gasped. 'Well, yes, that is how I'm here, illegally', the bear murmured silently, greatly embarrassed.

In the above example, Paddington uses the term *stowaway* to refer to the way he travelled on the boat from Peru. The term denotes someone who hides on a ship or airplane in order to travel without paying or being seen. The ST does not express this meaning literally, but it explains it indirectly, by making reference to it as an illegal activity. This reference is completely omitted in the Hungarian text though the translator could have used the term *potyautas*, the regular counterpart of the word in Hungarian.

In the second part of the text, the verb *emigrate* is introduced, which might be unknown for a young child. Instead of using the Hungarian *emigrál*, Tandori resorted to wordplay, creating two idiosyncratic words, his own coinages formed with interchanged consonants, which can be considered mispronounced words: *emirgáltam / emirgáns vagyok, illegálánsan vagyok itt.* The mispronunciation of *emirgáltam* is more child-friendly, as it is easier to pronounce. The adverb *illegálánsan* was created from *illegálisan* 'illegally', but it also contains the adjective *gáláns* 'gallant', an ingenious reference to Paddington's good manners.

The TT in example (12) also contains the insertion of a full conversation between Mrs Brown and Paddington, which can be explained by the intention of the

translator to clarify the two mispronounced words. Mrs Brown cautiously rectifies the young bear using the correct form of these words in her replies (*illegálisan* and *emigrál*), drawing Paddington's attention to the correct pronunciation, which he acknowledges by repeating the words in their correct form and adding: *mindig belebotlom ebbe a szóba* 'I always stumble into this word'.

There are a number of cases where the ST does not contain humour or wordplay, but the Hungarian translation does, containing additional instances of puns. Due to lack of space, I will bring only one such example below.

Table 7. Rendering humour and wordplay 2

- 13. "I'm sure we ought to report the matter to someone first," he [Mr Brown] said.
 "I don't see why, Dad," cried Jonathan.
 "Besides, he might get arrested for being a stowaway if we do that."
- Például én nem tudom, van-e ilyesmire törvény. Biztos jelentenünk kell a hatóságoknak, rövid időn belül mondta Mr. Brown.
 Miért kéne, papa? Nem is értem, miért kiáltotta Jonathan (...) Fogdába zárhatják, karatéba, vagy mi... karanténba. Illegális bevándorló, ráadásul állat. Kap fél évet.
- 'For instance I don't know if there is a law for something like this. We surely must inform the authorities in a short while', said Mr Brown. 'Why should we, papa? I don't see why?' cried Jonathan. 'He might get into prison, in **karate** or what... in quarantine. He's an illegal immigrant, furthermore, an animal. He'll get half a year.'

While the ST simply makes reference to the danger of taking Paddington into custody if the family fails to announce the officials about his arrival to the country and Jonathan heavily rejecting the idea, the TT contains further reasons (in the form of additional lines not present in the ST) supporting the argument, adding humour to the TT. Jonathan claims that Paddington might get into *karate* (as misuse of the term *karantén* 'quarantine', which he also adds as self-correction). The additional text also mentions the possible punishment for the offence, as a pattern commonly used in Hungarian everyday speech in connection with such crimes.

Last but not least, linguistic humour occurs when the translator introduces synonyms into the TT that have homophones in Hungarian and starts playing with the difference in meaning and spelling, as seen in example (14) below.

Table 8. Rendering humour and wordplay 3

14. Sheepishly he pushed the **hood** of his duffel coat up over his head. They [the lights] hadn't gone out at all! His hood must have fallen over his head when he bent down inside the shop to pick up his case.

Hát biztos, ami biztos, magára akarta volna húzni nagykabátja kapucniját. Csuklya, ez is a neve... hát zárja ki, csukja ki őt a világból, ahol annyi baj éri, mert egymást érik a bajok. Csakhogy...a kapucni már a fején volt ... ő észre se vette, és ez csukta ki őt a fényből. A csuklya!

Well, to be sure, he wanted to draw the hood of his coat onto his head. Hood, this is its name. ... it should lock him out, close him out of the world, where he gets in so much trouble, as troubles come one after the other. However, ... the hood had already been on his head... he didn't notice it, and this locked him out of the light. The hood!

In this fragment, Paddington wears his new hooded duffel coat for the first time, and as he bends down, he thinks the lights have gone out. Then he realizes that the hood must have fallen over his head, which is why he could not see anything. The ST contains the keyword hood that becomes the trigger for the wordplay in the TT. The noun hood has two equivalents in Hungarian: kapucni¹³ and csuklya, the latter having a homophone in Hungarian, a 3rd person singular subjunctive verb form: csukja 'should close'. The interplay between the two homophones and their different meanings stands at the basis of the wordplay added to the TT. Surrounded by darkness, Paddington wishes the hood should close him out of the world if there is so much trouble there. The second occurrence of this pair of homophones is not a perfect match: this time, the past tense of the verb is used (csukta 'closed'), but still the wordplay adds extra humorous effect to the TT not present in the ST.

5.4. Pragmatic failure

The linguistic education of young children also includes teaching them that metaphoric meaning is not to be interpreted literally. Although this argument is not present in the ST, Tandori's translation can be regarded as a means that serves this purpose. His text contains longer or shorter insertions deriving from the meaning of the translated phrases that divert the meaning of the ST so much that the TT becomes an adaptation of the ST rather than a faithful translation

¹³ Deriving from the German *Kapuze*, the latter probably coming from the Latin/Italian *cappa*, meaning hooded cloak or capote (https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-etimologiai-szotar-F14D3/k-F287B/kapucni-F296B/) (Last accessed: 11 June 2024).

of it. There are several instances in the TT that contain metaphoric insertions which Paddington interprets literally, and which leads to pragmatic failure, i.e. misunderstanding. However, these additions make significant alteration to the main character's verbal behaviour, thus adding to Paddington's clumsiness.

Table 9. Rendering pragmatic failure 1

15. "Then you shall have - (...) itt mindennap 'You will have jam it [marmalade] every része lesz önnek every day here', Mrs lekvárban – biztosította Brown assured him morning starting tomorrow... And honey örömmel Mrs. Brown. gladly. 'And you will on Sunday." - ... *Méz* pedig minden get honey on your table vasárnap **kerül** every Sunday.' asztalára. 'On my table', the bear - Asztalomra – nézett looked a bit confused. kicsit zavartan a medve. - 'OK, I will have a Ió. lesz hát asztalom. table then. I've always mindig szerettem volna. wanted one.'

In example (16), the active sentence in the ST (*you haven't been anywhere yet*) is translated by a passive one in the TT, which is formulated in Hungarian with the use of a 3rd person plural subject implying 'this ticket hasn't been validated yet'. The unstated pronoun is inferred by Paddington as 3rd person plural pronoun with an unspecified referent (they); therefore, he asks for clarification but instantly realizes his failure to understand the passive and corrects himself. This pragmatic failure is only present in the TT, which means that the translator used the opportunity to introduce a new verbal blunder into Paddington's linguistic manifestations, thus adding to the humour of the main character.

Table 10. Rendering pragmatic failure 2

16. "What's all this? You	- Ezzel a jeggyel még	'They haven't travelled	
haven't been anywhere	nem utaztak.	with this ticket yet.'	
yet."	- Kik? – kérdezte	'Who?', asked	
"I know," said	Paddington.	Paddington. He	
Paddington unhappily.	Homlokához kapott. –	touched his forehead.	
	Vagy úgy, én.	'Ah, I see, me.'	

Finally, in example (17), the misinterpretation of the *we* pronoun in the Hungarian translation requires further clarification, which results in explicitation, again in the form of several sentences added to the Hungarian text.

Table 11. Rendering pragmatic failure 3

- 17. "Now you're going to meet Mrs Bird," said Judy. "She looks after us. She's a bit fierce sometimes and she grumbles a lot but she doesn't really mean it. I'm sure you'll like her."
- Most akkor megismerkedünk Mrs. Birddel – mondta anyáskodva Judy. És P. ezt nem nagyon értette. Hogyan? És ki ez a Mrs. Bird, akit Judy sem ismer? Honnan tudja, hogy itt vár rájuk?
- 'Now we are going to meet Mrs Bird', said Judy in a mothering way. And P. did not quite understand this. How? And who is this Mrs Bird, whom Judy does not know? How does she know she is waiting for them?

While in the ST focus is placed on the addressee by using the 2nd person singular (you're going to meet Mrs Bird), the TT employs 1st person plural, in the sense of exclusive we, where the speaker implies the addressee. However, this is inferred by Paddington to mean inclusive we, implying that Judy is also included. That is the reason for the additional questions in Paddington's mind that completes the TT, for the sake of children's understanding of the pragmatic failure.

6. Conclusions

As it could be seen in the analyses above, the TT renders the message intended by the ST writer in presenting the adventures of a small bear to young readers, creating a book for children that introduces to Hungarian child readers a charming and humorous great British icon and the typical British world that surrounds him, thus enlarging the cultural horizon of the new target audience. The foreignizing tendency is traceable in the maintenance of the proper names, in the typically English forms of address (Mr and Mrs) and currency names.

However, based on research on first translations of a literary work, it has been assumed as working hypothesis that Tandori's translation of *A Bear Called Paddington* tends to be target-oriented. This assumption has been amply demonstrated with examples: the TT heavily domesticates the ST to such an extent that it can be considered an adaptation, as it bears the imprint of the translator's idiosyncratic style full of brilliantly inventive linguistic solutions. In the translation of these short stories, the translator is far from being invisible, his personal style being foregrounded in the TT. In several instances, the adaptation of the ST is manifested in massive additions whenever the translator finds a cue in the vocabulary of the TT that triggers his imagination towards creating a new text that is based on wordplay or is a result of explicitation, thus having an educating function. All these solutions can be considered domesticating strategies that lead to an inventive recreation of the ST.

As there are several such instances in the TT where the translator heavily interferes into the ST, Tandori's text can be considered less of a neat literary translation but much more as an adaptation of Bond's original. In my opinion, these interferences are acceptable as long as functional equivalence is achieved and the intention and functional aspects of the ST are not harmed.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the valuable and enlightening comments and suggestions of the two blind reviewers who helped me improve the quality of the manuscript.

References

Primary references

Bond, Michael. 2008. A medve, akit Paddingtonnak hívnak. A legsötétebb Peruból jött medve igaz története [The Bear Called Paddington. The True Story of the Bear Coming from the Darkest Peru]. Trans. Dezső Tandori. Budapest: Ciceró.
—— 2022 [1958]. A Bear Called Paddington. London: Harper Collins Children's Books.

Secondary references

- Alvstad, Cecilia. 2010. Children's literature and translation. In Yves Gambier–Luc van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies Online*. Vol. 1: 22–27.
- Čermáková, Anna. 2018. Translating children's literature: Some insights from corpus stylistics. *Ilha do Desterro* 71(1): 117–133.
- Farkas, Nóra. 2014. Kinézhet-e kereken a szögletes cukorka? Humorfordítási esettanulmány [Can a square-shaped candy look round-shaped? A case study in humour translation]. *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények* 9(2): 118–145.
- Farkas, Nóra–Seres Nóra. 2017. A magyar gyerekirodalmi fordítás történetének vázlatos áttekintése [A brief overview of the history of Hungarian literary translation for children]. Fordítástudomány 19(2): 58–82. https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10831/62000/A%20magyar%20gyerekirodalmi (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).
- Frank, Helena Therese. 2007. Cultural Encounters in Translated Children's Literature: Images of Australia in French Translation. Manchester: St Jerome.
- —— 2009. Paddington Bear in French translation: Cultural stereotypes, food references and humour. *InTRAILinea*. Online translation journal. *https://www.*

- intralinea.org/current/article/Paddington_bear_in_French_translation (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).
- House, Juliane. 2004. Linguistic aspects of the translation of children's books. In Harald Kittel et al. (eds), *Translation, Übersetzung, Traduction. An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 683–697. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- —— 2014. Moving across languages and cultures in translation as intercultural communication. In Bührig, Kristin–Juliane House–Jan ten Thije (eds), *Translational Action and Intercultural Communication*, 7–40. London: Routledge.
- Kérchy, Anna. 2020. The creative reinventions of nonsense and domesticating the implied child reader in Hungarian translations of 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland'. In Jan Van Coillie–Jack McMartin (eds), *Children's Literature in Translation: Texts and Contexts*, 159–178. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Knowles, Murray–Kirsten Malmkjær. 1996. *Language and Control in Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.
- Landers, Clifford E. 2001. *Literary Translation. A Practical Guide*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lathey, Gillian. 2011. The translation of literature for children. In Kirsten Malmkjaer–Kevin Windle (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, 198–214. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nikolajeva, Maria. 1996. *Children's Literature Comes of Age. Toward a New Aesthetic*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- —— 2005. Aesthetic Approaches to Children's Literature. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press.
- Oittinen, Riitta. 2000. Translating for Children. New York: Garland.
- O'Sullivan, Emer. 2005. *Comparative Children's Literature*, trans. A. Bell. London: Routledge.
- Pleyer, Monika. 2023. Impoliteness and pragmatic preferences in German translation of British and Irish children's fiction. In Miriam A. Locher–Daria Dayter–Thomas C. Messerli (eds), *Pragmatics and Translation*, 74–95. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Puurtinen, Tiina. 1995. *Linguistic Acceptability in Translated Children's Literature*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.
- Sohár, Anikó. 2021. Az ifjúsági irodalom fordításának kérdései szemléltető példákkal Terry Pratchett-fordításokból [Problems Related to the Translation of Youngsters' Literature with Examples from Terry Prachett Translations]. https://igyic.hu/esszektanulmanyok/az-ifjusagi-irodalom-forditasanak-kerdesei-szemlelteto-peldakkal-terry-pratchett-forditasokbol.html (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).

- Stephens, John. 1992. Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction. London and New York: Longman.
- Sunderland, Jane. 2011. Language, Gender and Children's Fiction. London: Continuum.
- Tabbert, Reinbert. 2002. Approaches to the translation of children's literature: A review of critical studies since 1960. *Target* 14(2): 303–351.
- Van Coillie, Jan–Jack McMartin (eds). 2020. *Children's Literature in Translation: Texts and Contexts*. Leuven: Leuven University Press. *https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv17rvx8q* (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).
- Varga, Orsolya. 2015. Honosítás a gyermekirodalom fordításában [Domestication in the translation of children's literature]. Fordítástudomány XVII (1): 60–69. https://epa.oszk.hu/04100/04125/00021/pdf/EPA04125_forditastudomany_2015_1_060-069.pdf (Last accessed: 11 May 2024).
- Zahra, Tara. 2011. The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.