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Contents

THE ROLE OF DISCURSIVE STRUCTURE
IN THE GENRE SPECIFICATION OF ONLINE DISCOURSES

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Abstract

The paper starts with the assumption that each time people engage in discourses, they perform social actions in order to adaptively satisfy their communicative purposes and needs (cf. Verschueren–Brisard 2009; Steen 2011; Giltrow 2013). Moreover, these social actions form types in accordance with the typical co-occurrences of typical discourse situations involving typical roles, typical themes and typical communicative goals targeted by discourse participants (cf. Bakhtin 1986). These typical co-occurrences serve as ground for the functioning of genre knowledge and result in typical patterns of construal.

In this paper, I present a two-pronged empirical study that reveals the role of discursive structure in the creation of the genre-specific character of online discourses. By discursive structural units, I mean discourse segments (usually larger than one sentence but smaller than the entire discourse) used by the speaker to accomplish a communicative strategy aimed at achieving a more specific communicative purpose. During the research, I used two types of data. On the one hand, I compiled a research corpus consisting of 50 online recipes and 50 online book reviews in Hungarian. On the other hand, I conducted an experiment in which one group of Hungarian native speaker informants (25 persons) had to create a recipe for a good novel, while another group of informants (25 persons) had to write a review of a given recipe. The research thus focused on the genres of recipe and (book) review. I performed corpus-based qualitative analyses on both datasets using the MAXQDA software. After carefully developing a data-driven annotation system on a smaller pilot material, I systematically identified the communicative strategic units of both the non-elicited and the elicited dataset [cf. Swales's (1990) move structure analysis]. The research findings are as follows: (i) Discursive structure formed by the speaker's communicative strategies is a genre-marking quality of the online discourses under study. (ii) Recipes written by laypersons and professionals do not have a different discursive structure but the identified discursive structure is very clearly manifested. (iii) Book reviews written by lay readers differ significantly from those written by professional critics in terms of discursive structure and this sharp differentiation reveals a separation between two more specific genres, i.e. amateur book review and professional critique.

Keywords: genre; discursive structure; discursive structural unit; communicative goal; qualitative corpus analysis; experiment

1. Introduction

Starting from the referential triangle of joint attention that inherently characterises language use (see Tomasello 1999: 94–133; Sinha 2005; Tátrai 2017a: 901–926), the notion of genre can be defined as a discursive schema and category that is operated by speakers at all times, functioning as an orientational pattern during the creation of discourses, and as a discursive expectation in the course of understanding (cf. Bakhtin 1986; Taavitsainen 2004; Steen 2011; Giltrow 2013; Busse 2014; Tátrai 2017b). The organization of genre knowledge is based on the fact that discourse participants perform social actions in order to adaptively satisfy certain communicative needs and goals. These social actions form types according to the typical co-occurrences of typical communicative situations involving typical participant roles, typical communicative goals and typical

themes (cf. Bakhtin 1986). These typical co-occurrences, in turn, establish typical patterns of construal (cf. Speyer–Fetzer 2014). Therefore, genres are emergent discursive schemas and usage-based discursive categories that function as a basis for the realisation of discourse events (i.e. joint attentional scenes) (cf. Tátrai 2017b).

From this social cognitive pragmatic perspective, the paper seeks to answer the question as to what role discursive structure plays in the emergence of genre in online discourses. I answer the research question with the results of an empirical study that focuses on the genres of online recipe and book review as characteristic genres of two thematic websites (cf. Ballagó 2022). These two genres were chosen because they activate different modes of understanding. While recipes activate a simpler type of understanding, the procedural mode of understanding (cf. Brown 1994; Tátrai 2011; 173–174), book reviews rely on a more complex type, that is, propositional (also known as declarative) mode of understanding (cf. Brown 1994; Tomasello 1999: 194–197; Tátrai 2011: 173–174). Thus, this choice allows for the comparison between two genres with different cognitive grounding.

In Section 2, I outline the main theoretical insights related to the so-called meso-level of discursive organization. Subsequently, in Section 3, I present the material and methods of a data-driven empirical study. The results are presented and discussed in Section 4: first, I present the role of discursive structure in the genre of the recipe (4.1), and then, in line with the patterns drawn by the data, I discuss the discursive structure of book reviews written by lay literary enthusiasts (4.2.1), and the discursive structure of reviews by professional literary critics (4.2.2) in separate sections. The paper ends with a summary of the conclusions.

2. Discursive structure functioning at the meso-level of discourses

The study interprets discursive structure as a factor of construal that functions at the meso-level of discourses. This meso-level involves discourse segments with a scope that is smaller than a whole utterance – i.e. "a stretch of language with a clear beginning and end, produced by the same person" (Verschueren 1999: 131; cf. also Tátrai 2011: 69–74) – but usually larger than a single clause representing a grounded process or the relationship of two clauses.

By discursive structural units, I mean functional units rather than merely formal ones. More extensive utterances can often be characterised by an articulated inner structure, based on the discursive actions the speaker performs in specific parts of the utterance. These discursive actions are distinguished from one another on the basis of their being directed towards a more specific communicative goal or towards satisfying a more specific communicative need. Thus, discursive structural units can be perceived as shorter or longer segments of the discourse that perform a discursive action aimed at achieving a more specific communicative goal (cf. van Dijk 1982; Swales 1990; Gea-Valor 2005; de Jong–Bugers 2013; Requijo–Belmonte 2016) – for example, recommending the reviewed book to be read or telling the story of the "birth" of the recipe. The reason why this phenomenon affects the meso-level of discourses is that discursive actions aimed at more specific goals are characteristically not realisable in a single sentence because they are much rather strategies than single acts and, therefore, cannot be treated as speech acts, i.e. communicative actions realised with a sentence (see Searle 1979; Tátrai 2017: 1008–1022).

The separation of structural units aimed at specific communicative goals can be marked iconically. In the case of written discourses, on the one hand, this means that distinct structural units may appear as typographically separated units (as is usually the case for the structural unit presenting the "story" of a recipe), comprising the possibility of separate paragraphs. On the other hand, explicit metapragmatic signals (cf. Verschueren 2000) can also prompt the marking of the separation of different discursive actions, and hence of discursive structural units (e.g. *Tapogatózó tájékozódásunk első lépéseként mindenesetre megállapíthatjuk* 'As a tentative first step in our exploration, we can certainly state').

Discursive structure can be considered to be crucial for genre because patterns of discursive actions aimed at more specific communicative goals can reveal the more general, typical

communicative goal of the discursive schema that is considered to be central to our genre knowledge. This is because these typical goals, along with the co-occurring typical themes and typical discursive situations, play a fundamental role in the formation and shaping of genre (see Introduction).

Social action-centred approaches to genre (e.g. Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993) place this aspect, that is, the discursive structure created by patterns of social actions at the forefront of genre analysis. A linguistic unit directed towards the realisation of a specific communicative goal is termed a *communicative move* – hence the name of this approach is *move structure analysis*. The action carried out by the communicative move is referred to as *communicative strategy*. Moreover, researchers who share these assumptions identify these structural units *(moves)* at the meso-level of discourses and adopt a clearly inductive approach to the categories of analysis, relying upon the qualitative interpretation of concrete linguistic data (see Gea-Valor 2005; de Jong–Burgers 2013; Tardy–Swales 2014).[1] Therefore, in my research on the role of discursive structure in genre specification, I relied mostly on this approach since it also studies functional units at the meso-level of utterances, associated with discursive actions directed at specific communicative goals. Furthermore, such a view of discursive structure fundamentally adheres to a functional perspective, similarly to the present paper. Lastly, empirical studies within the framework of move structure analysis provide convincing examples of identifying discursive actions in specific texts (cf. de Jong–Burgers 2013; Requijo–Belmonta 2016).

3. Data and methods of the empirical study

For the purposes of the study, I have divided the central research question on the role of discursive structure in genre specification into two sub-questions in order to obtain empirically answerable questions:

RQ1) How are online recipes and book reviews structured?
RQ2) In terms of discursive structure, are there any features of the discursive schemas under study that are crucial for the emergence of genre, and if so, what are they?

To answer the first question, I relied on non-elicited data (cf. Bednarek 2011). I compiled a research corpus consisting of a total of 100 texts in Hungarian: 50 online recipes and 50 online book reviews. For both genres, I included 25 texts of amateur, layperson contributors and 25 texts of professional contributors in the corpus, since both online genres can be categorised based on the level of expertise and topic-related knowledge of the contributors. Specifically, there are recipes written by amateur hobby cooks, as well as more professional recipes by chefs who practice cooking as a profession. In parallel, we can distinguish between book reviews by lay literary enthusiasts and critiques by professional readers, i.e. literary scholars. The sources of the texts included in the corpus are presented in Table 1.

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[1] Among the various genre theorists, representatives of the so-called new rhetorical approach (e.g. Miller 1984; Bazerman 1988) consider the discursive identification of different rhetorical actions, where rhetorical actions refer to communicative actions aimed at specific goals, particularly significant for genre research. However, representatives of this school do not identify these rhetorical actions at the meso-level of discursive organization, but rather primarily at the sentence level. Thus, a developmental trend of this school has emerged, utilising corpus linguistic resources to identify and label rhetorical actions on a string basis (i.e. construction basis), creating an extensive system of categories for rhetorical actions. Based on this system, extensive thesauri have been developed, allowing for automatic analysis of rhetorical moves (see Kaufer et al. 2005; Klebanov et al. 2016).

	Sources of online recipes (50 recipes in total)	Sources of online book reviews (50 book reviews in total)
amateur	nosalty.hu (9 texts)	moly.hu (25 texts)
	receptneked.hu (8 texts)	
	cookpad.com/hu (8 texts)	
professional	streetkitchen.hu (25 texts)	litera.hu (25 texts)

Table 1. Composition of the research corpus

When selecting 25 texts per category, I followed roughly uniform principles but this being a qualitative study, I refined these principles based on the specificities of the websites-types serving as sources. Due to space limitations, I do not elaborate on the details here (but see Ballagó in press). The size of the research corpus is 48,452 texts in total:

	Online recipes 11,562 tokens in total		Online book reviews 36,890 tokens in total	
	total length:	average length/text:	total length:	average length/text:
amateur	4460 tokens	186 tokens	4738 tokens	190 tokens
professional	6902 tokens	276 tokens	32,152 tokens	1286 tokens

Table 2. Size of the research corpus

A systematic qualitative analysis of the research corpus can produce an answer to RQ1), describing how genre unfolds in its natural discursive context and the role discursive structure plays in it. On its own, however, it is less suitable for answering RQ2) because the corpus-based analysis does not shed much light on the production of genre instantiations that is in the forefront of this question. Specifically, the corpus does not highlight what are the natural, "on-line" discursive processes operated by speakers when, by activating certain discursive schemas, they produce utterances, and what are the meaning-generating procedures concerning discursive structure that are crucial to them.

Therefore, as a complement to the analysis of the research corpus, I also conducted an experiment embedded in a questionnaire. Within this framework, respondents divided into two groups (50 people in total) were asked to solve a creative text creation task (cf. Domonkosi–Kuna 2022).[2] One half of the informants (25 people) were asked to "Create a recipe for a good novel", while the other half (25 people) received the task to "Write a review of the following online recipe" – at this point, both a link and a screenshot of a recipe titled *Palacsinta alaprecept Csillától* 'Basic pancake recipe from Csilla' were presented from nosalty.hu.[3] The experiment was thus built on a combination of the genres under study, aiming to systematically identify the key construal processes that, based on the participants' genre knowledge, shape discursive events into a recipe or a review, even a discourse event that may not typically activate these genres. Thus, the data elicited by the

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[2] Informants were aged 20-62 years (average age: 33.5 years), with a gender distribution of 41 women and 9 men.
[3] https://www.nosalty.hu/recept/palacsinta-alaprecept-csillatol (31. 07. 2023.)

researcher also shed light on the structural characteristics of recipes and book reviews that are essential for the emergence of these genres.

I analysed the research corpus as well as the material compiled from novel recipes and recipe reviews obtained during the experiment, using MAXQDA[4] software, following the same qualitative methodology. The systematic identification of discursive structural units was carried out in a data-driven manner, by applying the same category system for both non-elicited and elicited data in the analysis. To identify discursive structural units, I first developed a preliminary coding scheme using a smaller pilot dataset. As the annotation system was extended to the entire material, it became necessary to continuously check, revise and supplement the previously established categories. As a result, a consistent annotation system was eventually developed that I was able to apply consistently across the entire dataset of the research. The following sections present the established analytical categories, i.e. the identified discursive structural units, their frequency data, and the conclusions drawn from the emerging patterns.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Discursive structure of recipes

Regarding the typical structural composition of recipes, the fundamental observation is that there are highly stable structural units – titled *Hozzávalók* 'Ingredients' and *Elkészítés* 'Preparation'[5] – which, based on the results of the study, are deemed essential for an utterance to instantiate the discursive schema of a recipe (cf. Kuna 2016). This applies to both amateur and professionally written recipes. In addition, beyond 'Ingredients' and 'Preparation', the two groups of recipes showed only minor differences from each other in terms of additional structural units, and these differences were rarely systematic. The relatively consistent nature of this is illustrated in Figure 6.

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[4] VERBI Software, *MAXQDA 2020*, software, 2023, maxqda.com.
[5] The literal translation of *Elkészítés* is 'Preparation' but in English recipes, this unit is usually titled *Method* or *Directions*.
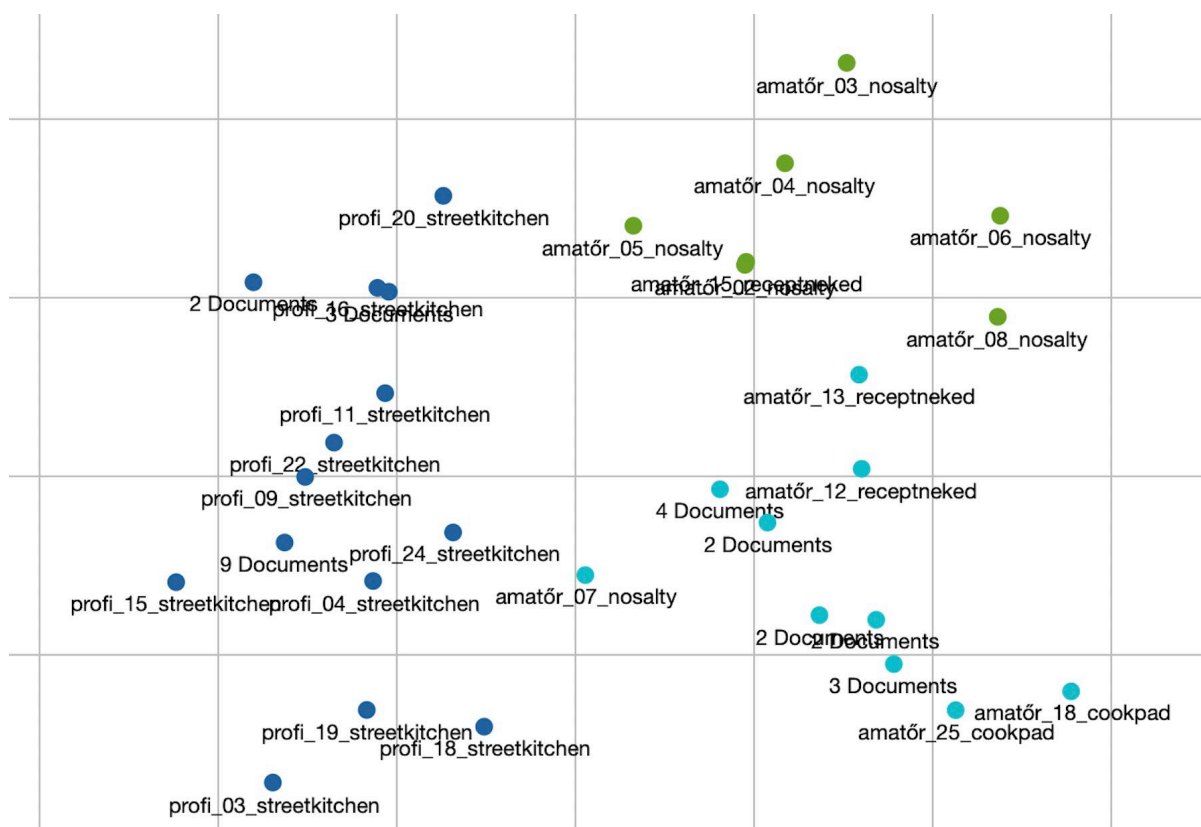
Figure 1. Similarity of amateur and professionally written recipes
in terms of discursive structure[6, 7]

The meso-level discursive units identified in the research corpus are presented in Table 3, along with their frequency data. The order of the structural units listed in the table is (largely) also an iconic illustration of the typical sequence of discursive units identified in genre instantiations.

Labels and code numbers of discursive structural units		Amateur recipes (total number of recipes: 25)		Professional recipes (total number of recipes: 25)	
		Absolute freq.	In how many recipes?	Absolute freq.	In how many recipes?
1.1.	Untitled introductory section (multiple different sections can appear in one recipe); "framework"				
1.1.1.	**Basic information about the recipe**	41	23 (92%)	49	25 (100%)
1.1.2.	The story of the "birth" of the recipe	3	3 (12%)	2	2 (8%)
1.1.3.	Personal note on the recipe	4	4 (16%)	4	4 (16%)
1.1.4.	Additional information about the recipe	3	3 (12%)	2	2 (8%)

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[6] Figures 1 and 2 were created using the visualization tools of MAXQDA software, based on a calculation of the so-called "simple match" of codes. For details, see https://www.maxqda.com/help-mx20/mixed-methods-functions/similarity-analysis-for-documents (06. 10. 2023.)

[7] Legend: amatőr_NUMBER_SOURCE = amateur_NUMBER_SOURCE; profi_NUMBER_SOURCE = professional_NUMBER_SOURCE

1.1.5.	**Developing a positive attitude to the recipe**	2	2 (8%)	17	17 (68%)
1.2.	**Section titled *Hozzávalók* 'Ingredients'**	25	25 (100%)	25	25 (100%)
1.3.	Section titled *Előkészületek* 'Preparations'	–	–	–	–
1.4.	**Section titled *Elkészítés* 'Preparation'/'Method'**	25	25 (100%)	25	25 (100%)
1.4.1.	Closing instructions	–	–	–	–
1.4.2.	Serving/Consuming the product	8	8 (32%)	8	8 (32%)
1.4.3	Product of the preparation process	2	2 (8%)	3	3 (12%)
1.5.	Additional remarks (within the 'Ingredients' or 'Preparation'/'Method' section)				
1.5.1.	Warning, advice	4	4 (16%)	3	2 (8%)
1.5.2.	**Interpretation, comment**	32	13 (52%)	41	21 (84%)
1.6.	Untitled, typographically separated instructions	–	–	–	–
1.7.	Section titled *Ajánló* 'Recommendations'; "framework"	2	2 (8%)	–	–
1.8.	Section titled *Tipp* 'Hint'; "framework"	4	4 (16%)	–	–
1.9.	Untitled closing section (a recipe may contain more than one of the following sections); "framework"				
1.9.1.	**Closure of the entire recipe: saying goodbye**	–	–	25	25 (100%)
1.9.2.	**Recommendation of other recipes**	–	–	23	23 (92%)

Table 3. Discursive structural units and their frequency data identified in the research corpus of authentic recipes from recipe websites [8]

The most important structural units of the recipes were, therefore, the sections titled 'Ingredients' and 'Preparation', in this order. The 'Ingredients' section implemented the discursive schema of a list, with which the recipe writer achieved the more specific goal of drawing the recipient's attention to the ingredients needed for preparing the dish and their exact quantities:

(1)   *Hozzávalók*
         1 kg vajbab (sárgahüvelyű „zöldbab")
         1 fej vöröshagyma
         1 ek kacsazsír
         2 mokkáskanál csemege őrölt pirospaprika
         1 csokor petrezselyemzöld
         1-2 ek 6%-os balzsamecet (ízlés szerint)
         ízlés szerint só[9]

         'Ingredients
         1 kg of butter beans (yellow-podded "green-beans")
         1 head red onion

> 1 tbsp duck fat
> 2 coffee-spoon sweet finely ground Hungarian paprika
> 1 bunch of parsley green
> 1-2 tbsp 6% balsamic vinegar (to taste)'

An understanding of this list, illustrated with example (1), is essential for the recipe genre to achieve its purpose, i.e. the reader being able to prepare the given dish. However, the list of ingredients activates procedural understanding in such a way that the activity of instructing is not elaborated in a linguistically explicit manner. Thus, for the successful operation of 'how-to-do' type (i.e. procedural) understanding, the recipient needs to rely more heavily upon her contextual knowledge which is activated with little support from linguistic reference points, and as part of this, her genre knowledge (cf. Emmott 1999: 21–23; Simon 2014: 107–109). In the research corpus, the 'Ingredients' section was often divided into sub-units with sub-headings (e.g. *A tésztához* 'For the dough'; *A krémhez és a töltelékhez* 'For the cream and filling'). With this subdivision, the recipe writer indicated the different stages of dish preparation and that the items in the list could be grouped together along these lines. Therefore, the grouping of ingredients allows for the separation of the actions or sequences of actions expected from the recipe reader.

The experiment nuanced all of this by showing that in the elicited novel recipes, the most frequently occurring meso-level discursive unit was the list of ingredients, identifiable in 88% of the elicited recipes (i.e. in 22 out of 25). This high frequency indicates that the 'Ingredients' section is capable of functioning as a genre-marking structural unit of the recipe, even in a discursive event considered atypical due to the experimental setting. Nevertheless, the results of the experiment also suggest that the list of ingredients is a discursive unit of such central importance that it may be sufficient for the successful activation of the recipe genre even without the 'Preparation' section. Indeed, among the elicited recipes there were three texts that did not contain an instructional section but only a list of ingredients.

The second most important structural unit of the recipes was the one titled 'Preparation' in which the instructions for preparing the particular dish became linguistically more elaborated compared to the 'Ingredients'. This means that in this section, the recipe writer construes the non-discursive, manual sequence of actions that the recipe reader needs to perform in order to successfully prepare the dish, aligning with the intentions of the speaker.

(2)   *Elkészítés*
        A tésztához
        1. A tojásokat szétszedjük, a fehérjéből cukorral fényes, krémes habot készítünk.
        2. Az élesztőt egy csipet cukorral kevés langyos tejben felfuttatjuk.
        3. A tojássárgáját egy tálba öntjük, hozzáadjuk a puha vajat, a tejfölt, a felfutott élesztőt, sózzuk és elkeverjük. [...][10]

        'Preparation
        For the dough
        1. Separate the eggs, beat the whites with the sugar until shiny and creamy.
        2. Dissolve the yeast with a pinch of sugar in a little lukewarm milk.
        3. Pour the egg yolks in a bowl, add the soft butter, sour cream, the dissolved yeast, season with salt and mix.'

As shown in example (2), amateur recipes contained numbered instructions guiding the reader on how to perform each expected action. The instructions on cookpad.com/hu were also illustrated with photos, providing the recipient with a model for the adequate implementation of the instructions. This

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[10] https://www.nosalty.hu/recept/pavaszem-suti (01. 10. 2023.)

modelling was well-aligned with the construal of interpersonal relations: the use of 1Sg forms was more frequent on cookpad.com/hu compared to other sites (see Ballagó in press).

Regarding the 'Preparation' section, however, the elicited recipes draw attention to a crucial aspect. Namely, that this instructional section is less important, less substantial as a discursive unit of the recipe genre than the 'Ingredients' section. In fact, this structural unit was identifiable in only 17 of the 25 elicited recipes, i.e. 68% of the novel recipes. This frequency is of course not low at all, which means that 'Preparation' is indeed a significant structural unit of the recipe genre. However, it seems that a list-like enumeration of ingredients is more crucial for achieving the central communicative goal of the genre than specifying what, in what order, and how the user of the recipe should do with the ingredients mentioned before.

This can be well supported by the fact that individuals who are more experienced in the kitchen are likely to be able to prepare a dish even in the absence of linguistically detailed instructions if they know the exact name of the dish as well as the ingredients and their quantities. However, if the list of ingredients and/or their exact quantities are unknown (especially in the case of cakes/pastry that require high precision), then even if the instructions are explained in detail, the preparation process may not be successful.

Beyond the 'Ingredients' and the 'Preparation', all amateur and professionally written recipes included at least one photo depicting the dish to be prepared, relatively close-up (see Picture 1, 2). However, among the elicited recipes, there was only one novel recipe that included a visual illustration.

Picture 1. Food illustration from nosalty.hu[11]   **Picture 2.** Food illustration form streetkitchen.hu[12]

If we examine the additional discursive structural units of the recipes, both the untitled introductory part, the structural units titled *Ajánló* 'Recommendation' and *Tipp* 'Hint', and the untitled closing section served a similar function within the discursive scheme of the recipe. They functioned as a kind of discursive "frame" that aimed to support and contextualise the instructive activity at the centre of the recipe. This supportive, discursive scaffolding role (cf. Tomasello 1999: 78–81, 2001; Simon 2014: 76–79), in turn, could be realised through various discursive strategies, as indicated by the variety of codes and subcodes listed in Table 3. However, due to the length limits of this paper, I refrain from a detailed description of these structural units. Moreover, the elaboration of these in the elicited recipes was either missing (e.g. the sections titled 'Recommendation' and 'Hint') or their occurrence was relatively rare.

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[11] https://www.nosalty.hu/recept/csipos-mezes-szezammagos-csirke-rizzsel (02. 10. 2023.)
[12] https://streetkitchen.hu/fitt/balzsamecetes-ceklakremleves-dioval/ (02. 10. 2023.)

4.2. Discursive structure of book reviews

Corpus-based analyses suggest that the discursive structure of book reviews, whether they are amateur or professional, is much less distinctly outlined than that of recipes. Nevertheless, the study did identify certain patterns, which made it clear that there are salient differences between the meso-level structural organization of the discursive schemas activating two different modes of understanding: the ones that activate procedural and the others that activate propositional understanding (i.e. recipes vs. book reviews). On the other hand, while the discursive structure did not substantially differ between recipes from authors with varying expertise, in the case of book reviews, the discursive structure was found to play a proactive role in the differentiation and formation of the more specific genre categories for amateur book reviews and professional critiques. Figure 2 highlights this distinction.
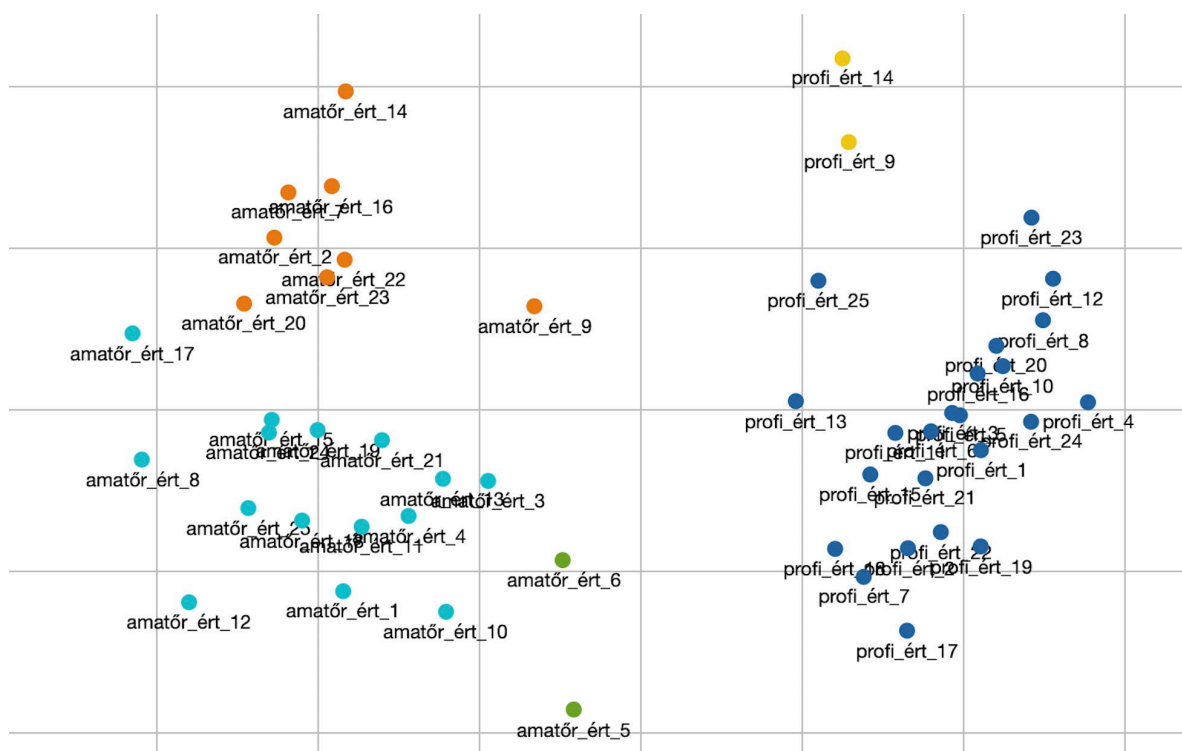
Figure 2. Similarity of amateur book reviews and professional critiques
in terms of discursive structure[13]

The meso-level discursive strategic units identified in the research corpus along with their frequency data are presented in Table 4. The order of structural units listed in the table does not illustrate any typical sequencing here, since these argumentative genres exhibit a much different meso-level structuring compared to instructive recipes that activate procedural understanding (cf. Hyland 1990; Speyer–Fetzer 2014; Becker–Palmer–Frank 2016).

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[13] Legend: amatőr_ért_NUMBER = amateur_review_NUMBER; profi_ért_NUMBER = professional_review_NUMBER

Labels and code numbers of discursive structural units		Amateur book reviews (total number of reviews: 25)		Professional book reviews aka. critiques (total number of reviews: 25)	
		Absolute freq.	In how many reviews?	Absolute freq.	In how many reviews?
2.1.	Section expressing an evaluative attitude				
2.1.1.	"Star rating"	25	25 (100%)	–	–
2.1.2.	**Positive evaluation**	38	22 (88%)	89	23 (92%)
2.1.3.	Negative evaluation	12	8 (32%)	36	16 (64%)
2.1.4.	Arguments for the evaluation	17	11 (44%)	81	20 (80%)
2.2.	Section expressing emotional attitude				
2.2.1.	Positive emotional attitude	50	18 (72%)	1	1 (4%)
2.2.2.	Negative emotional attitude	21	8 (32%)	2	2 (8%)
2.2.3.	Arguments for the emotional attitude	26	11 (44%)	1	1 (4%)
2.3.	Non-evaluative, non-emotional section				
2.3.1.	Thesis: neutral, descriptive statement	17	7 (28%)	274	25 (100%)
2.3.2.	Arguments for the thesis	11	5 (20%)	262	25 (100%)
2.3.3.	Summary of the argumentation	1	1 (4%)	11	9 (36%)
2.3.4.	Quoting and interpreting section				
2.3.4.1.	Direct quotation from the text under review	6	6 (24%)	209	21 (84%)
2.3.4.2.	Direct quotation from elsewhere	1	1 (4%)	34	8 (32%)
2.3.4.3.	Evocation of the passage to be interpreted	4	4 (16%)	14	8 (32%)
2.3.4.4.	Interpretation of a specific passage	2	1 (4%)	10	3 (12%)
2.4.	Narrative of the reception of the text under review	15	13 (52%)	2	2 (8%)
2.5.	Presentation of literary critical reception	–	–	6	3 (12%)
2.6.	Turning to the discourse partner(s)	7	6 (24%)	1	1 (4%)
2.7.	Introduction				
2.7.1.	Introduction by the reviewer	8	8 (32%)	19	19 (76%)
2.7.2.	Introduction by the website's editorial team	–	–	25	25 (100%)
2.8.	Conclusion	12	12 (48%)	15	15 (60%)

Table 4. Discursive structural units and their frequency data identified in the research corpus of authentic book reviews from book review websites

Lay book reviews and professional literary critiques are fundamentally organised at the meso-level of discourse by the fact that the reviewer first makes a statement, i.e. a thesis, accessible, and then elaborates and supports this thesis with further statements and arguments deemed adequate in

the given context (cf. Speyer–Fetzer 2014). At the same time, however, the way individual theses and the arguments supporting them were classified into types, and how these types were organised into patterns in combination with other discursive units, played a crucial role in the separation and specification of the genres of amateur book reviewing and professional literary criticism, based on the results of the corpus-based analysis. I therefore discuss the two specific genres separately in the following sections.

4.2.1. Discursive structure of amateur book reviews

Amateur book reviews, which are significantly shorter than professional ones (average length: 190 tokens), are slightly more varied in terms of discursive structure than professional literary critiques. The only section that appeared in all amateur book reviews was the evaluation using "star ratings". On the one hand, this feature clearly distinguished reviews by amateur enthusiasts from professional critic's reviews, and on the other hand, it created a similarity to online, lay reviews of other cultural products (e.g. films) and the consumer reviews of various products as well.

Similarly high relative frequency data showed that positive evaluations were present in 88% of amateur book reviews, whereas expressing negative evaluative attitudes was quite rare. The formulation of a polarised thesis, i.e. a proposition expressing the speaker's positive or negative evaluative attitude towards the cultural product being evaluated, was an essential part of the "section expressing an evaluative attitude" (cf. Alba-Juez–Thompson 2014; Bednarek 2014; Carratero–Taboada 2014) that could be of varying length and elaboration. However, it is also crucial to note that lay literary enthusiasts did not necessarily support their positive or negative evaluations with arguments. More precisely, they often supported their positive or negative evaluations with other discursive strategies such as presenting the plot of the reviewed literary work as a story, characterising the characters, or telling the story of the unique, one-off reception of the book that the reviewer's previous self had experienced in the past.

(3) <u>Nagyon szép ez a történet. Nem csak mondanivalója, hanem az írásmódja is.</u> Végig lekötött, nagyon gyorsan haladtam vele, itt-ott meg is könnyeztem. A főszereplő Calla az első fejezetekben kifejezetten antipatikus volt, felszínes bulikirálynő, aztán ahogy rétegenként bukkan fel a valódi jelleme abszolút kedvelhetővé vált, még akkor is, ha valójában városi lány marad. Jonah nekem kezdetektől szimpatikus figura volt, ahogy a többiek is, a maguk hibáival együtt. Alaszka bemutatása pedig elég részletes és alapos ahhoz, hogy magam is vággyak egy rövid látogatásra, néhány kisrepülős útra, és pár szemtelen mosómedvére – persze nem hosszabb távon, mert ehhez én is városi lány vagyok. <u>Hozzánőtt a szívemhez az Egyszerű vadon, még ha bonyolult is.</u>[14]

'<u>This is a very beautiful story. Not only the message, but also its writing style.</u> It kept me engaged all along, I progressed through it very quickly, and there were moments when I even shed a tear. The main character, Calla, was distinctly antipathetic in the first chapters, a superficial party queen, but as her true character emerges layer by layer, she becomes genuinely likeable, even if she remains a city girl at heart. Jonah was for me a sympathetic character from the beginning, along with the others, flaws and all. The portrayal of Alaska is detailed and thorough enough to make me crave for a short visit, a little plane trip, and a few cheeky raccoons – of course, not for the long term, because I'm also a city girl for that. <u>I've grown fond of Simple Wilderness, even if it is complicated.</u>'

In example (3), I coded the part underlined with a straight line as "positive evaluation" because the speaker attributes an aesthetic quality (beauty) to the story of the book, and expresses their positive evaluative attitude towards the object of evaluation. The following, longer discursive unit, which

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[14] https://moly.hu/ertekelesek/4792044 (12. 10. 2023.)

in fact argues for the positive evaluation by elaborating it, is also coded as the "narrative of the reception of the text under review". However, the example illustrates that the narrative of the past reception intertwines with the plot of the reviewed novel and the reviewer's emotional attitudes to the characters in the plot. The last sentence, underlined with a wavy line, can be interpreted as a summary of this section and, in a way, of the entire review. The underlining indicates that I annotated this sentence as a "section expressing emotional attitude", specifically as "positive emotional attitude". Therefore, the middle section serves as not only an argument for the opening, positively evaluating thesis but also as preparation for the concluding proposition elaborating on the reviewer's emotional attitude.

The analysis also points out, on the one hand, that more than half (52%) of the amateur book reviews in the corpus had the characteristic of presenting the reception of the evaluated literary work as a narrative, recounting the personal experience of the reader in the past. Thus, the schema of narrative discourses was embedded in basically argumentative discourses:

(4) [...] Az író annyira jól csűrte-csavarta a szálakat, hogy sokszor erősen koncentrálnom kellett az ok-okazati tényezőkre, nehogy lemaradjak valamiről. Megdöbbentem a végkimenetelen is, mert nem számítottam ilyen fejleményekre.
A folytatást is biztos elolvasom majd. :)[15]

'[...] The writer was so good at twisting and turning the threads that I often had to concentrate hard on the cause-and-effect factors, lest I miss something. I was also shocked at the outcome because I didn't expect such developments.
I'll definitely read the sequel as well. :)'

As also exemplified by (4), 72% of amateur book reviews included at least one section expressing positive emotional attitude; by contrast, only 32% of the amateur reviews contained a section expressing negative emotional attitude (cf. Péter 1991; Russel 2003; Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 319). This positive or negative emotional attitude could be directed towards the work under review in general or towards a particular character in the book (e.g. *Hoppácska itt egy Hudson nevezetű pasi aki jófiú, mégis imádtam végig* 'Oopsie, here's a guy named Hudson who is a good guy, yet I loved him throughout').

The experiment supplemented all of these results by revealing which of the discursive units mentioned earlier can be derived from a more generic discursive schema of evaluation. The study found that in elicited reviews, there was only one discursive structural unit crucial for activating the discursive schema of evaluation: unsurprisingly, this was the "section expressing an evaluative attitude". Moreover, the elicited texts were often characterised by the absence of any discursive strategy other than the section that elaborates the positive and/or negative evaluative attitude of the speaker and – from time to time but not necessarily – the arguments for it. Thus, for the activation of a rather generic discursive schema of evaluation, the expression of an evaluative attitude alone is sufficient. In comparison, all the further structural features presented above play a proactive role in shaping the much more specific genre characteristics of amateur book reviews.

4.2.2. Discursive structure of professional literary critiques

The most important general observation regarding the considerably longer professional reviews (average length: 1286 tokens) is that their typical structure is much more canonised (think of university seminars on critique writing). The critiques published on litera.hu were also characterised by a discursive unit whose presence, similar to the star rating on moly.hu, was directly a trace of the activity of the website's editorial team. This quasi-uniform discursive unit identified in all the critiques was annotated as "introduction by the website's editorial team":

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[15] https://moly.hu/ertekelesek/4626538 (12. 10. 2023.)

(5) Ha valaki ott látja működőképesnek a szöveget, ahol az a közlés tengelyén tulajdonképpen megbukik, milyen távlatokban gondol saját művészetére és a művészetre egyáltalán? – Kustos Júlia kritikáját olvashatják Závada Péter Gondoskodás című kötetéről. [...][16]

'If one sees the text as viable where it actually fails on the axis of communication, in what perspective does one contemplate regarding their own art and art in general? – Read Júlia Kustos's critique on Péter Závada's book titled "Gondoskodás" ('Care')'

Subsequently, 76% of the reviews begin with an introductory section from the author of the review, which achieves its basic goal through a variety of strategies.

(6) Szvoren Edina legújabb könyve olyan összetett, hogy komplex elemzésére ezeken az oldalakon nem teszek kísérletet. Ahogy első olvasásra nehéz lenne megválaszolni az olyan, egyébként releváns kérdéseket is, hogy miért van a kötet két részre tagolva, és mi a lényegi különbség az Ohrwurm-jegyzetek és a novellák között, azonkívül, hogy az utóbbiak hosszabbak. Történt-e fontos változás az elbeszélő módban az előző novelláskötethez képest? Mit tudhatunk meg a világról ezeknek az írásoknak a segítségével? [...][17]

'Edina Szvoren's latest book is so complex that I won't attempt a complex analysis on these pages. Just as it would be difficult on a first read to answer otherwise relevant questions such as why the volume is divided into two parts and what is the essential difference between the Ohrwurm notes and the short stories, apart from the fact that the latter are longer. Have there been any significant changes in the narrative mode compared to the previous collection of short stories? What can we learn about the world through these writings?'

Example (6) is a more typical introduction, based on the analysed sample, which starts with the author of the literary work under review. Then, the speaker explicitly reflects on the discursive situation of critique the itself, and outlines possible tasks and goals of the critic. Finally, the reviewer formulates a rhetorical question from the perspective of the recipient of the literary work.

However, it was characteristic of the critiques that the critics reflected on the discursive organization through more explicit metapragmatic signals, often spanning entire complex sentences. In other words, at the beginning of a new structural unit, they formulated reflections on the fact that they were beginning to implement a new sequence of discursive actions aimed at achieving a new communicative goal:

(7) Tapogatózó tájékozódásunk első lépéseként mindenesetre megállapíthatjuk[18]

'As a tentative first step in our exploration, we can certainly state'

Nevertheless, this points to the fact that discursive structuring for more specific communicative purposes plays a crucial role in successful comprehension.

The sections following the introduction do not exhibit such clear typical sequencing as observed in recipes. However, in contrast to amateur book reviews, professional critiques demonstrated a more stable pattern characterised by a discursive structure built along the lines of thesis–argumentation. Furthermore, in professional reviews, it was typical that the speaker first formulated a "neutral", i.e. neither evaluative nor emotional thesis, and then, through a longer or shorter discourse segment, supported or elaborated on the content of this central proposition with further

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[16] https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/puritan-fokusz-bojt.html (13. 10. 2023.)
[17] https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/csodalkozik-hogy-csodalkoznak.html (13. 10. 2023.)
[18] https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/csodalkozik-hogy-csodalkoznak.html (13. 10. 2023.)

statements (cf. Pléh 2014: 321–322). Quantitative data (see Table 4) also draw our attention to the fact that almost every "neutral" thesis was accompanied by an argumentation (272 theses vs. 262 arguments), and both discursive units were identifiable in each critique.

(8) [...] <u>A szöveg felépítése az élőbeszédet idézi.</u> Az elbeszélőnek hirtelen eszébe jut valami, elkalandozik, majd akár tíz oldallal később észbe kap, és újra felveszi az eredeti történet fonalát. Az egyes szám második személyű, közvetlen beszédmód is ezt a hatást erősíti. Az íráskép ugyancsak ezt tükrözi: többsoros mondatok útvesztőjébe vezetnek a szabad gondolatsorok. A szöveg csak minimálisan tördelt, klasszikus párbeszédeket nem tartalmaz, így a szereplők számán felül az áttekinthetőség is nehezíti az olvasó dolgát. [...][19]

'<u>The structure of the text is reminiscent of spoken language.</u> The narrator suddenly remembers something, goes off on a tangent, and may only pick up the original thread of the story ten pages later. This effect is reinforced by the direct, second-person singular voice. The writing style reflects this too: a maze of multi-line sentences leads into a free flow of thought. The text is only minimally punctuated, lacks classical dialogues, so that, in addition to the number of characters, the lack of clarity also makes it challenging for the reader.'

Example (8) illustrates that in this case, the speaker's perspective, as a construing subject with evaluative and/or emotional attitudes, is not profiled in the linguistic construal at all. Within this section, however, a direct quotation from the reviewed text, usually followed by a precise indication of the source of the quotation (as an explicit metapragmatic signal), was found in the reviews with a particularly high absolute frequency.

Finally, it is important to mention the passages expressing the speaker's evaluative attitude: "positive evaluation" occurred in 92% of the reviews, "negative evaluation" in 64%, and "arguments for the evaluation" in 80%.

(9) [...] <u>Ha kontextus nélkül (vagy akár a *Beszélgetések* ismeretében) olvassuk az *Önéletrajzai-m*at, egyáltalán nem lesz világos, hova fut ki az az átfogó művészeti-filozófai-önéletrajzi projekt, amit fentebb, a hetvenes évek fordulata kapcsán emlegettem.</u> Az ugyanis a *Beszélgetések* után mintha nem is az írói teljesítményben, hanem annak elméletében kívánna összegződni. Már nem az elmélet ad segédegyenest a műhöz, hanem fordítva. A vertikális regény mindent és mindenkit átfogó krisztusi egysége túlárad saját határain, és végül felülír minden formai követelményt – mind a próza, mind az elmélet, mind önreflexió síkján. Az életmű teljes szétesése/végső szintézise tehát nem az *Önéletrajzaim* lapjain, hanem a jegyzetfüzetekben, a személyes levelekben, az utolsó interjúkban rajzolódik ki. [...][20]

'<u>If we read *Önéletrajzaim* 'My Autobiographies' without context (or even without knowing the *Beszélgetések* 'Conversations'), it will not be clear where the comprehensive artistic-philosophical-autobiographical project I mentioned above, around the turn of the seventies, leads.</u> It seems that after *Beszélgetések*, it is intended to be summarised not in the performance of the writer, but in the theory of it. It is no longer the theory that provides a tangent to the work, but the other way around. The all-encompassing Christian unity of the vertical novel overflows its own boundaries and finally overrides all formal requirements – on the levels of prose, theory and self-reflection alike. Thus, the complete disintegration/final synthesis of the oeuvre is not drawn out on the pages of *Önéletrajzaim*, but in the notebooks, the personal letters, the final interviews.'

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[19] https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/azt-hitted-erdemes.html (13. 10. 2023.)
[20] https://litera.hu/magazin/kritika/obol-es-fok-1.html (13. 10. 2023.)

In example (9), I coded the underlined sentence as "negative evaluation" and the following section as the "argument for the evaluation". The example also illustrates that professional critiques evaluate in a very different manner than amateur book reviews. Here, the evaluation is much more implicitly polarised (cf. Bednarek 2009), resulting in a stronger demand for mobilising relevant contextual knowledge and an adequate interpretation of the direct textual context, the co-text, to identify the given statement as an evaluation.

5. Conclusions

In this study, I examined how the discursive structure of online recipes and book reviews emerges (RQ1), and which features of theses discourses are essential for the emergence of their specific genre character (RQ2). By discursive structure, I meant the discursive organisation of utterances at the meso-level, i.e. the scope of the utterances which typically encompasses units larger than a sentence but smaller than the entire utterance. In my interpretation, discursive structural units are parts of utterances of various length through which the speaker implements a discursive strategy of action aimed at achieving a more specific communicative goal. The empirical study of these discursive units is crucial in terms of genre because the patterns of discursive strategies directed towards more specific communicative goals outline the typical communicative purposes considered central to the emergence of genres as discursive schemas.

I developed the categories of qualitative analyses by using an inductive approach. Following a series of test analyses in several stages, I applied a data-driven annotation scheme to the entire dataset, both the research corpus and the elicited material. On the basis of all this, the research produced the following results.

As an essential finding, it can be stated that discursive structure clearly proved to be a genre-marking aspect of construal in both recipes and amateur book reviews, as well as in professional critiques.

As regards the discursive structure of recipes, there were no significant differences between the recipes of amateur hobby cooks and professional chefs. Thus, the patterns of discursive structure did not initiate further genre specification within the discursive category of recipes. However, the analysis of both non-elicited and elicited data clearly indicated that there are certain essential, genre-marking structural units in recipes. The most important of these is the *Hozzávalók* 'Ingredients' section, which activates procedural understanding by implementing the discursive schema of a list of things and their exact quantities. The experiment suggests that this section may be sufficient in itself to activate the genre of the recipe. The other structural unit, which also proved to be essential, was usually titled *Elkészítés* 'Preparation'. The more specific communicative purpose of this unit was to linguistically elaborate the activity of instructing, which was only implicitly available before in the 'Ingredients' section – by the activation of adequate contextual knowledge. In other words, the 'Preparation' section detailed a series of instructions for the reader's future actions, presented in a scenario-like fashion. In addition to these – although the lessons from the experiment suggest that they are not necessarily required for the successful realisation of the discursive schema of the recipe – various discursive units (i.e. "framework") could be included at the beginning or at the end of the recipe. The most important among them was the "basic information about the recipe" but a number of other, diverse discursive strategies could also be implemented in the "framework", for example, the developing of a positive attitude towards the recipe, the closure, saying goodbye or even the recommendation of further recipes.

In contrast to recipes, book reviews showed a clear differentiation in terms of discursive structure based on a systematic analysis of reviews from moly.hu and litera.hu. At the same time, results of the experiment indicated that the generic discursive schema of evaluation can be described in terms of discursive structure with only few essential features, namely that the text must include a thesis expressing a positive and/or negative evaluative attitude. The genre of amateur book reviews was specified in relation to this generic schema in such a way that, as a genre-marking feature, the amateur book review always began with the so-called star rating. Beyond the expression

of predominantly positive evaluative attitude, certain discursive structural units also express the reviewer's emotional attitude towards the object of the evaluation, typically positive as well. In addition, a shorter narrative may be embedded in the review, most commonly presented as a personal story of the reception of the work evaluated.

In comparison, the discursive structure of professional literary critiques – which suggests a much stronger genre codification – can be characterised by the fact that the critique starts with an introduction from the editorial team of the website. After that, critics typically build up their texts along the lines of thesis–argument. For the most part, the theses are neutral, descriptive statements, i.e. they do not express the evaluative or emotional attitude of the speaker. The evaluative discursive units – which are clearly less numerous than non-evaluative, non-emotional sections – make the critic's positive or negative evaluation much more implicitly accessible. In line with this, the argumentation for the evaluative thesis plays a more significant role in professional critiques than in the book reviews of lay literary enthusiasts.

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POLITENESS METADISCOURSES
IN THE PRACTICE OF HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE CONSULTING

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Abstract

The paper presents how problems of linguistic politeness are reflected in the practice of institutional language consulting. The research analyses questions and answers on linguistic politeness in the database of emails from the Language Consulting Service of the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics. Through an in-depth analysis of a selected e-mail, the paper shows that uncertainties about linguistic politeness (forms of address, greetings) are typically formulated as issues requiring normative guidance. The analysis of the consultant's answer also shows that in the case of politeness questions the language consulting strategy requires, in addition to knowledge of scientific findings, an awareness of the community's politeness, an understanding of the socio-cultural situation and environment of the inquirer, and an identification of his/her linguistic and social attitudes.

Keywords: linguistic politeness, politeness metadiscourses, language consulting, Language Management Theory, forms of address

1. Introduction

Speakers demonstrate a strong interest in questions of linguistic politeness, which play a key role in shaping their social relations and self-perceptions. For this reason, practical issues pertaining to linguistic politeness often invite reflexive comments, with speakers discussing problems of this kind and engaging in metadiscourses that in turn affect a community's norms and customs of linguistic behaviour.

The paper presents how problems of linguistic politeness are articulated in the practice of institutional language consulting, and discusses the functions and responsibilities assigned to expert linguists in addressing these issues (Dvořáková–Martinkovičová 2019; Mžourková–Dvořáková 2023). The authors work for the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics, and base their research on a continuously expanding database of email inquiries from members of the public. Besides giving an overview of the functioning and documentation of language consulting conducted by the Research Centre, they offer an in-depth analysis of a selected email inquiry and the response it received. Through a detailed analysis of these texts and the criteria informing the coding procedure, the paper aims to explicate what factors, situational variables need to be taken into account in language consulting on issues of linguistic politeness.

2. Theoretical background

In the interpretation of language consulting on issues of linguistic politeness, two different theoretical frameworks are adopted here, which seem capable of being successfully integrated for analysing the phenomenon at hand. We apply Language Management Theory (Jernudd–Neustupný 1987; Nekvapil 2016) to the interpretation of language consulting in a global fashion for characterising the social role of speakers' reflexive attitude to language (Ludányi 2019a, Ludányi 2020, Ludányi et al. 2022, Domonkosi–Ludányi [forthc.], Ludányi–Domonkosi [forthc.]). Additionally, the analysis adopts the perspective of a post-discursive approach to politeness studies (Kádár–Haugh 2013; Culpeper–Haugh 2014) because the situations in question involve politeness metadiscourses. Despite their various differences, these frameworks do lend themselves to integration, primarily due to their focus on linguistic reflections, on linguistic meta-activities.

2.1. Language management and language consulting

Language Management Theory (LMT, Jernudd–Neustupný 1987) is a theoretical framework for the detection, analysis and treatment of linguistic-communicative problems. One of its goals is to offer a global perspective for describing reflections on language activity that occur at various levels and in varied manifestations. The practices of language consulting can be fruitfully interpreted in Language Management Theory, and for this reason the Language Consulting Service (LCS) of the Research Centre for Linguistics has been primarily interpreted in this framework with regard to both workflow organisation and data documentation (for details, see Ludányi 2020; Ludányi et al. 2022). LMT considers as language management all activities directed at language or at specific discourses, hence the concept of language management also involves reflections on linguistic phenomena and activities in their wake which are aimed at shaping language. In this broad sense, language management is performed by speakers correcting their own or their speech partners' utterances, teachers marking spelling errors in tests, linguistic proofreaders checking the quality of texts, those searching for an unknown word while solving a crossword puzzle, marketing experts brainstorming for an efficient advertising slogan, parents offering guidance to their children on how to address neighbours, and so on.

The theory makes a distinction between so-called simple and organised forms of language management. The latter include institutionalised processes of language reform such as determining the language of education (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1990; Csernicskó 2011; Bartha 2015), spelling regulation (e.g. Laczkó 2018; Lengar Verovnik – Dobrovoljc 2022; Hlaváčková et al. 2022; Vranjek Ošlak 2023), specification of the statuses and roles of majority and minority languages as well as foreign languages (e.g. Lanstyák–Szabómihály 2002; Marti 2022; Ó Ceallaigh 2022; Kiss 2022) and even management of the linguistic, communicative and socio-cultural situation of multinational companies (e.g. Nekvapil–Sherman 2009; Ketcham 2022).

Language consulting services bridge the gap between simple and organised forms of language management (Fairbrother 2020, Kimura–Fairbrother 2020), since they address the problems of language users in a way that exhibits features of organised language management (Nekvapil 2016: 15). In institutional language consulting, the following features are characteristic of organised language management: (i) language management acts are trans-interactional, since inquirers initiate discourse about linguistic experiences they encounter in other discursive situations; (ii) the LCS operates with institutional background that has links to an organisational framework for linguistic and spelling codification; (iii) the process of consulting is informed by theoretical considerations; and (iv) consultants display a reflexive attitude to their activity, including its underpinnings in terms of language ideologies.

In the interpretation of language consulting as a process of language management, LMT has become a dominant theoretical framework because compared to the earlier conception of language planning and policy (LPP), which focused on the institutional forms, contexts and agents of

organised language management, it prioritises the perspective of language users and the bottom-up nature of language-shaping activities (Nekvapil–Sherman 2015: 1–2).

In this paper, the phenomenon and functioning of language management is interpreted with respect to a triadic system whose interrelated elements include linguistic beliefs/ideologies, language activity and the practices of language management. Besides LMT, we also build on a novel, speaker-oriented approach to language planning (Spolsky 2021), and assess relationships between participants of language management with regard to power and roles as evidenced through work mechanisms of language ideologies (Kimura 2022; Kopecký 2022).

In the organised form of language consulting, a linguistically qualified consultant offers guidance to a member of the public on issues of language use by highlighting linguistic constructions that can be adopted in everyday practice. Hence, the consultant also engages in scientific popularisation. The consultant's task of formulating expert answers to inquiries primarily means elaborating possible solutions *(adjustment design)* (Beneš et al. 2018; Ludányi 2020). In the course of elaborating solutions, called *cselekvési terv ~ akcióterv* 'action plan' in the Hungarian LMT terminology, language consulting experts employ a variety of strategies. In their responses, they strive for maximally thorough descriptions of the linguistic phenomenon in question, paying due attention to the socio-cultural situation of the inquirer, the criteria that guide the question and the interpretative frameworks that it presupposes.

As all language-related discourses, language consulting also inevitably relies on language ideologies. In particular, institutionalised language management necessarily involves the ideology of linguistic expertism (Ludányi 2019a: 65), i.e. the assumption that owing to their expertise in linguistics, consultants can offer guidance to speakers with regard to adequate linguistic behaviour (Lanstyák 2017: 34).

In the interpretation pursued in this paper, metadiscourses unfolding between language users and consultants implement particular stages in the process of language management. Moreover, due to their carefully documented nature, they also invite the analysis of procedures.

2.2. Language consultancy correspondence as politeness metadiscourse

From studies of the complex phenomenon of politeness, results of the third wave of politeness research bring particular benefits for the description of public language consultancy with regard to politeness. One reason is that this wave moves beyond the discursive approach to politeness and does not simply consider politeness as a phenomenon emerging in discourse but also differentiates between various perspectives implemented in discourse. Moreover, it also aims to provide a nuanced description of how the perspectives of researchers and discourse participants are related to each other (Kádár–Haugh 2013; Culpeper–Haugh 2014). In politeness research, the study of meta-politeness discourses has received prominence because it helps shed light on fundamental community values and norms at work in specific communities and societies (Németh et al. 2016).
Within reflexive awareness in relation to language and language activity, Kádár and Haugh (2013: 186–187) differentiate between four modes of manifestation: metalinguistic, metacommunicative, metadiscursive and metacognitive awareness. The concept of metalinguistic awareness pertains to metalinguistic expressions, assessments, evaluations that exist in particular languages (e.g. Hu. *udvarias* 'polite', *sértő* 'offensive', *goromba* 'rude'). Metacommunicative awareness is instantiated in reflexive interpretations of social activities and meanings, in evaluative utterances occurring in specific speech situations (e.g. *Ne legyél már ennyire udvariatlan!* 'Come on, don't be so impolite!'). Metadiscursive awareness is manifested in social discourses on politeness that unfold at the levels of society, community and culture. Thus, metacommunicative awareness always manifests itself in particular interactions, whereas metadiscursive awareness means the retroactive and global interpretation of issues of politeness. According to the theory, metacognitive awareness can be spotted in utterances about cognitive states such as attitudes and expectations.

Differentiating between these modes of manifestation is helpful for the analysis but in reality, the categories are closely intertwined in their working, thus it is hard to distinguish one from the

other. This holds true especially for the notions of metacommunicative and metadiscursive aware-ness. They all result from ideological work, and are thus to be regarded as phenomena construed and embedded in social, community-based and cultural contexts.

Inquiries submitted to the language consulting service primarily give evidence of metacom-municative awareness. In elaborate responses and explanations, the levels of metacommunicative, metadiscursive and metacognitive levels tend to be inextricably linked.

Kádár and Haugh's model takes politeness to be interpretable from the perspective of either language users or observers (2013: 86). The perspective of language users is further differentiated by additional criteria. In terms of activity in the speech situation, a distinction can be made between participants and meta-participants, and expectations about politeness can be studied from emic and ethic perspectives. The observer's perspective can be that of a layman or one aimed at scien-tific analysis, and accordingly, the corresponding notions of politeness may be folk-theoretic or scientific, respectively.

Language consulting always adopts the metaparticipant perspective. Supported by the ideo-logy of linguistic expertism mentioned above (Lanstyák 2017: 34), scientific analysis is present. And in order for consulting to be efficient, the experts involved need to implement folk-theoretic notions of politeness as well (Kádár–Haugh 2013).

In the praxis of language consulting, these perspectives are closely intertwined. Furthermore, a key paradoxon inherent in offering expert advice is that the discourse of consulting does not simply inform and give guidance but rather, owing to the consultant's authoritative position, also significantly contributes to the elaboration and reinforcement of norms.

3. The material and method of analysis

For the analysis, we rely on data from the Language Consulting Service (LCS) of the HUN-REN Hun-garian Research Centre for Linguistics. At this institution and its predecessor, a language consul-ting service has operated since 1949, receiving inquiries in letters and by telephone (Ludányi 2020). Since 2011, emails sent to the consulting service have been accessible in a uniform, searchable format. The material consisting of approximately 10000 inquiries is the source of an expanding anonymised database.[1] The LCS is typically consulted about questions of spelling (Kardos 2007; Ludányi 2019b), some of which can be quickly and easily answered with the help of the academic spelling regulation as well as dictionaries. By contrast, other kinds of questions on language use, including those related to linguistic politeness, require much more complex consulting strategies and in many cases in-depth research in support of detailed explications (Domonkosi–Ludányi [forthc.]; Ludányi et al. 2022).

Each email sent to the LCS is coded for the type of language problem it raises, in parallel with the production of a response. For the analyses, we have retrieved 51 emails from the database which have received a tag for 'linguistic politeness'. In the tag system being adopted, this category subsumes subcodes for greetings, addresses, and T/V. The elaboration of this tagging hierarchy was strongly shaped by the researchers' perspective, as it was assumed from the outset on the basis of prior experience that these issues would be generally linked to politeness in metadiscour-ses on language. The further processing, qualitative content analysis of emails will see the intro-duction of additional selectional criteria which are relevant for politeness (e.g. closing formulas in emails, initial capitals in the spelling of pronouns). For the research reported here, we primarily used the 'linguistic politeness' tag to select email correspondences containing metadiscourses on issues of linguistic politeness.

The phenomena now tagged for 'linguistic politeness' were previously categorised by the la-bel 'linguistic etiquette.' Relabelling was motivated by the consideration that the concept of

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[1] Data of those turning to the LCS of the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics are handled in accor-dance with regulations. The material of emails is included in the database in an anonymised form, and inquirers are informed about the use of the linguistic material of their questions for purposes of academic research.

etiquette primarily reflects a normative, prescriptive attitude. In the practice of present-day consul-ting, however, the goal is to offer guidance by carefully evaluating forms in terms of their adequacy for particular situations. Accordingly, the position, attitudes and intentions of inquirers are given high priority in approaching issues of politeness.

The paper provides a brief overview of questions in the database that concern linguistic polite-ness along with the problems they indicate (4.1.), and also presents a more detailed analysis based on a letter of advice in response to a question of this type (4.2.).

For the case study providing a more detailed analysis, we have selected an email on the basis of its explicitness as well as the length and criteria of the ensuing response. Also in preparation for additional coding, we use this example to present major criteria and problems that emerge in the course of processing inquiries about issues of linguistic politeness.

4. Analysis: metadiscourses on linguistic politeness in language consulting

4.1. Linguistic politeness in the database of public inquiries

Questions about linguistic politeness make up a tiny fraction of inquiries in the email database, having a much smaller share than questions about spelling and about the correctness of gramma-tical variants (0.5%). Despite its low frequency of occurrence, the topic constitutes a stable seg-ment in the work of the language consulting service, also showing up recurring problem types. Of the 51 emails labelled for 'linguistic politeness' in the database, 42 concern address forms, 6 are about greetings, and 3 pertain to the issue of T/V (Fig. 1).
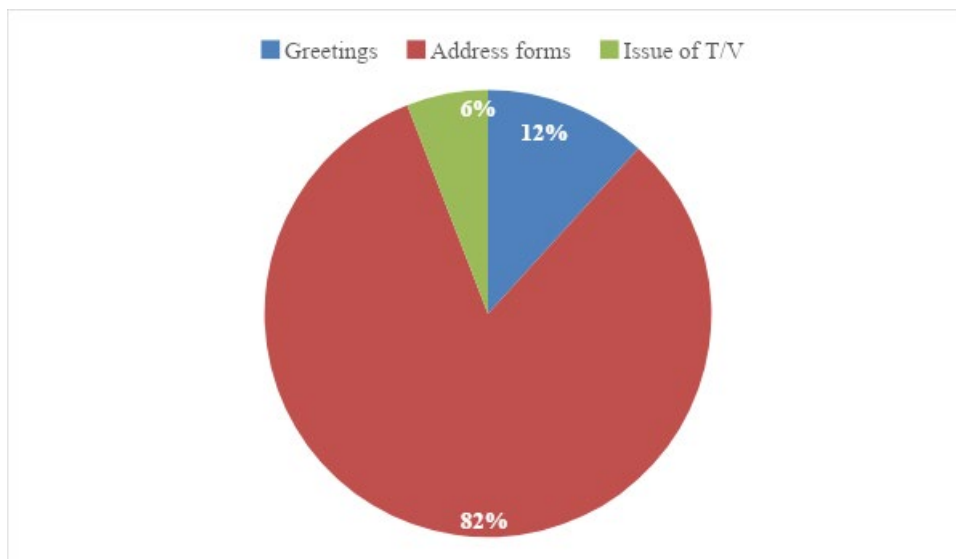
Figure 1. The distribution of email inquiries about linguistic politeness

Inquiries about linguistic politeness demonstrate that in this topic, the chief motivation for which language users turned to the LCS was that because of uncertainties in everyday discourse (with regard to T/V, addresses and greetings), they sought professional sources that they considered authoritative. This attitude on behalf of inquirers can be seen to be driven by a need for one's beha-viour to be reinforced from a position of power (Kopecký 2022: 91–94). The attitude of language users seeking normative guidance is also exemplified by the email below, which inquires about what is the 'correct' form of address. However, due to the peculiarity and complexity of issues of politeness as indicated above, in these cases what consultants aim to offer is not normative

guidance but rather a maximally nuanced identification of the problem along with presentation of the usage values of alternative linguistic devices.

Among inquiries about language use, questions of linguistic politeness partly owe their peculiarity to the fact that they highlight the issue of normativity in a specific way. Whereas in the case of spelling issues, the work of language consultants is directed at transmitting codified forms, in language use problems the goal is always to present the phenomenon in a data-centric, corpus-based manner informed by relevant research. Moreover, within language use problems, issues of linguistic politeness are characterised by a particularly high degree of dependence on the situation, on the relationship between discourse partners and on distinctive customs of smaller communities.

4.2. Case study: analysis of a language management metadiscourse

Metadiscourses unfolding in the dynamism of language users' questions and their dialogues with consultants allow for a step-by-step description of the language management process that also illuminates what values, beliefs and ideologies underlie dilemmas and argumentations behind linguistic behaviour. A comprehensive coding of emails in the database has been started, and this process is being fine-tuned on a continuous basis. The case study presented in this paper also serves to demonstrate that working out a coding system of this kind is a highly complex task guided by a variety of criteria.

By exploring a language user's inquiry and the response it received, the analysis below fulfils several purposes. Firstly, it shows what beliefs and norms exist in relation to the politeness issue at hand. Secondy, it illuminates what criteria need to be considered by language consultants in situations of this kind. Thirdly, with regard to data processing, it illustrates what methodological concerns inform the setting up of a coding system.

The email that has been selected (1) raises a language problem about a jovial form of address, with its author requesting guidance on usage. The letter was sent specifically to a language consultant specalising in research on address forms. This indicates the effort that the letter's author had invested before submitting their inquiry, and thus gives evidence of a high level of reflexive awareness of their participation in the language management process. In effect, this also means that the inquiry combines the perspectives of experts and everyday speakers.

The inquirer, an elderly man working as a GP, requests reassurance in a linguistic situation that has proved controversial, i.e. in terms of LMT he initiates post-interaction language management (Nekvapil–Sherman 2009). Moreover, the language management process is combined with an effort to work out customs of politeness, with politeness/impoliteness construed via a recursive evaluation of linguistic behaviour (Chang–Haugh 2011).

Our experiences in language consulting suggest that the most typical motivation for inquiries is an intention to create an adequate linguistic product, i.e. pre-interaction language management (Ludányi et al. 2022, Domonkosi–Ludányi [forthc.]). However, in contrast with this trend, problems of linguistic politeness are often identified after an offensive situation, with the consultant thus being involved in post-interaction language management. In these language management processes, emotional factors are also at play following the use of linguistic forms which are deemed by a speaker as offensive and impolite. In the case under study, the inquirer's addressing practice has become the subject of criticism. In particular, a close family member, the inquirer's son, was of the opinion that an address form that he typically used was not adequate. In the letter, the inquirer's reported sense of being 'scolded' or 'admonished' for using a particular form of address aptly illustrate what emotional factors were at play in the everyday language management acts in question.

(1) Tisztelt Asszonyom!

80 éves, de még aktív körzeti orvos vagyok [nagyvárosban]. 45 éve dolgozom ugyanabban a körzetben. Betegeimet, akik közül sokan már nagymamák, gyermekkoruk óta ismerem.

Családias kapcsolatot tartok mindenkivel. Ezért gyakran úgy szólítom meg őket, hogy *aranyom*. E kedves megszólítás is hozzásegíti a beteget, hogy ne izguljon.

Szoros baráti körömben, kedves ismerőseimnek írt leveleimben is gyakran használom ezt a kedveskedő, baráti megszólítást már évek óta.

Most az 50 éves fiam megszidott, hogy a vele egykorú barátainak is hasonló megszólítást tettem egy kifejezett baráti tartalmú levélben. Legtöbbjüket régóta ismerem, „[Keresztnév] bácsinak" hívnak, és háziorvosuk is vagyok, amikor a rendelőben találkozok velük, szintén gyakran így szólítom őket.

Jogos-e fiam intelme?

Várom kedves válaszát, tisztelettel:
dr. [Vezetéknév] [Keresztnév]

'Dear Madam,

I am an 80-year-old but still active general practitioner [in a city]. I have worked in the same district for 45 years. I have known my patients, many of whom are now grandmothers, since their childhood. I am on familiar terms with everybody. For this reason, I often address them as *aranyom* ['my treasure', lit. 'my gold']. This jovial address form helps calm the patient.

In my close circle of friends and toward my dear acquaintances I have also often used this jovial, friendly form of address for years.

Now my 50-year old son has scolded me for using this address form in a letter with a distinctly friendly content sent to his friends from the same age group. I have known many of them for a long time, they call me Uncle [given name], and I am also their family doctor, when I meet them in my office, I also often address them like this.

Is my son right in scolding me?

Looking forward to your kind reply, respectfully yours:
dr. [family name] [given name]"

In the letter, the inquirer specifies his social background in detail (age, profession) and also elaborates on the circumstances of the linguistic situation that has been identified as problematic. In the course of processing emails in the database, these two criteria receive separate codes. A detailed analysis and coding of the database is still underway but experiences obtained so far already suggest that inquirers rarely supply such detailed data about themselves; it is somewhat more typical for the circumstances of the situation, the context in which the language problem has been perceived, to receive description. In the case at hand, the inquirer's in-depth elaboration of these factors is highly important as it indicates awareness of the fact that any linguistic form can only be evaluated and interpreted with respect to the circumstances of communication, and this is especially so in matters of politeness.

As part of his description of the communicative situation, the inquirer also shares his reflections upon the form in question, his assessment of its stylistic-pragmatic effect, reporting on an intention to reduce distance and alleviate stress in the context of doctor-patient relationships. These reflections also receive specific codes in the processing of the database. Inspired by emails reflecting a high degree of linguistic awareness on the part of language users, we strive to develop a labelling system that records consultants' impressions with regard to such awareness.

The inquirer reports on a situation in which post-interaction language management occurred, with one observer detecting a language problem and expressing an expectation of appropriate linguistic behaviour. At this point, the language management process was elevated from the micro to the macro level (Nekvapil 2009: 6), as participants of the interaction turned to an expert, a language consultant to settle the controversy (Beneš et al. 2018; Kopecký 2022). From the perspective of

politeness studies, the situation when a father's use of an address form is criticised by his son can be interpreted as a manifestation of metacommunicative awareness on behalf of a metaparticipant (Kádár–Haugh 2013: 81–105). The act of turning to a consultant, for its part, already represents the level of metadiscursive awareness, as what we witness here is retroactive interpretation of a politeness-related phenomenon, with the involvement of an expert and their scientific viewpoint broadening the scope of the question to the community level.

The consultant's response contains a highly explicit, detailed explanation (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), tailored to match the inquirer's attitude, the specificity of his question and his careful delineation of the problem. The consultant identifies and names the academic disciplines that have bearing on the question, as the inquirer's perspective, his socio-cultural background seem to suggest that such information may also contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the response. The response also notes that few research results are available on the specific form in question. This remark highlights a basic dilemma of consultants, namely whether or not empirical data must be invoked in all answers, and if not, on what basis language problems can be identified for which analogical reasoning may suffice.

> (2) Kedves Doktor Úr!
> A feltett kérdésnek izgalmas stilisztikai, szociokulturális és pragmatikai vonatkozásai vannak, azonban valós kutatási eredmény kevés van a hátterében, ezért nem könnyű megválaszolni.
>
> 'Dear Sir [lit. Dear Mr Doctor],
> The question that has been raised has intriguing stylistic, socio-cultural and pragmatic aspects but few concrete research results are available, hence it is not easy to answer.'

In the case at hand, the consultant decided that consulting dictionaries and referring to general pragmatic regularities regarding the use of informal linguistic devices were sufficient for explicating the stylistic value of *aranyom* 'my gold' even without specific research results and corpus data. The presentation of stylistic values in dictionaries may implement a normative perspective, but any adverse effect resulting from this was offset in this case by the consultants conducting a corpus survey as background for their response.[2] On this basis, the response specified the form's stylistic value, usage, and noted the reduction of interpersonal distance as one of its typical functions (3).

> (3) Az *aranyom* megszólításhoz állandónak tekinthető stílusérték kapcsolódik, használata egyértelműen a bizalmas, közeli viszony kialakításának eszközeként értelmezhető.
>
> 'The address form *aranyom* 'my gold' has a stylistic value that can be regarded as stable, its use can be clearly interpreted as a device for creating an informal, close relationship.'

In addition, the response elaborates on the controversy surrounding intentions to reduce interpersonal distance (as also detected by the inquirer) in doctor-patient communication (4). It reports on empirical results about an address form having a similar stylistic value, and even refers to a relevant work of scientific popularisation (Domonkosi 2019b) which can be easily accessed on the internet.

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[2] According to data sorted for subcorpora from the Hungarian National Corpus[2] (Oravecz et al. 2014), *aranyom* has a much higher frequency of occurrence in personal subcorpora than in the others, with a precise description of its functions requiring a detailed study of context (spoken language: 4 tokens, official: 0, press: 2, personal – internet forum: 140, personal – community-based: 97, literature: 238, scientific: 12). In this case, the corpus data (without further analysis) are not more informative than the dictionary entry. Generally, though, the question as to when such data should be incorporated in responses is a typical dilemma in the selection of consultant strategies (see Ludányi 2023).

(4) A kutatások alapján az orvos-beteg kommunikációban valóban jellemző az Ön által moti-
vációként leírt nyelvi közelítő tendencia, és az esetek egy részében alkalmas is lehet a hely-
zet barátságosítására, kellemesebbé tételére.

Mivel azonban az orvos-beteg kapcsolat aszimmetrikus helyzetet jelent, és a beteg nem
élhet a nyelvi közelítés hasonló eszközeivel, a közelítő szándék a visszájára is fordulhat. A
kérdéses megszólításra vonatkozóan nincsenek empirikus kutatások, de a nénizés, bácsi-
zás hasonló szerepű használata kapcsán ezt állapították meg: „A gyógyítók és betegek kö-
zötti gyakorlatra összességében megszólítási aszimmetria jellemző, ugyanis a szerepet
hangsúlyozó, erőteljesen tiszteletadó formákra kifejezetten bizalmas, néha akár bántóvá is
váló megszólítások felelnek. Ez az eltérés pedig arra a paradoxonra hívhatja fel a kommu-
nikációs gyakorlatukra reflektáló egészségügyi dolgozók figyelmét, hogy a bizalmas formák,
még ha elsődleges hatásszándékuk a közelítés, közvetlenség megteremtése is, a kölcsö-
nösség hiányában az alárendeltség, a hierarchia képzetét erősíthetik."
(https://www.ameganet.hu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Hogy-tetszik-lenni.pdf)

'Research suggests that a tendency toward reducing distance in doctor-patient communi-
cation indeed exists, and in some cases may support successful attempts at creating a
friendlier, more pleasant situation.

However, since doctor-patient relationships are asymmetrical, and thus the patient can-
not employ similar, distance-reducing linguistic devices, such attempts may also backfire.
With regard to the address form in question, no empirical research results are available but
the following has been remarked about the use of *néni, bácsi* [jovial address forms directed
at elderly women and men, respectively]: "The communicative practice between healers
and patients is generally characterised by an asymmetry in address, with role-oriented,
strongly honorific forms met with highly informal, sometimes offensive forms. Healthcare
workers reflecting on their communicative practice may realise by considering this discre-
pancy that even when their primary intention is to create closeness and indirectness, in the
absence of reciprocity the use of informal devices may actually reinforce a sense of subor-
dination and hierarchy."
(https://www.ameganet.hu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Hogy-tetszik-lenni.pdf)'

The consultant's response gives an in-depth characterisation of the situation, and offers an interpre-
tation that incorporates possible meaning attributions as well as various criteria of pragmatics and
language management while always prioritising the inquirer's viewpoint and socio-cultural
background along with the context of the problem's detection. The consultant is also mindful of
the fact that the linguistic problem results from different attitudes in a parent-child relationship,
thus the participants are emotionally involved in the assessment of how this informal linguistic
device should be evaluated (5).

(5) Arra nézve, hogy milyen társadalmi jellemzőkkel írhatók le inkább azok, akik elfogadják,
pozitívan értelmezik ezt a közelítő szándékot, sajnos nincsenek kutatások. Azt, hogy egy
adott helyzetben célt ér-e az adott közelítő szándék, releváns módon csak a részt vevő felek
ítélhetik meg. A kérdéses helyzetben a fia által érzékelt nyelvi probléma, illetve az ő véle-
ménye, figyelmeztetése annyit mindenképpen jelez, hogy az orvosok által használt bizal-
mas nyelvi elemeknek ellentmondásos a megítélése. A fia intelme tehát az ő nyelvi ízlését
tükrözi, az adott helyzetben akkor lehet „jogos", ha ismeri esetleg a megszólított vélemé-
nyét, ellenérzéseit is az adott formával kapcsolatban.

'As for the social features characterising those who accept and positively evaluate this in-
tention of reducing distance, unfortunately there are no research results on this. Whether
an intention of creating closeness proves successful in a particular situation can only be
relevantly judged by the discourse participants themselves. In the situation in question, the

language problem perceived by your son, his opinion and warning at the very least are in-dicative of the fact that the use of informal linguistic elements by doctors is subject to controversy. In other words, your son's warning reflects his linguistic taste, and in the situation at hand it can be "justified" if he is perhaps also aware of the opinion and possible reservations of those addressed with regard to the form in question.'

The response offers a detailed interpretation but stops short of expressing a clear stance with regard to the original question, i.e. whether the inquirer's use of *aranyom* 'my gold' as an address form was rightfully criticised. Instead, the consultant recommends a partner-oriented approach to address forms, adjusted to the discourse partner's preferences, as a flexible politeness strategy (6). The consultant also takes it into consideration that the address form causing a language problem has been adopted by the inquirer as a general practice, and has only received criticism by his son on this particular occasion.

(6) A bizalmas nyelvi elemek használata az egyéni kommunikációs stílus, a gyógyítói kommunikációs stratégia része is lehet. Ennek hatékonyságát vagy esetleg kudarcát a beszédpartnerek közötti egyezkedés során valószínűleg nap mint nap tapasztalja. Árnyalhatja még ezt a kérdést az is, hogy az Ön életkora miatt kevésbé lehet valószínű az, hogy az ilyen formákat a megszólítottak leereszkedő, bántó nyelvi megoldásként azonosítsák. Mindezek alapján a kérdéses bizalmas megszólítás használatával kapcsolatban a reakciókra, reflexiókra figyelő, a beszédpartnerhez rugalmasan igazodó gyakorlatot lehet javasolni.

'The use of informal linguistic elements may also be part of personal communicative style, a healer's communicative strategy. Over the course of negotiation between discourse partners, you can probably experience its efficiency or failure on a daily basis. As a further aspect affecting the issue, due to your age it is possibly less likely that those addressed evaluate such forms as patronising or offensive linguistic devices. Based on these considerations, what can be recommended is a linguistic practice that involves closely monitoring reactions and making flexible adjustments to the discourse partner.'

This piece of advice prompted a response from the inquirer (7), which shows what role may be played by a given adjustment design in the language management process, which of its components may be implemented and how.

(7) Kedves Asszonyom!
Örülök a válaszának. Tényleg ez az aszimmetria, ami az orvos-beteg viszonyban van, létezik. Talán a 80 éves korom magyarázza, hogy egyre inkább magamat már a „szépkorúak" táborához tartozónak látom, és ezért megengedhetem magamnak (ezek szerint nem mindig helyesen) ezt a megszólítást. Máskor vigyázni fogok. De azért a fiam elnézőbb is lehetett volna, hiszen az ő baráti körére másképp tekintek, mégpedig úgy, mintha gyermekeim lennének.

'Dear Madam,
I am happy with your reply. This asymmetry indeed exists in doctor-patient relationships. Maybe at 80 I'm justified in increasingly seeing myself as belonging to the camp of those 'advanced in years', and thus I take the liberty (apparently not always correctly) of adopting this form of address. Next I will be more careful. But my son could also have been more understanding, as I look at his circle of friends differently, namely as if they were my children.'

This kind response expressing gratitude shows that the inquirer has given due consideration to the consultant's answer that offered a global perspective and interpreted linguistic politeness in a

dynamic fashion. The inquirer's feedback on the asymmetry of doctor-patient communication is indicative of his reflexive awareness. Besides appealing to the variable of age, his interpretation also makes it clear that the problem was primarily caused by a difference in role perceptions between his son and himself. In addition, as he is coming to terms with the address form's interpretation as potentially having a negative, offensive effect, he relies strongly on a right-wrong duality that misses the complexity of linguistic variables but is highly characteristic of everyday reflections.

Precisely in order that such in-depth reports can be analysed, in the course of our detailed qualitative processing of consultants' metadiscourses, we are planning to adopt specific codes for inquirers' attitudes as well as reflections that give evidence of adjustments in linguistic behaviour.

5. Summary

On the basis of politeness metadiscourses of LCS email correspondences of the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics, the paper has shown that inquiries requesting advice on linguistic politeness (T/V, address forms, greetings) are typically aimed at dissolving the inquirer's uncertainty and doubts, expecting normative guidance from the consultant. The paper has used a case study of an email inquiry and the response it received to illustrate the complexity of language consultants' work. Specifically, the presentation of linguistic data and research results (Domonkosi 2002, 2017) is not efficient by itself, as inquirers generally seek clear advice and guidance rather than information (Domonkosi 2019a). For this reason, the elaboration of an adjustment design requires not only knowledge of the relevant research results but also recognition of the inquirer's socio-cultural background and environment as well as their linguistic and social attitudes.

Questions on linguistic politeness call for the adoption of consultant strategies that are partially different from those employed in the solution of other types of language problems. The response is not supposed to be framed in terms of etiquette, with the intention of offering prescriptive advice; rather, the goal is to provide as nuanced descriptions as possible by taking into account various components of the situation in question including evaluative stances, attitudes, and emotions. Concomitantly, by joining a politeness metadiscourse, a recursive series of evaluations, the response also helps shape politeness practices.

Questions and answers formulated in the language management processes of language consulting can be interpreted as special metadiscourses on politeness. They integrate a complex range of varied perspectives that are separated in theoretical interpretations of politeness. In particular, in dialogues between inquirers and consultants, the perspective of the language user and that of the observer and analyst of language are always blended and reinterpreted (Kádár–Haugh 2013).

Acknowledgements

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A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF TEACHER TRAINEES' REFLECTIVE JOURNALS

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Abstract

Since the year 2000, there has been an increasingly noteworthy emphasis on fostering reflective thinking among teacher trainees in Hungary as well. One instrumental approach for enhancing reflective thinking is through the use of reflective journals. These reflective journals encompass idiomatic representations of meta-cognitive processes that not only ponder over actions but also consider linguistic usage. Metacognitive-reflexive procedures and facets of metapragmatic awareness become linguistically explicit within the confines of reflective journals. The research inquiries in this study are as follows: how can we ascertain the reflective nature of examined texts, how can sentences in the journals be linked to various levels of reflectivity, and what types of linguistic components serve as illustrative markers of reflexive discourse. The present investigation scrutinises the reflective journals of 20 university students from a pedagogical and functional cognitive pragmatics perspective, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods for content and text analysis. Identifying linguistic elements that convey reflexivity has the potential to heighten the consciousness of teacher trainees regarding their use of reflexive language and deepen their reflective thinking processes.

Keywords: reflective thinking, reflective journal, metacognition, sentence creation, reflexive language use

1. Introduction

1.1. A reflective approach to teacher education

The reflective approach is a comprehensive theory of problem-solving that aims to formulate, evaluate, draw conclusions from and become aware of different teaching experiences, with the help of which the effectiveness of teacher training can be enhanced and the basis of a professional development model can be developed (Gulya et al. 2020; Sántha 2008: 89). At the core of the concept of reflective thinking is the systematic and conscious self-evaluation of teacher trainees, building a link between theoretical knowledge and practical experience in order to let go of the teaching patterns that have been fixed during their own education and to be able to continuously develop professionally (Aldahmash et al. 2017; Gulya et al. 2020; Korthagen 2004). The reflective thinking process is mostly characterised in terms of levels in various national and international studies (Gulya et al. 2020). The present study is based on Hatton and Smith's model, which divides the reflective process into four levels (Table 1). This model is the most helpful for the linguistic analysis of the study, because it includes the most important level components to which different linguistic constructions can be related. Although Nurfaidah and her colleagues further develop Hatton and Smith's (1995) model by incorporating Pysova's approach, the extended model provides more value for studies with an educational aspect (Nurfaidah et al. 2017; Gulya et al. 2020).

Level of reflectivity	Features
Description	The journal is not reflective. It is a simple statement of events related to teaching, without cause and effect relations or explanations.
Descriptive reflection	Reflective type. It contains explanatory elements in addition to the description of events, but these are more descriptive and less complex.
Dialogical reflection	Reflective. The description of events is complemented by a qualification, with explanations of an event from different points of view. The author of the text also evaluates themselves, analysing their own actions.
Critical reflection	Reflective. The author not only relates what they have experienced to their own teaching-learning process, but also generalises. In addition to analysing their own actions, they also consider educational policy and social aspects.

Table 1. Levels of reflectivity according to Hatton and Smith (1995)

There are a number of methodological solutions and tools for developing a reflective approach, which are an integral part of the courses accompanying the practice teaching of teacher trainees (Sántha 2008). One of these is professional reflection, which is "deliberate, purposeful, structured thinking about learning, linking theory and practice, seeking change and development, aiming at a specific goal" (Hunya: 2014). Accordingly, professional reflection can generally be divided into three parts: describing the pedagogical situation, arguing for the method chosen for the situation and reflecting on the consequences of actions (Antalné et al. 2013). One of the main tools for documenting professional reflection is the reflective diary. The reflective diary is a basically written form of professional reflection that records, in chronological order, experiences and emotions related to the planning and application of teaching, while analysing, evaluating and rethinking the given actions and beliefs (Gulya et al. 2020, Szivák 2014). The use of reflective diaries in teacher education has several advantages for teacher trainees (Gulya et al. 2020: 56). It helps them

- describe what and how they have learned during the course and how they feel about it
- become autonomous in the learning process
- formulate a critical reflection about the learning process
- select the appropriate solution for the pedagogical situation in their individual context
- develop their linguistic skills when writing foreign language diaries.

Although the benefits in terms of language use include the development of foreign language skills, reflective texts in the mother tongue also contribute to the development of the language skills of teacher trainees, for example in the choice of linguistic constructions for self-expression, the use of professional language and the development of coherent thought.

Two types of reflective diaries can be distinguished in terms of content. One is unstructured journaling, where teacher trainees are not given any prior criteria. The advantage of this type is that it allows for a more individual approach, allowing the teacher trainees to define the topic and focus of the diary themselves (Sántha 2008: 89; 2020). The disadvantage, however, is that the texts are less coherent and often remain at the level of describing experiences, i.e. the aspect of reflectivity is often overshadowed. In the case of a structured reflective diary, the teacher supports the writing of the reflective text with a predefined set of criteria. The advantage of this is that the structure of the text becomes more orderly, but it may not reveal experiences that would be crucial for learning to teach (Sántha 2008: 89; 2020). The disadvantage of both types is that they do not help teacher trainees formulate the language of the reflective diary.

Indeed, one of the many difficulties of writing an effective reflective diary is language. Simon, in her study on the relationship between teacher trainees and reflective writing, says: "As a training institution, however, we are confronted every day with the difficulties of self-reflection, even among those who are undergoing theoretical and practical training. In many cases, they are only able to

express the activity itself, or some of its components" (Simon 2018: 56), i.e., according to Hatton and Smith's (1995) model, texts are typically evaluated at the level of Description or Descriptive Reflection. Linguistic elements expressing a reflective approach would not only make the constructed text itself more structured, but would also support teacher trainees in the linguistic modelling of reflective metacognitive processes.

In the present subsection, the concept of reflectivity has been primarily interpreted from a pedagogical point of view, but the aim of the study is not only to examine the reflective way of thinking but also to analyse the sentences and linguistic elements expressing reflexivity and to explore the characteristic constructions. I analyse reflexive language from the perspective of cognitive functional pragmatics, more specifically from the perspective of metacognition and metapragmatic awareness. In the sections on language use, I distinguish linguistic constructions reflecting reflective thinking from the pedagogical point of view by using the term 'reflexive'. A further aim of the study is to produce a short language use guide for teacher candidates with a view to raising awareness of and supporting reflective language use.

1.2. The reflective diary as a text type

Normative text typology categorises different texts by applying sequential and/or content, functional and/or structural criteria, which distinguish between narrative, descriptive and argumentative texts (Tátrai 2006: 216). The reflective diary is a special type of text that cannot be clearly classified into a particular category of normative text typology, as it has narrative , descriptive and argumentative features. If we compare these categories with the table of levels of reflective thinking presented in Table 1, which defines the content, function and structure of the text, we can see that at the levels of Description and Descriptive Reflection, the different ways of constructing descriptive scenes will be dominant, while at the levels of Dialogical and Critical Reflection, argumentative and analytical constructions will be dominant. Narrative linguistic elements link the text as a whole, as the author seeks to organise the text temporally, to link events in time, thus creating coherence in the text.

In addition, the set of expectations that speakers have about a given text type plays an important role in defining normative text typological categories (Tátrai 2006: 216). In the case of the reflective diary, it is primarily a monologic text describing and analysing events that happened to the speaker, in which the speaker's attitude towards his or her own cognitive activity plays a central role. Since the speaker's task in the reflective diary is to linguistically represent various metacognitive operations, it is worth approaching the reflective diary from a pragmatic perspective (Tolcsvai 2001: 335-336; cited in Tátrai 2006: 160).

Language as a social mental activity has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it allows speakers to intersubjectively understand the world, and on the other hand, it allows them to establish and maintain interpersonal relationships (Tátrai 2006: 214). In the light of reflective thinking it can be stated that intersubjectivity is strongly present in reflective diary writing, as the author accesses a representation of their own world, in which the basic referential scene is the teaching practice. In the context of the genre of the reflective diary, the joint attentional scene of the physical world consists of the space-time relations of diary writing, the social world of the sociocultural elements of the teaching situation, and the mental world of the interpretive components of the teacher's role and activities (cf. Tátrai 2017: 927-952). In the case of reflective diaries, the construction of referential scenes refers to beliefs and impressions about teaching practice and also implies the activation of the teacher trainee's background knowledge. Although the reflective diary is essentially monologic in nature, it facilitates building interpersonal relationships, as teacher candidates interpret the actions of themselves and others in the context of an interpersonal relational system ('teachers' work community / educators' society') in reflective diaries (Tátrai 2006: 214). Furthermore, a small part of reflexive text production in the context of teacher training is also characterised by a social, dialogic discursivity, as the author often addresses the reader, i.e. the seminar teacher who has given the reflective task and who will then interpret the completed text (Hercz 2016).

1.3. Metacognition and metapragmatic awareness in the reflective diary

Requirements of the reflective diary as a text genre imply that there will be a strong presence of both explicit and implicit reflexivity in these texts, i.e. linguistic representations of metacognitive operations that relate to both the activity and language use. The interpretation of one's own activity, thought process is a metacognitive process. Metacognitive operations are closely related to language since attention to one's own thinking, self-monitoring and language awareness are variants of reflection (Hámori 2020: 273), and therefore reflective thinking and metacognitive operations are closely related. Thus, the linguistic features of reflective thinking are also reflected in metacognitive language constructions.

The conceptualisation of metacognition in educational-psychological research starts from Flavell, who interpreted it primarily as conscious cognitive operations on the learning process and memory along with their linguistic representations (Flavell 1979). The most widely used model of metacognition is the work of Nelson and Narens, who divide metacognitive operations into two levels. The first level is the object level, which is related to cognitive activities, and the second level is the meta-level, which controls the object level. There is a continuous flow of information and feedback between the two levels (Nelson–Narens 1990). The model of metacognition further contains the levels of reflectivity, since units of text without reflexive elements, which are mainly descriptive, reflect the performance of cognitive operations at the object level, whereas units of text that reveal cause and effect relationships and interpret pedagogical situations in a broader context already show the feedback and controlling role of meta-level thinking operations. In the reflective diary, these levels are obviously not sharply separated from each other, but reflection on the learning process can only be established when metacognitive operations, in addition to the use of language, also include the evaluation of one's own learning process.

The exploration of language use related to metacognition and reflective thinking is possible through the study of meta-language, metadiscourse, and metapragmatic awareness (Hámori 2020). At the heart of metapragmatic awareness is the reflexivity of dynamic meaning-making. This reflexivity relates to linguistic constructions, the cognitive processes required for their use, and sociocultural expectations (Kuna-Hámori 2019; Tátrai 2020). This paper takes a broad interpretation of the concept of metapragmatic awareness, including not only reflections on linguistic activity but also linguistic elements that refer to actual meaning-making, which may be related to a discourse type such as reflective diary (Kuna-Hámori 2019). In reflective diaries, an important aspect is the level of metacognitive operations (object level/meta level) at which the linguistic representations of metacognitive processes in different attentional scenes can be classified (Verschueren 1999), since in the case of the meta level we can rather speak of adaptive processing of a given scene. In terms of their explicitness, metapragmatic reflections appear in language use on a scale ranging from the implicit (e.g. verb tense, use of suffixes) to the explicit (e.g. discourse markers, word classes, clauses) (Verschueren 1999: 188).

2. The research method

The analysis of reflective journals prepared by teacher trainees plays an important role in understanding the reflective thinking process in both national and international research (Gulya et al. 2020; Hercz 2016; Pauw - Van de Ven 2012; Ryan 2011; Sántha 2008, 2020). At first, the methodology of reflective thinking research focused mainly on content analysis, and was mainly aimed at analysing and evaluating pedagogical situations. Later, the methodology of understanding the process became more complex, with the introduction of questionnaire studies, text analysis and the processing of interview situations based on video recordings (Sántha 2020). However, these studies approach the process of reflective thinking primarily from a pedagogical perspective, and do not consider linguistic aspects. Linguistics, among the above-mentioned, can mainly relate to research based on text analysis. The study of reflective texts produced by teacher trainees is of particular

importance, since "they help to explore the mindset behind the corpus of texts"[1] (Sántha 2020: 27). Although the aim of this study is not specifically to investigate the reflective thinking process from a pedagogical perspective, a sort of content analysis is certainly necessary for mapping reflective linguistic elements and linking them to various levels of reflection.

The research is based on the reflective diaries of 20 student teachers. The reflective diaries were written by the students in the spring semester of the 2019/2020 academic year during the pandemic when education was forced to switch to digital. The theme of the reflective diaries is to describe and interpret teaching experiences during the digital education period. Of the 20 teacher candidates, 5 are men and 15 are women. The length of the reflective journals varies, the shortest being 8 sentences and the longest 58 sentences, with a total of 454 sentences. The 20 reflective diaries are essentially monologic, diary-style accounts, with only 7 texts having a letter-like form of address at the beginning of the text, but this formula did not affect the basic nature of the text. In the analysis, I did not take these forms of address into account (cf. Hercz 2016).

The diaries were processed with a combination of deductive, theory-driven and inductive, data-driven logic (Sántha 2021). The basic units in the linguistic analysis of reflective diaries were the sentences and the clauses of compound sentences. "A sentence expresses a scene, a statement constructed by the speaker that represents a temporal event related to a thing constructed as existing, usually in relation to another thing" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 396) Coding at the level of sentences proved to be viable, as the sentences were suitable in their length and structure to express a complex idea, but sufficiently closed and short to be related to a specific reflective level in terms of both metacognitive operations and levels of reflectivity.

The first step in the analysis of the texts was to establish the reflexive nature of the texts, with each sentence being coded according to the separation of the object level and the meta level. This was followed by identifying the functions of sentences containing reflexive elements and assigning them to levels of reflectivity according to the Hatton and Smith's (1995) model (Nurfaidah et al. 2017). Finally, the reflexive linguistic elements of sentences related to levels of dialogic reflexion were explored. The study attempts to present the meaning of the sentences through a combination of formal and linguistic factors. The reliability of the analysis was ensured by intracoding. The interval between the two coding processes was 1 month, with a 92% agreement.

3. Results

3.1. The appearance of reflexivity and metacognition

The reflexice nature of the sentences in the texts studied can be defined by using the model of metacognition (Nelson–Narens 1990). Reflexive thinking can also be interpreted as a type of metacognition, where sentences at the object level are related to description and sentences at the meta-level are related to other levels of reflectivity (Nurfaidah et al. 2017). Although there is a continuous connection and feedback between sentences, as between levels in the metacognition model, in order to achieve text coherence, content analysis can be used to identify sentences with a descriptive, demonstrative function. As reflected in the examples, these sentences, in terms of content, refer primarily to the time and place of the teaching practice, the schedule, content and form of the teaching practice, and the demonstration of the teaching environment:

(1) Gyakorlatomat a Békásmegyeri Veres Péter Gimnáziumban végzem.
    'I do my teaching practice at the Veres Péter High School in Békásmegyer.'

(2) Így magyarból összesen 6 órám van egy héten, […]. .
    'So I have 6 lessons of Hungarian a week, [...].'

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[1] Throughout the paper, citations from Hungarian works appear in the author's English translation.

(3) A Magyarországon is egyre súlyosbodó helyzet miatt március 16-tól a közoktatási intézmények online oktatásra álltak át.
'Due to the worsening situation in Hungary as well, from 16 March, all public schools have switched to online teaching.'

Sentences with a descriptive, demonstrative function are an integral part of the reflective diary, since the effort to communicate events in a factual way enables students to draw conclusions from their observations and experiences and to apply them later in a given pedagogical situation. Of the total 454 sentences analysed, 158 were descriptive and demonstrative. All the reflective diaries examined contained sentences with a descriptive, demonstrative function. However, since the study aims primarily to explore and develop the linguistic formulation of reflective thinking of teacher trainees, it focuses on sentences at the meta-level, where sentences with reflexive function already appear. The study of sentences with reflexive function is presented in relation to the levels of reflectivity.

3.2. Functions of reflexive sentences and their relation to levels of reflectivity

The analysis of the sentences in the reflective diaries was firstly based on content (Hercz 2016; Pauw−Van de Ven 2012; Sántha 2021). During the analysis, I coded each sentence according to the level of reflectivity. Sentences at the object level with a descriptive function were assigned to the level of Description, which are essentially neutral baseline structures (Hámori 2020; Tátrai 2011). Sentences at the meta level were classified according to further levels of reflectivity. I classified sentences at the meta-level into three categories according to their content: sentences at the level of descriptive reflection are those that have some reflective features but are not complex enough to determine cause and effect. Sentences at the level of descriptive reflection can basically be divided into two categories: they express emotions about a given situation in a linguistically explicit way, or they formulate evaluative judgements or qualifications about the given situation. These types of sentences are basically neutral constructions that represent the author's own perspective (Hámori 2020). In sentences at the level of dialogic reflection, the focus is on self-evaluation, which means that they typically represent the author's own perspective. Self-evaluation was usually performed by the students on the basis of three different sets of relations: one is the evaluation of themselves without comparison to others, for example, identifying points for improvement; the second is the evaluation of the relationship with the mentor teacher; the third is the evaluation of their work with students. The sentences at the level of critical reflection aim to generalise, one type of generalisation being when the students make comments on the teachers' society and the state of education, and express their opinions with reasons, and the other when they make generalisations about their own university education and their fellow teacher trainees. Sentences at the level of critical reflection often contain linguistic elements that construct an external perspective in addition to the author's own. The sentences associated with various levels of reflectivity are illustrated by the main content elements in Table 2.

Level of reflexivity	Sample sentences
Description	*A Toldy Ferenc Gimnáziumban az egyik 8. osztályt tanítottam magyarból az elmúlt egy évben.* 'At Toldy Ferenc High School, I have taught one of the 8th grade classes in Hungarian for the past year.'
Descriptive reflection	– Emotional expression: *Egy síbaleset miatt sajnos ki kellett hagynom két hetet a második félévben a gyakorlatból.* 'Unfortunately, I had to miss two weeks of the second semester due to a skiing accident.'

	– Assessment of the situation: *Nálam nem hozott sok újat ez a digitális átállás, eddig is a Google Classroomot hasz-náltam, annyi különbséggel, hogy most azon a felületen is írnak teszteket, ami-kért pontokat kapnak.* 'For me, this digital switchover has not brought much new, I had been using Google Classroom, with the difference that now they also write tests on that platform, for which they get points.'
Dialogical reflection	– Self-assessment: *Amiben mindenképp fejlődnöm kell (bár ezt talán majd a tapasztalat hozza ma-gával), hogy gördülékenyebben tudjam javítani a diákok által küldött feladato-kat (ez különösen a magyar esetén nehéz).* 'An area where I definitely need to develop (although perhaps experience will bring this naturally), is that I should be able to evaluate students' home assign-ments more smoothly (this is particularly difficult in the Hungarian lesson).' – Evaluation of the relationship with the mentor: *Amikor pedig a mentorom is rész vett az órán, utána mindig hasznos tanácsok-kal látott el, melyeket igyekeztem a továbbiakban az óraterveimbe és az általam összeállított tananyagokba beépíteni.* 'When my mentor attended the lesson, he always gave me useful advice af-terwards, which I tried to incorporate into my lesson plans and the teaching materials I prepared.' – Evaluation of the relationship with the students: *A magyaros csoportom egyszer kérte tőlem, hogy egy anyagrészt inkább szedjek ketté, mert soknak érzik a többi teendő mellett, de ezt leszámítva eddig pozitív visszajelzéseket kaptam a feladatokra.* 'My Hungarian group once asked me to split a piece of material in two be-cause they felt it was too much to do, but apart from that, I have received positive feedback on the assignments so far.'
Critical reflection	– Evaluation of the educational situation and its participants: *Általánosságban úgy látom, hogy a digitális oktatás nagyon sok nehézséggel járt/jár pedagógusokra, szülőkre és gyerekekre nézve egyaránt.* 'In general, I find that digital education has been/is very difficult for teachers, parents and children.' – Assessment of university education and the situation of teacher trainees: *Most van az az idő, amikor valóban hálát adhatunk azért, hogy az egyetemen tanulhattunk az IKT eszközökről és a sokszínű tanítási módszerekről.* 'Now is the time to be truly grateful for the opportunity to learn about ICT tools and diverse teaching methods at university.'

Table 2. Levels of reflectivity in the sentences of the reflective diaries

A reflective diary serves the learning process and the development of the reflective approach of teacher trainees if the text contains elements that can be linked to each level of reflectivity (Gulya et al. 2019; Ryan 2011). The distribution of sentences in the reflective diaries studied according to the level of reflectivity is illustrated in Figure 1.
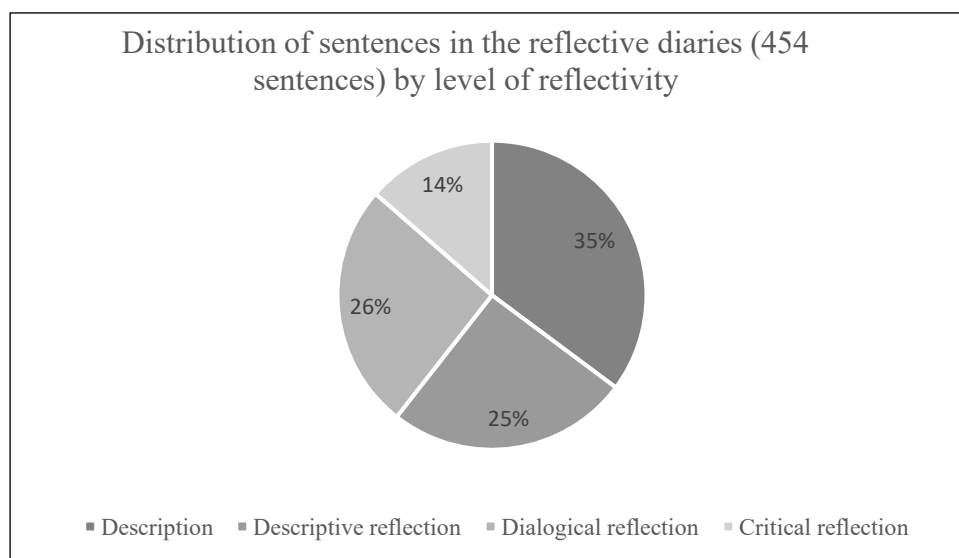
Distribution of sentences in the reflective diaries (454 sentences) by level of reflectivity

14%

35%

26%

25%

■ Description   ■ Descriptive reflection   ■ Dialogical reflection   ■ Critical reflection

Figure 1. Distribution of sentences in the reflective diaries (454 sentences) by level of reflectivity

Figure 1 shows that most of the sentences in the reflective diaries are descriptive, followed by the level of dialogic reflection in terms of the number of sentences, then descriptive reflection and finally critical reflection. The results clearly show that in the reflective diaries studied, the teacher trainees tend to focus on describing the situation and evaluating their own teaching, and to a lesser extent on the teaching situation and the training process, with two out of 20 teacher trainees not including any sentences that could be linked to the level of critical reflection. Based on the results, I will therefore analyse the sentences that can be associated with the level of dialogic reflection, which reach the expected level of reflectivity and contain at least one example of good practice in the linguistic expression of reflective thinking from each of the teacher trainees in the study. However, individual differences are also considerable here, with some texts containing only one sentence that can be classified as meeting the level of dialogic reflection, which represents 7.6% of the total number of sentences in the text. In comparison, the highest proportion of sentences of this type in a text containing sentences that can be linked to the level of dialogic reflection is 31.11%. On average, 25% of the sentences in the reflective diaries can be linked to the level of dialogic reflection.

3.2. The linguistic elements of reflexivity at the level of dialogic reflection

3.2.1. Implicit linguistic elements of reflective diaries

In the analysis of reflective diaries, I consider as reflexive language elements all linguistic structures that contain linguistic signs or concepts related to reflective activity (Hámori 2020). Reflexive language elements, like linguistic signs of metacognition, in the texts under study, the linguistic form of sentences that can be related to the level of dialogic reflection, "range from the explicit to the implicit (e.g. hesitation, verb mode), as well as less explicit, semi-explicit allusions (e.g. discourse markers and adverbs such as *ugye, hát, mondjuk, szerintem*), and conceptual, fully explicit metacognitive reflexions" (Hámori 2020: 285). However, closely related to the analysis is the linguistic framing of perspectives and roles: "constructions representing one's own or a speech partner's perspective (e.g. *I cannot argue for it; what do you think?*); constructions containing a neutral starting point (e.g. *this is a very important thing; that's what it's about*), and reference to an external perspective (e.g. *this has been modelled in several ways*)" (Hámori 2020: 286).

Among the implicit linguistic markers, the use of verbs in the first person and past, present or future tenses is dominant in dialogic reflective sentences. The use of verbs implicitly indicates the author's metapragmatic awareness and the characteristic perspective of the text, which is particularly determining in a reflective text. This formulation, typical of the level of dialogic reflections, implies, in terms of the process of contextualisation, that the point of origin is not essentially neutral, since the referential centre is provided by the speaker, which in the following sentences corresponds to the subject of consciousness (Sanders–Spooren 1997; Tátrai 2020):

(4) Eddig sem dolgoztam keveset, hiszen az iskolában töltött 6-7 óra után mindig kellett otthon is készülnöm 2-3 órát, […]; Igyekszem beszélgetni velük az érzéseikről, gondolataikról […]; […] így biztosan fogom használni a jövőben akkor is, […].
'I haven't worked less so far, because after 6-7 hours at school I always had to prepare 2-3 hours at home, […]; I try to talk to them about their feelings and thoughts […]; […] so I will definitely use it in the future, […].'

These types of sentences and clauses in reflective diaries are important because they reflect that the author reports the events through their own filter, they define the referential scene, and it is through their interpretation that the lecturer can read the temporally organised sequence of events (Tátrai 2017: 927–931). The temporal arrangement of events and the definition of the referential centre also show that the author is not only describing but also interpreting and reflecting. This is indicated by the term *surely*, which is explicit in terms of indicating metapragmatic consciousness, but does not become formally marked by making the meaning available through the mental functioning of the speaker. The use of time markers also indicates to the reader whether the author is coming to the end of a series of events, they are either reflecting retrospectively and evaluating the events, or they are indicating, by their use of present tense, that they are still in the process of gathering experience. By using future tense verbs, the reflecting person also indicates what tasks they would like to carry out in the future, which also indicates a reflective activity, as they are identifying new development opportunities and goals for themselves based on their experiences.

Another characteristic of dialogic reflective sentences is that the perspective is broadened, and the use of the verb in the first person is replaced by a plural form. In this type of sentences, the referential centre is either the community of teachers, which also shows that the teacher candidates have identified with the role of teachers and that this defines their relationship both with other teachers and with students:

(5) Azt gondolom, hogy egyáltalán nem lehet elvárni azt az ütemű haladást, mint amit az iskolai órák keretein belül el tudunk érni az egyes csoportokkal, (hanem alkalmazkodni kell az anyag milyenségével és mennyiségével kapcsolatban is az adott körülményekhez).
'I don't think you can expect to progress at the pace that you can achieve with each group in the classroom (rather, you have to adapt the type and amount of material to the circumstances).'

The plural verb form may also refer to working together with students. In these sentences, the use of the plural shows that the teacher trainee experiences the process of learning and teaching as a shared activity with the students:

(6) Természetesen igyekszem kihasználni az internet adta lehetőségeket, de az eddig használt tankönyveket, munkafüzetet sem dobtuk el, sokszor abban dolgozunk közösen a videós óra során.
'Obviously try to take advantage of the Internet, but we have not thrown away the textbooks and workbooks we have used so far, we often work together in them during the video lessons.'

Among the implicit linguistic elements, another determining factor at the level of dialogic reflection is the use of comparative and superlative adjectives, which indicate the speaker's evaluation of a given activity or idea, showing the level at which the speaker evaluates themselves in a given process: *to be able to improve more easily, to teach topics that are easier to understand, to develop more effectively*. Among the implicit linguistic elements, the use of the verbal suffix -*hat/het* 'can, may' is also typical, with which the speaker expresses opportunity or possibility and which reflects that they have thought about possible solutions of a situation, making suggestions for their future activity: *students can edit this if they have ideas; I can train myself, so they can learn by playing, I can use digital tools all the time*.

3.2.2. Semi-explicit linguistic elements typical of reflective diaries

Semi-explicit reflexive references typically take the form of adverbs and the postpositions in reflective diaries. The majority of adverbs seek to clarify the temporal relations of events (e.g. *egyelőre* 'for the time being', *most* '<u>now</u>', *majd* 'later') and most of them refer to the present as marked by the referential centre:

> (7) Egyelőre a lehetőségek tesztelési fázisában vagyunk.
> 'For the time being we are still in the testing phase of the options.'

> (8) Most különösen fontos nekik a kommunikáció, ezért is igyekszem így felépíteni az óráimat.
> 'Communication is particularly important for them now *(most)*, which is why I try to structure my lessons in this way.'

> (9) [...] egyre inkább belejövök majd a távoktatásba, és így idővel könnyebb lesz majd a helyzet. [...]
> 'I'm getting more and more used to online teaching, so it will later *(majd)* get easier over time.'

The similar trinity in the process of reflection observed in the use of verb tenses can also be detected, since *egyelőre* expresses retrospective reflexion, *most* is used to interpret something from the present, while *majd* marks a reflection on the future.

The most typical postposition is *szerint* 'according to' (10), and the personal pronoun *szerintem* 'according to me' (11), which appears frequently in the texts, is also decisive. It allows speakers to express their opinions and makes the scene available through the speaker's own inferential process (Kugler 2015: 86). These phrases are also linked to the referential centre in the examples and mark the interpretative starting point of the event. The formulation of both reflections and conclusions is a crucial element of reflective journals.

> (10) Az eddigi megfigyeléseim szerint elég változó a tanulók aktivitása ezeken a kontaktórákon.
> 'From my observations so far, the activity of the students in these contact lessons is quite variable.'

> (11) Szerintem nálunk egészen zökkenőmentesen ment az átállás [...].
> 'I think the transition went quite smoothly for us [...].'

Compound sentences are construction types in which there is no grammatical dependency between the clauses, but the proximity and order of the clauses is characteristic (Kugler 2017: 818). The relationship between coordinating compound clauses can be marked by conjunctions. In the reflective journals under study, the expression of reflective thinking is most often facilitated by causally related coordinating clause relations. The most frequent causal conjunctions in the texts studied are: *ezért* 'so', *hiszen* 'as, since', *így* 'so', *mivel* 'as, since'.

(12) Ezen a héten sikerült a mentortanárom által tartott kontaktórába is bekapcsolódnom, de sajnos mindkettőnk tapasztalata az volt, hogy elég kevés tanuló szólt hozzá a témához, ezért kicsit tartok tőle, hogy mennyire lesz működőképes a hétfői órám velük.
'This week I also managed to get involved in the lesson of my mentor teacher, but unfortunately what we both experienced was that very few students commented on the topic, so *(ezért)* I'm a bit worried about how productive my Monday lesson will be.'

(13) Ezekre az órákra is sokkal időigényesebb felkészülni, hiszen a diasorokat el kell előre készíteni, anyagokat kell megosztani, feltölteni, javítani és visszaküldeni.
'It is also more time-consuming to prepare for these lessons, as *(hiszen)* the slides have to be prepared in advance, materials have to be shared, uploaded, corrected and returned.'

(14) A költői képek röpdolgozatot kétszer írták meg: egyszer rendszerhiba miatt katasztrofális eredmények születtek, emiatt gyakorlásnak és próbának tituláltam a dolgozatot, így a héten az éles dolgozatot is megírták egy proprofs.com-on készített kérdőív segítségével.
'The tropes quiz was written twice: once with disastrous results due to a system error, thus I called it practice and a mock test, so *(így)* they wrote the sharp test this week with a questionnaire created with proprofs.com.'

(15) Egyébként az anyaggal is jól haladunk, mivel egész évben jó tempóban sikerült tanulnunk, nem lemaradva, hanem egy kis előnnyel vágtunk bele a távoktatásba.
'Anyway, we are doing well with the material as *(mivel)* we have been studying at a good pace all year we are not falling behind, we have a head start in e-learning.'

The examples show, based on the intention of directing attention, that the order of cause (antecedent) and effect (consequent) is also influenced by the reflective thinking of the person making the statement. In the case of cause and effect, there is an inferential relation between the clauses, i.e. the teacher trainee interprets the situation from their experience e.g. *ezért, így* 'so, therefore'. However, in the case of the explanatory relation, the author emphasises the cause, i.e. the solution they have chosen to a problem.

3.2.3. Explicit linguistic elements typical of reflective diaries

In the analysis of reflective journals, we can also observe fully explicit, conceptual reflexive language elements. I consider as reflexive language elements all linguistic structures that contain concepts related to reflective activity (noun, adjective, verb) (cf. Hámori 2020). In the texts under study, nouns that frequently appear in connection with reflective thinking can typically be divided into two groups. The first group includes those that express emotions related to the experience described: *disappointment, doubt, success* (Hu. *csalódás, kétség, siker*). In the second group are terms that fall under the concept of reflection, such as *consequence, observation, opportunity, experience, feedback, change* (Hu. *következmény, megfigyelés, lehetőség, tapasztalat, visszacsatolás, változtatás*). Adjectives that can be associated with reflective thinking include those that qualify the teacher trainee's activity or refer to their state of mind: *enjoyable, useful, efficient, little, easy, difficult, normal, ordinary, variable* (Hu. *élvezetes, hasznos, hatékony, kevés, könnyű, nehéz, normál, rendes, változó*). Verbs that can be associated with reflective thinking can be associated with basic cognitive operations or the expression of emotions. The most common verbs in reflective diaries can be divided into different groups according to their meaning. The first group includes perceptual terms that help to describe the scene to be reflected: *notice, watch, see, experience* (Hu. *észrevesz, figyel, lát, megtapasztal*). These verbs indicate that the interpretation of the situation is based on the author's observations, starting the explanation of the situation from his own point of view. The second group consists of verbs expressing emotions and beliefs: *admit, believe, enjoy, feel, be happy, like* (Hu. *bevall, hisz, élvez, érez, örül, tetszik*). The emergence of emotions in reflective

journals is particularly important, as affective factors and beliefs greatly influence the formation of the teacher's role (Gulya et al. 2019). The third group includes expressions related to critical thinking, which help explore the reasons for a particular pedagogical activity: *emerge, think, conclude, find, learn, know* (Hu. *felmerül, gondol, leszűr, talál, tanul, tud*). The fourth group is made up of verbs that express the author's intention to reflect further on the activity that is reflected upon and help the author formulate conclusions about themselves and about the general context: *want, adapt, develop, use, try, try, do* (Hu. *akar, alkalmazkodik, fejlődik, használ, igyekszik, próbál, tesz*).

Of the 116 sentences at the level of dialogic reflection, only 9 are elementary sentences, the other 107 are complex sentences. The majority of complex sentences are composed of more than two clauses, and the relations between clauses within a sentence can be diverse. Therefore, what follows are subordinating clause relations that are dominant in reflective journals. A prototypical subordinating clause relation is a type of construction in which there is a grammatical dependence between the clauses. The subordinate clauses in reflective diaries are typically of the type that are formed by a coordinate clause with the *hogy* conjuction. "Main clauses that reveal the functioning of a thinking, considering, feeling (etc.) subject from the starting point of the manifestation are more abstract than the representation of the scenes being performed. In reporting their own mental processes, the manifester must observe and express their own mental, emotional events. Will, feeling, opinion, belief, and related mental contents are also processed in a matter-like (more or less defined) way, but also treated as mental space" (Kugler 2017: 824). In the reflective journals studied, at the level of dialogic reflection, the main clause of the subordinate clauses expressing reflective thinking typically contains the verbs expressing the reflective thinking listed above, so the scene in the focus becomes the reflective process itself:

(16) Azt látom, hogy nagyon elkezdtek együtt dolgozni, amit lehet, megbeszélnek és megosztanak egymással, legyen az bármilyen tantárgy, és ez egy nagyon jó dolog.
'I see that they are really starting to work together, discussing and sharing what they can, whatever the subject is, and that's a very good thing.'

(17) Úgy érzem, kezd kicsit normalizálódni a helyzet és a diákok is beállnak egyfajta rendszerbe, így már sokkal kevesebb levelet kapok este 10−11 fele a diákoktól.
'I feel that the situation is normalising a little bit and the students are getting into a sort of system, so I get a lot less letters from students at 10-11pm.'

(18) Gondolkozom azon is, hogy megpróbálok saját készítésű videót csatolni a következő anyagrészkhez, de ehhez még szükségem van egy kis kísérletezésre és tanulásra, mert nincs tapasztalatom az ilyesmiben.
'I'm also thinking about attaching a video of my own making to the next material, but I need to experiment and learn a bit more, because I don't have any experience in this kind of thing.'

The examples also show that the primary role of main clauses containing reflexive verbs is contextualisation, as they express the consciousness of the speaker (Kugler 2017; Tátrai 2011), which in this case may not only contain reflections and metacognitive signals related to the linguistic activity but also provide a framework and filter for reflection on the given pedagogical situation. The typical examples presented also reflect the fact that the order of the clauses in the subordinate clause relationship is characterised by the main clause and the coordinate clause. On the one hand, this is beneficial for easier comprehension and faster processing, and on the other hand, it focuses attention on the scene of the clause, while the primary function of the main clause remains contextualization and the determination of mental space. This type of arrangement of clauses in reflexive texts is decisive because the arrangement of clauses is motivated by the need to direct attention and the author's intention is to "observe the given scene in just that way (and not in another way)" (Kugler 2017: 790). The author's reflexion and reflective way of thinking is again in the focus.

3.2.4. Good practices for writing reflective diaries

The study analysed the reflective thinking of teacher trainees mainly through the reflexive language elements and structure of meta-level sentences in reflective diaries, which are related to the level of dialogic reflection. The revealed linguistic structures and sentence construction strategies provide an opportunity to develop a methodological guide to support students in the formulation of reflexive texts. Based on the analysed diaries, the following main sentence construction strategies should be used by students when writing reflexive texts:

– creating sentences in the first person, expressing their own point of view
– awareness of the reflective activity as a temporal event to the referential centre (use of past tense verbs: retrospective reflection, use of present tense verbs: reflection on the current process, use of future tense verbs: inferential, generalising reflexion)
– subordinating complex sentences with contextualising reflexive verbs in the main clause e.g.: *felmerül* 'arise', *gondol* 'think', *leszűr* 'conclude, find', *talál* 'find', *tanul* 'learn', *tud* 'know'
– forming subordinate complex sentences with clauses that are causally related, e.g. with the conjunctions *ezért* 'so', *hiszen* 'since', *így* 'so'.

In addition to the strategies of sentence formation, the use of nouns that can be classified as reflexive and the use of adjectives that evaluate the activities of the teacher trainee are important in the language of reflective journals. The presence of these linguistic elements in reflective journals further reinforces the evaluative character of the text. The construction of reflexive sentences based on the analysed diary texts can be supported by the following sentence-level writing exercises (Tóth 2006):

– Completing sentences (e.g.: include the following nouns in a sentence of your reflective journal: *observation, experience, opportunity, change* (Hu. *megfigyelés, tapasztalat, lehetőség, változtatás*)! Add the following adjectives to each sentence in your reflective diary: *enjoyable, useful, effective, difficult, stressful, disappointing* (Hu. *élvezetes, hasznos, hatékony, nehéz, megterhelő, kiábrándító*).
– Finishing sentences (e.g.: Finish the following sentences and then incorporate them into your reflective diary: *In the teaching practice I learned about myself that...; In the teaching practice I improved in that...; In the teaching practice I observed about myself/students/colleagues that...; In the teaching practice I often reflected that...; In the teaching practice I was challenged that...; In the teaching practice I was supported that...*).
– Sorting sentences (e.g.: Sort sentences written in the first person and sentences not in the first person from your reflective diary! Note the proportions of the two groups. On the basis of your sorting, state how your own point of view is reflected in the text. Sort the sentences from your reflective diary into present, past and future tenses. Examine the extent to which your reflective diary covers the whole process of teaching practice.
– Analysis of sentences (e.g.: Look at the following compound sentences with a side order. Examine the sentences in terms of cause and effect. What happened and why? Write similar sentences in your own reflective diary. *Motivation is particularly important for students, which is why I try to structure my lessons in a playful way. I have taught stylistics in Hungarian, so I put particular emphasis on the analysis of literary texts. I have also worked a lot, because after 6-7 hours at school, I always had to prepare 2-3 hours at home. Preparing for the introductory lessons is much more time-consuming, as the slides have to be prepared in advance*).
– Simplifying sentences (e.g.: Formulate the meaning of the following multiple compound sentence in a simple sentence. *I was happy to start with the Hungarian lessons, because I felt it was easier to start with less abstract, more accessible topics that still allowed for creativity*.)

   – Transforming sentences (e.g.: Transform the following elementary sentences into subordinate clauses with conjunctions! *According to my observations, students like playful tasks. Mostly, I need to improve my communication with colleagues. I had difficulty in consistently improving my papers. I have experienced the punctuality of my lessons as a success*.)

4. Summary

The study analysed the reflective journals of 20 teacher trainees on their teaching practice from the perspective of pedagogy and functional cognitive pragmatics. The crossover of the two disciplines allowed the content and way of thinking about the reflective diaries to be linked to the linguistic framing. The starting point for establishing reflexivity was provided by Nelson and Narens's model (1990), according to which sentences at the object level do not contain linguistic elements of reflective thinking, but form the basis for the use of language at the meta-level that shows reflexivity, which typically refers back to the findings at the object level. The application of the model has also shown that the Description level of reflectivity is at the object level, while the other levels (Descriptive, Dialogical and Critical reflection) are at the meta-level. Constant interaction between levels of the model is the organising force of the texts of reflective journals.

The analysis proved that the sentences of the reflective diaries can be linked to different levels of reflectivity on the basis of their meaning. This type of categorisation of sentences showed that specific language use can be observed at different levels of reflectivity. While the level of Description is typically dominated by the neutral point of view, the levels of Descriptive Reflection and Dialogic Reflection are dominated by the author's own point of view, while the level of Critical Reflection is dominated by a kind of external point of view (Hámori 2020). These differences between perspectives also determine the strategies of sentence construction. Since the aim when writing reflective journals is to reach at least the level of dialogic reflection, the study focused on the linguistic elements of sentences at this level.

Several previous studies have shown that the development of reflective thinking in teacher trainees is often complicated by language difficulties (Simon 2018). If the sentences of the reflective diaries studied, which can be linked to dialogic reflection, and the language elements in the sentences that represent reflexivity are considered as a kind of good practice, a language use guide can be compiled that supports teacher trainees in reaching higher levels of reflectivity through language use.

Although sentence construction strategies and typical word use can greatly help the development of reflective thinking, they do not necessarily create coherence in the reflective journal as a text. In order to develop textual coherence, it would be worthwhile to further investigate reflective diaries at the text level. Describing the order of sentences in the text, assigned to different levels of reflectivity, would outline different text-editing patterns, which could be used to create coherent paragraphs and then text. To this end, it is worth developing a good practice in which teacher trainees code sentences in their own texts according to levels of reflectivity, thus raising awareness of their reflexive language use and developing their reflective thinking.

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POLISH LANGUAGE POLICY ON THE RIGHTS TO MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION

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Abstract

The study focuses on the significant events that influenced the role and status of minority languages in Poland. Further on, it discusses the Polish Language Act and its influence on the rights to mother-tongue education. The Polish Language Act has been used in a variety of ways to protect and preserve minorities as well as the Polish national language. As a result, important actions have been taken by the relevant groups and authorities, which are included in the article. The ratification of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages is a key element in the integration of the European Union. Poland signed the Charter in 2003 and ratified it in 2009. In 2021, Poland submitted its third evaluation report. Using critical analysis, the researcher examined this report. The collected data suggest that significant changes are needed at all levels of education for several minorities.

Keywords: language policy, language policy in education, minorities, minority rights

1. Introduction

Conducting language policy and planning (LPP) in Poland involves three aspects:

a) Protection of the Polish language
b) Policy towards minority languages or dialects
c) Policy of promoting the study of other languages.

The country's goals and methods of language policy are recorded in the Polish Language Act. The language act clarifies the basic elements of national identity, the Polish nation's cultural achievements, supporting a culturally diverse Europe with the protection and development of Polish.

The rights accorded to all Polish citizens are outlined in two official government documents: the Act on the Polish Language and the Polish constitution. Both of these legal documents describe the permissible and prohibited languages in Poland.

Apart from the protection of the national language, Poland's language policy involves the protection of minority languages or dialects too. These protections are fixed and specified in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages is a treaty of the Council of Europe placing obligations on its state parties to protect and promote their countries' traditional minority languages in all fields of public life: education, judicial authorities, administrative authorities and public services, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social life, and transfrontier exchanges. Upon accession to the Council of Europe, Poland signed the Charter in 2003 and it entered into force in 2009. The correct application of the Charter is monitored by a Committee of Experts (COMEX) (Article 17).

In 2021 Poland submitted its third evaluation report. The third evaluation report is based on the political and legal situation of Poland.

2. Significant events in the development of the Polish language

The first significant event took place in 966 when Christianity was introduced to Poland. With the spreading of Christianity, Latin and Roman Catholic terminology entered the Polish language. Apart from its use in the church, Latin also became central for public discourse, education, diplomacy, administration and literature. As a result, it is challenging to discuss language legislation throughout the Middle Ages and later centuries (Mostowik and Żukowski 2001: 9).

The next important event happened in the 16th century when printing and publishing books in Polish became popular. The most significant event which happened this time is the translation of the Bible. The first printed version of both the Old and New Testaments (Leopolita's Bible) goes back to 1561. The status of Polish varied depending on the rulers that a particular region found itself under during the period when Poland lost its independence (1795–1918) and was occupied by three nations, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

In the Austrian region "Germanisation" occurred, secondary schools were closed and the German language became the language of universities. In the Prussian territory, Polish education was completely abolished, with non-Polish teachers replacing Polish employees in all institutions.

The Polish language eventually came to be regarded as an ethnic minority language in the Russian territory. As a result, Russian authorities took less drastic action in regard to Polish education, which was clearly marginalised but not eliminated. For instance, the University of Vilnius rose to prominence as a key location for the development of the Polish language.

Despite the fact that the protection of Polish had been promised by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Russian and German continued to preserve their privileged status in both private and public life (Mostowik and Żukowski 2001: 9).

After the First World War, the main aim of Polish Language Policy was the unification of Polish and fighting illiteracy (Bugajski 2005: 76). Significant events which took place during this period were the establishment of the Polish Academy of Literature and the Act of 24 January 1924. As is can be read in the law: *"Polish shall be the official language in the Republic of Poland. This provision shall not infringe upon national minority rights resulting from ratified international agreements."* [1]

In 1945, after the Second World War, a new language act was passed. The act declares that Polish is the only official language used by governmental and self-governmental authorities in education, culture, and everyday life.

Polish language policy is marked by two periods after the World Wars (Nettmann-Multanowska 2003):

a) traditional model – with the elimination of regionalisms
b) flexible model – favouring difference and growth

After the end of the communist era, the following goals were set in Polish language policy (Przygoński 2012: 178):

a) protecting the system of the Polish language
b) the use of Polish in everyday communication
c) creating the proper environment for all speech communities
d) developing language attitude and skills
e) standardising and codification
f) promotion of the international recognition of Polish

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[1] The Council for the Polish Language (Rada Języka Polskiego, RJP). The Constitution of The Republic of Poland, Article 27, 2nd April, 1997 Available at: https://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm

3. The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages

The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML) was prepared within the framework of the Council of Europe and opened for signature in Strasbourg on 5 November 1992.[2] The Council of Europe's mission is to fortify the ties that unite its members, to safeguard and advance the beliefs and ideals that form the foundation of their shared history, and to preserve minority languages that are in danger of extinction in order to retain and expand Europe's cultural variety and traditions.[2]

According to Gerard-René de Groot (2018), the preamble to the ECRML states that one of the objectives of this convention is the maintenance and development of regional and minority languages as a desirable manifestation of cultural wealth. The ECRML further emphasises that the principles of democracy and cultural diversity are based on the provisions enacted in the Charter.

The Charter names two levels of protection: basic and advanced. All regional and minority languages that have historically been spoken on the state's territory must receive the basic protection level. The basic protection level is recorded in Part II of the Charter under Article 7. A state may grant advanced protection, which is regulated in Articles 8–13.

The Charter provides the following definitions in Article 1 (part a) on "regional or minority languages":[3]

- a (i) - traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population;
- a (ii) - different from the official language(s) of that State.

However, it is important to highlight that the Charter does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants.

The first article also lists further categories (b and a c part) of **"regional or minority languages"**, giving them specific definitions.

b – "territory in which the regional or minority language is used" means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of the various protective and promotional measures provided for in this Charter;

c – "non-territorial languages" means languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.

Part II of the Charter obliges a member to grant protection to a regional or minority language which consists of:[3]

a) Acceptance of the regional or minority language
b) Recognition of the geographical area of each regional or minority language
c) Supporting regional or minority languages
d) Encouragement of the language's use in public and private life
e) Maintenance of minority languages
f) Providing the appropriate teaching on all levels of education (pre-school, primary school, secondary school, vocational training, university)
g) Providing opportunities for study and research at universities or other institutions
h) The promotion of transnational exchanges
i) The elimination of all forms of unjustified distinction, exclusion and restriction

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[2] Council Of Europe European Treaty Series (CETS) 148, Strasbourg 1992. https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=148; (Last accessed: 02. 11. 2022.)
[3] ETS 148 – Charter for Minority Languages, 5.XI.1992. (Last accessed: 12. 08. 2023.)

j)   Mutual understanding between all the linguistic groups in the country
k)   Granting the needs and wishes of regional or minority language users.

The main fields of protection in Part III are:

- Education,
- Judicial authorities,
- Administrative authorities and public services,
- Media,
- Cultural activities and facilities,
- Economic and social life,
- Transfrontier exchanges.

In addition to the fundamental protection provided by Part II, the states must choose at least 35 of the undertakings in each Part III clause (Article 7). If a state decides to protect more than one regional or minority language in compliance with Part III, then the preferences of each language's speakers have to be taken into account.

4. The Polish Language Act

Poland's new constitution was adopted by the National Assembly in 1997, which was the first constitution ever to state that "The Polish Language is the official language of the Republic of Poland" (Article 27)4.

Article 27 states that *"Polish shall be the official language in the Republic of Poland. This provision shall not infringe upon national minority rights resulting from ratified international agreements."*[4]

Based on the 1999 Collection of Laws, the Polish Parliament drew up the Act on the Polish Language (USTAWA z dnia 7 października 1999 r. o języku polskim) in order to establish national identity and national culture.

In the current global environment, protecting national identity is unavoidable. Culture helps create a unified and culturally varied Europe. Polish organisations and government agencies, as well as all Polish citizens, are accountable for protecting the language.

Article 9 of the Polish Language Act specifies that "The Polish language is a language of instruction, examinations and thesis in all types of public and non-public schools."[5]

Teacher Training in Poland. Local/regional authorities have been in charge of overseeing educational institutions' administration since the early 1990s. In the 1990s further challenges appeared regarding the need of teacher training in Poland. The first challenge was connected to the sudden need for foreign language teachers. The market's growing demand opened the need for foreign language teachers as a result of the growing influence of western languages. The second challenge was connected to the reform of school education. School education was reformed by the introduction of the Education Act in 1991.

Since the signing of the Education Act on the 7th of September 1991, Poland has distinguished between two school types:[6]

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[4] The Constitution of the Republic Poland of 2nd April, 1997. As published in Dziennik Ustaw No. 78, item 483. Available at: https://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm

[5] Polish Language Act. USTAWA z dnia 7 października 1999 r. o języku polskim. Available at: https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19990900999/T/D19990999L.pdf

[6] School Education Act of September 7, 1991 (USTAWA z 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty). Available at: https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19910950425

- public schools – free of charge
- non-public schools – students pay tuition fee.

Higher education institutions work based on the 27th of July 2005 Law on Higher Education Act, which specifies aspects of higher education institutions' activities. Higher education institutions in Poland can be public or non-public.

Initial teacher training programs have been established by The Minister for Higher Education and Science. The main aim of the programs is to assure high quality education and teaching, make the teaching career popular and set appropriate goals for students and teachers as well.

The initial training programs are divided based on the following sectors and programmes. **Degree programmes**, including: [7]

- first-cycle programmes: programmes leading to a Bachelor's degree
- second-cycle programmes: programmes leading to a Master's degree or an equivalent degree;
- long-cycle programmes: like second-cycle programmes, programmes leading to a Master's degree (magister) or an equivalent degree.

Non-degree postgraduate programmes: programmes leading to a certificate of completion.

Higher education institutions' system regarding teacher training was changed on 1 October 2004. Since then, first-cycle programmes have been divided into two parts: **main and additional specialisations**, meaning that it is possible to obtain two qualifications in two subjects. The second cycle from now on allows for the possibility of dual specialisation initial teacher training. A new element was added as well, the establishment of Initial Teacher Training Establishments.[8]

The Ministry of National Education (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej) is responsible for the qualification requirements of teachers. Based on the regulations of the Ministry of National Educa-tion, those teachers who have completed higher education or Initial Teacher Training Establishment may be employed.

Regarding ethnic or national minorities, those teachers can teach or conduct activities in groups who have the required qualifications. These required qualifications will enable teachers to work in a given type of school or kindergarten. Apart from the required qualifications, teachers must complete appropriate modern languages or post-graduate studies and have competence in the minority's language.

Teacher training programs of ethnic or national minorities have recently been promoted by plu-rilingual network training projects. The first plurilingual network training projects were established in the 1990s and it was essential to make changes from the beginning in the structure of the training projects. One of the major difficulties was the immediate shift towards western European languages. This created a need for proper foreign language teachers, textbooks and skill improvement projects. The initiatives were made by the National In-Service Teacher Training Center in Warsaw and involved providing the most teachers of specific foreign languages with effective methodological support.

The projects were established with the help of foreign and domestic partners. The aims of the projects are the following:

- improving foreign language teaching
- developing teacher trainings on all levels of education for minorities
- skill improvement with special emphasis on teaching minority languages

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[7] The Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Interior and Administration.Available at: https://www.gov.pl/web/mswia-en
[8] Konstytucja dla nauki (Ministry's document „Constitution for the Science", describing i.e. how teachers should be educated and how Higher Education Institutions are organised). Available

- facilitating local teacher training programs
- improving textbooks for minorities.

In recent years, Poland's language projects gained recognition on an international level, by receiving European Language Label certificates. The proper usage of effective methods, providing local training opportunities for teachers and ensuring the protection of minorities has been implemented as a recommendation by the Council of Europe. Furthermore with the help of international partners, the financial and organisational support for minority communities is guaranteed on multiple spheres of life. The financial and organisational support happens locally and nationwide, and includes:

- organising language contests
- organising school competitions specifically in the language of the minorities
- organising festivals and fairs (in minority languages)
- preparation and printing of curricula
- providing textbooks for national and ethnic minority languages
- providing materials for teaching.

Every year, network projects are organised countrywide in order to develop and maintain the status of minorities. These network projects allow a wide range of development opportunities for teachers. Teachers can participate in the following courses:

- improving the quality of teaching
- using different skills and methods especially those which are usable in minority classrooms
- encouraging participation with other minority groups
- improvement courses directed towards minorities and regional languages
- improvement programs related to the recent educational changes in Poland
- exchanging professional experiences.

5. The situation of regional or minority languages in Poland

The rights for minorities are guaranteed in the Constitution and in the Act of 6 January 2005 on the Ethnic and National Minorities and on the Regional Language (ustawa z 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym)[9].
According to the 2021 census, Poland recognises 13 national and ethnic minorities.

a) 9 national minorities: Belarusian, Czech, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian and Jewish;
b) 4 ethnic minorities: Karaim, Lemko, Romany and Tatar;
c) one community using the regional language of the Kashubians

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9 Act of 6 January 2005 on the Ethnic and National Minorities and on the Regional Language. U S T AWA z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym. Available at: https://www.gov.pl/web/mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne/ustawa-o-mniejszosciach-narodowych-i-etnicznych-oraz-o-jezyku-regionalnym

Ethnicity	Population
Belarusian	56,607
Czech	7,818
Lithuanian	10,287
German	144,177
Armenian	6,772
Russian	15,994
Slovak	2,300
Ukrainian	82,440
Jewish	17,156
Karaim	350
Lemko	13,607
Romani	13,303
Tatar	2,000
Kashubians	179,685

Table1. Native speakers of minority languages in Poland (2021 census data)

5.1. The right to mother-education of minorities in Poland

According to the guidelines outlined in the School Education Act of September 7, 1991 (ustawa z 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty), ethnic and national minorities exercise their rights to learning the minority language or receiving education in the minority language, as well as learning about the history and culture of the minority.[10]

Additionally, they renewed the status of foreign languages as compulsory or optional school subjects, established teaching guidelines, made it possible to make changes to the assessment and examination process, and guaranteed initial teacher training, which prepares educators to quickly adapt to students' changing needs.

The protection of the rights of national and ethnic minorities as well as the rights of communities using regional language is handled within the cooperation of The Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Interior and Administration.[6]

On 6 January 2005, the Joint Committee of Government and National and Ethnic Minorities passed an act related to the activities of national and ethnic minorities and regional languages. The Joint Committee started it undertakings in September 2005 and working groups had been established. Further important elements of these actions are related to the development of educational programs, teacher training, granting funds for organising education in communities and pre-school education. Maintaining national and ethnic minorities' sense of linguistic and cultural identity is the primary goal of the Polish government.

5.2. Educational institutions of minorities in Poland

Armenian

Armenian is not used as a language of instruction. It is taught at primary schools but not in secondary education, technical or vocational education. People who would like to learn this language have the opportunity to attend Saturday/Sunday schools organised by the representatives of the Armenian minority. At universities students can study Armenian.

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10 School Education Act of September 7, 1991 (USTAWA z 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty). Available at: https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19910950425

Belarusian

The Belarusian language is taught at all levels of education (pre-school, primary and secondary school levels). However, it does not meet the requirements for becoming a medium of instruction at all levels of education. In technical or vocational education, Belarusian is not taught. Belarusian can be studied at university level. At the University of Białystok students can learn Belarusian, since it is part of the study programme.

Czech

In primary, secondary, technical or vocational education, Czech is not offered. On the level of primary education it is only taught in the kindergarten of Zelów. Furthermore, language courses are organized by the Czech Culture Centre in Zelów. At the university level, the Czech language can be studied at the Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

German

German is taught at pre-school, primary and secondary school levels. Some educational institutions offer dual-language classes in German and Polish. Even though Poland offers the opportunity to learn/use German in technical and vocational education, still this number is very low compared to the size of the German speaking community. German can be studied at university level at various faculties as well as an optional subject.

Karaim

Karaim is not available at any level of education. At the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, classes on Karaim literature and culture are offered. The Karaim association organises annual summer camps where lessons and activities are held in Karaim.

Kashub

Kashub is available at all levels of education, it is taught at pre-school, primary and secondary school levels. "Ethno-philology"/studies on Kashubian culture is offered at the University of Gdańsk. It is a positive sign that special courses are organised for teacher training.

Lemko

Lemko is available at all levels of education; however, it is not the medium of instruction. According to the information provided by the authorities, there are no students learning at technical and vocational schools. Lemko is no longer studied at university level.

Lithuanian

Teaching in Lithuanian takes place at pre-school, primary and secondary school levels. According to information from the authorities, no pupils are currently studying Lithuanian at technical and vocational schools. At the University of Warsaw, Lithuanian may be studied as part of Baltic Philology (BA and MA courses).

Romani

In recent academic years, only a very small percentage of children learned Romani in kindergarten and primary school, according to the authorities. However, there is a growing interest among Romani speakers that their language should be part of the educational system.

Russian

Russian is taught at pre-school and primary school levels but not at the secondary school level. There is no teaching in/of Russian in technical and vocational education. Russian can be studied at university level at various faculties as well as an optional subject.

Slovak

Information from the authorities indicates that Slovak is taught only in primary schools. Slovak is not available in technical and vocational education. However, at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Slovak can be studied at university level.

Tatar

Tatar is not available at any level of education (pre-school, primary, secondary, technical or vocational education). The Tatar minority organises language courses with the government's support. The Tatar language is not studied as a subject of higher education at the Department of Asian Languages of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań; only Polish Tatar literature and culture is eligible to be studied there at the university level.

Ukrainian

Ukrainian is taught at pre-school, primary and secondary levels. Some institutions offer dual-language classes in Ukrainian and Polish. In the past year the number of students has significantly increased due to the rising number of people immigrating to Poland from Ukraine. Ukrainian can be studied at university level, at eight universities across Poland.

Yiddish

Yiddish is not present at any level of education (pre-school, primary, secondary, technical or vocational education). At the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Yiddish can be studied as part of Jewish Studies.

	Pre-school	Primary school	Secondary school	Technical/Vocational Education	Higher Education / University
Armenian	-	+	-	-	+
Belarusian	+	+	+	-	+
Czech	+	-	-	-	+
German	+	+	+	+	+
Karaim	-	-	-	-	only at one University
Kashub	+	+	+	+	+
Lemko	+	+	+	-	-
Lithuanian	+	+	+	-	+
Romani	+	+	-	-	-
Russian	+	+	+	-	+
Slovak	-	+	-	-	+
Tatar	-	-	-	-	only at one University
Ukrainian	+	+	+	+	+
Yiddish	-	-	-	-	only at one University

Table2. The availability of Educational Institutions for minorities in Poland

6. Conclusion and recommendation

Throughout history, both the Polish nation and the Polish language have had to fight for their survival. The constant struggle for the right to survival can be traced throughout the development of the Polish nation and language. In order for the Polish language to achieve its present important status in Europe (especially in Eastern Europe), the Polish speech community had to insist on the realisation of its dreams and goals, which are truly reflected in the creation of an independent

Polish state. A careful study of the history of the Polish nation and the Polish language reveals that it has played the role of an oppressed nation for thousands of years. The first such chapter occurred during the enforced 'Germanisation,' when Polish people were completely deprived of the right to use their religion and language freely. The forced use of languages by other countries did not disappear from Polish history completely afterwards, as the Russian language began to take hold in the area. As it can be seen, forced Germanisation and Russification made it impossible to use Polish, and it became a completely second-rate language within the borders of its own country.

The real changes came after the Second World War. The creation of an independent Polish state finally provided freedom of language and religion. The Polish nation's goals included protecting, nurturing, and ensuring the free use of the Polish language. To this end, a number of important laws and decrees were passed, and important changes were made in Polish education and teacher training.

The main aims of the newly formed language policy were to protect, preserve, cultivate, and use Polish in all areas of life. Once the Polish nation had laid the foundations for the maintenance and teaching of the Polish language, the next important step was to join the European integration process. A fundamental requirement for joining European integration is to guarantee the rights of minorities.

Language policy and planning (LPP) in Poland is principally centred on governmental executive areas. The Polish parliament, the Polish government and council members responsible for Polish language rights are key elements in LPP. Poland's language policy goes much further than safeguarding the official language or preserving the languages of racial and ethnic minorities. Educational policy regarding the teaching and learning of languages is also essential.

Important historical events paved the way towards the Polish language policy and language rights which are known today. The recent language policy dates back to 1989, when Poland gained independence, and a key aim of the country was to raise awareness of the importance and the role of Polish language. Another historical event took place in 1999, when the Act of the Polish Language was accepted. Following this event, Poland wanted to become a member of the European Union. Along this path, the protection of national and ethnic minorities and regional languages is a vital step towards European integration. Poland became a member of the European Union in 2004. The following year, the Act regarding the activities of national and ethnic minorities and regional languages was passed by the Joint Committee of Government and national and ethnic minorities. The protection and promotion of national and ethnic minorities are secured in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Poland signed the Charter in 2003 and ratified it in 2009.

In 2021, Poland submitted its third evaluation report. The third evaluation report is based on the political and legal situation of Poland. As it can be seen in the evaluation report, Poland recognises 13 national and ethnic minorities. In view of the collected data regarding rights to mother tongue education in Poland, the following changes can be recommended:

Armenian
- making education available in Armenian at all levels
- developing teaching and providing teacher training in Armenian
- providing available textbooks for the Armenian minority

Belarusian
- making education available in Belarusian at all levels;
- providing local and regional units regarding Belarusian
- making Belarusian an integral part of the curriculum

Czech
- making the Czech language available in primary and secondary schools
- developing teaching and providing available textbooks

German
- making German an integral part of the curriculum
- providing local and regional administrative units regarding German

Karaim
- making education available in Karaim at all levels
- developing teacher training for Karaim
- drawing up an action plan

Kashub
- providing local and regional administrative units regarding Kashub

Lemko
- developing teacher training for Lemko
- providing local and regional administrative units regarding Lemko
- making Lemko an integral part of the curriculum
- raising awareness of Lemko culture in society

Lithuanian
- providing local and regional administrative units regarding Lithuanian
- providing textbooks for Lithuanian students
- ensuring the long-term funding of education

Romani
- drawing up an action plan on how to promote the teaching of Romani
- introducing Romani at all levels of education
- ensuring the long-term funding of education

Russian
- developing teacher training at all levels
- ensuring the long-term funding of education

Slovak
- making education available in Slovak at all levels
- providing textbooks for Slovak students
- ensuring the long-term financial support of education

Tatar
- drawing up an action plan on how to promote the teaching of Tatar
- making education available in Tatar at all levels
- developing teacher training at all levels

Ukrainian
- providing textbooks for the Ukrainian minority
- making Ukrainian an integral part of the curriculum
- drawing up an action plan on how to promote the teaching of Ukrainian

Yiddish
- making education available in Yiddish at all levels
- promoting awareness of Yiddish culture among the society
- drawing up an action plan on how to promote the teaching of Yiddish.

The improvement of the quality of initial teacher training for teachers of minorities is crucial and the government should raise awareness of it. In order to support teaching, new methods, innovative techniques and processes should be implemented. Another key element of improvement which should be explored is the support of the preservation of the national (ethnic), linguistic, and cultural identities of students from ethnic minorities. However because of the declining minority populations, with the result that less and less children attend these schools, it may prove challenging for the government to provide financial stability and to preserve the functioning of small schools with regional/minority language teaching.

To guarantee the quality of regional or minority language education, teacher preparation programs and textbooks are crucial. The Committee of Ministers recommended that the Polish government update textbooks and other teaching resources for regional or minority language education in accordance with the New Core Curriculum and train a sufficient number of teachers to be able to teach subjects in Belarusian, German, Kashub, Lemko, and Ukrainian. This recommendation was made during the previous monitoring cycle.

In order to carry out the changes, first it is important to intensify initiatives to foster respect for and tolerance of regional or minority languages and the cultures they represent in Polish society as a whole. Secondly, to make education available at all levels for Armenian, Belarusian, Czech, Karaim, Slovak and Yiddish. In those minorities where education is present, the development should be ensured by providing updated textbooks and other teaching materials, as well as the fundamental and advanced training of a sufficient number of educators for regional or minority language education.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ERDOĞAN'S REPUBLIC DAY SPEECH IN 2016

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between argumentation and political discourse. More specifically, this study focuses on the discursive and argumentative strategies employed by one of the most prominent Turkish leaders and current ruling president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The aim is to shed light on linguistic elements that fuel the sense of national identity after the coup attempt of 2016 through employing the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) for unveiling the use of specific argumentative strategies in the translated version of Erdogan's 2016 Republic Day speech. English's growing presence in politics highly influences translation practices (House 2013). Not all politicians are proficient in English, thus, their speeches undergo translation from their native language. These translated speeches are intended for a global audience, which underscores the pivotal role of English analysis in both political discourse and the field of translation studies. Although the original language of the speech is Turkish, the examination of its English translation serves to highlight the significance of analysing translated political speeches and making these analyses accessible to a wider audience. The findings emphasise the importance of argumentative topics (topoi), such as the topos of History, Definition, Comparison, Threat and Favourable Time in the advocation of national sentiment at various linguistic and structural levels within the translated political speech of Erdoğan. The implications of this research extend to the understanding of the intricate interplay between argumentative language and concepts of national sentiment within political discourse. Future research can further explore the application of DHA in the analysis of political discourse, allowing for deeper insights into the communicative strategies employed by political leaders.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach, topoi, argumentation, translation, political discourse

1. Introduction

The year 2016 was very important in the sociocultural changes in Turkey, because it was the year when (1) the terror attacks swept across the country, and (2) the first coup against a current ruling government happened in the 21st century (Butler 2018). These events influenced the society, culture, legislative, and educational system of Turkey. Politicians often rely on background knowledge and use discourse to maintain their positions and power to promote their political ideologies that can trigger not only local but also global changes (Vadai 2017). With the coup attempt of 2016, Turkey experienced two historic shifts, the failed coup attempt itself to make Erdoğan leave and a political Islamist counter-revolution that defended the government. Following the night of 15 July, 2016, the ideology of political Islam spread in Turkey to an extent never witnessed before (Çağaptay 2020).

The analysis of political speeches requires knowledge not only of the historical and cultural but also of the relevant social factors. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates political discourse to critique and reveal the connection between discourse, ideology, power, persuasion and manipulation (Fairclough 2015). CDA is not a research model because it does not incorporate a complete methodological framework, it is a theoretical and methodological approach within

discourse analysis which aims to identify or investigate the intersections of power, ideology and discourse (Brown 2019). However, there are theory-based analytical frameworks, such as the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA; Wodak et al. 1990), which may be used for the critical analysis of discourse. The DHA includes a deductive approach, in which the argumentative topics have already been identified, described and defined (Given 2008).

The previously mentioned theoretical framework is suitable for the analysis of concepts that are related to power and ideologies within discourse because it connects different levels of communication through lexical, topical, semantic and pragmatic analysis by investigating the micro-level strategies in communication (discourse and language use) and the macro-level features (e.g., power, dominance, and inequality; van Dijk 2015). In order to reveal the features resulting from the interplay between these two levels of discourse, the political speech of one of the most influential politicians in Turkish history, namely Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the current president of Turkey, has been chosen as the corpus of this study.

Although languages are a unique reflection of the culture they belong to, the peculiarity of each culture and its associated language of expression cannot be precisely translated to other cultures (Munday–Hatim 2004), transferences of meaning are possible from one language to another (Ricoeur 1995). The polysemic inner nature of language, whose combinations of words, syntax, morphology, generate several layers of meaning, may be the reason why we feel that something is lost in translation. However, thanks to the translation, the rich complexity of the layers that make up communication codes can be realised, and the perception of a restricted and single cultural identity can be abandoned (Ricoeur 1995). From a CDA perspective, translation is seen as a mediation process between the worldviews of the source and target texts, and if social structures and contexts are also taken into consideration in the translations, the translator's subjectivity does not necessarily lead to the projection of bias into the data because the ideological worldviews have to be reflected similarly in the target text as in the source text (Baker–Saldanha 2009).

There are political institutions, bodies, and organisations where the primary language used is English, such as the European Union. However, since their first language might not be English, and they must convey their messages to politicians from various socio-cultural, historical, and political backgrounds, English started to enter non-English native politics, becoming a global language (Phillipson 1992). The rapid spread of English into politics has also had an impact on translation (House 2013). Since not all politicians speak English, their speeches are translated from their native language to English. However, the translations must be presented to an international audience, thus, analysing their speeches in English plays an important role not only in politics but also in translation studies. Although the original language of the speech is Turkish, to raise awareness of the importance of analysing translated political speeches and to make the analysis available to a larger audience, the English translation of the chosen speech will be analysed. The study employs a descriptive approach from translation studies, which focuses on observable facts in existing translations, advocating that the text should be investigated in the context of the receiving culture rather than in relation to their sources (Zanettin 2002).

The following study investigates Erdoğan's 2016 translated Republic Day speech regarding the construction of national identity through argumentative topics after the coup attempt of 2016. More specifically, this study seeks to delve into the argumentative strategies employed by Erdoğan in his 2016 Republic Day speech. Examining the argumentative strategies in which national identity is shaped and communicated is essential for understanding the socio-political dynamics within a nation. Argumentative topics, in other words topoi (recurrent themes, arguments, or motifs) are used for the construction of persuasive discourse (Žagar 2009). In the context of this research, the analysis of topoi will shed light on the key topics and arguments employed by Erdoğan to construct and reinforce the Turkish national identity in a specific political context. The study attempts to find answers to the following research questions: (i) What are the argumentative topics of the translated 2016 Republic Day speech? (ii) How can the argumentative schemes of the chosen corpus of the analysis reflect the framing of Turkish national identity? (iii) What are the lexical means of realisations for the framing of Turkish national identity?

In order to answer these questions, the chosen speech will be analysed through the investigation of lexical items that can be interpreted as argumentative topics within the Discourse-Historical Approach. Only the most frequent argumentative topics will be analysed.

2. The historical and social context of Turkey

After the Ottoman Empire started to fall apart, the Turkish War of Independence broke out (1919–1923) when a military officer called Mustafa Kemal discovered the backwardness of the Empire. He not only started to disobey orders but met with other people to fight against the division of Turkey among the Great Powers, called Eastern Question, in 1923 and to declare independence (Fromkin 2009). Atatürk assembled a national congress, abolished the Sultanate and Caliphate, and proclaimed the Republic in 1923. Atatürk introduced new laws and led various legislative reforms in government, education, and language that still live on even today. The Latin alphabet replaced the Ottoman one. Under Atatürk's rule, religion was separated from the state; this form of governing is called secularism (Çağaptay 2020). The Proclamation of the Republic by Atatürk is commemorated and celebrated on October 28 and 29 in Turkey each year.

In the 20th century, there were six coups (Ahmad 2014) in Turkey, and only one in the 21st century, on 15 July 2016. After the 15 July coup attempt of the army against the rule of Erdoğan, streets, squares, and schools were renamed, coins commemorating the victory over the attempt were struck as well as other retaliatory measures, such as arrests took place (Balci & Yavuz, 2018); thus, it resulted in socio-political and cultural changes that affected the modern Republic of Turkey. Coup d'état is an overthrow of state and a takeover of power by a group (Bealey & Johnson, 1999), which in this case was Erdoğan's government. Erdoğan's government is non-secular because he follows the tradition of political Islam, which blends religion with politics and at the same time deviates from Atatürk's secular type of ruling and agenda (Çağaptay 2020). Erdoğan's and Atatürk's political agendas and ideas might differ; however, the celebration and national event of Republic Day is about the commemoration of Atatürk's historical deeds and ideas. This paper is interested in the use of the ideology of national identity and argumentative strategies in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech (the period after the coup attempt). It sets out to investigate how Erdoğan used arguments to unite people after they had tried to overthrow his government.

3. Literature review

The goal of this section is to delve deeper into the connection between language, discourse, political discourse, argumentation and topoi. It also aims to emphasise the importance of the use of translated corpora and textual data. In order to provide a clear distinction to the readers concerning conceptual and terminological differences, nation, national identity, and nationalism will also be elaborated on and thoroughly described.

3.1. Language and discourse

Language reveals the unique, special and individual characteristics of people and their community (Amberg–Vause 2009). In other words, beliefs and values are presented, expressed, and manifested in verbal and non-verbal language because they serve to project and transmit information, mediate cultural values, and construct and sustain sociocultural structures. Language is also a tool for asserting viewpoints, power, ideologies, and emotional states through which the user can develop and control knowledge and impact social relations (Luke 2003). This mechanism can be experienced in political discourse, where the choice of vocabulary items and grammatical patterns determines the achievement of influence on people.

Discourses are created in written, spoken, or multimodal forms of communication, where we use language (which is the product) as our common mediator. Discourse analysis investigates language use in context (in other words, how language is used in different environments, which is also

dealt with in pragmatics) (McCarthy et al. 2010). The analysis of discourse questions the (1) relationship between the speakers, (2) the goals of the communication, and (3) the management of topics and the (4) development of the interaction (McCarthy–Walsh 2003).

Discourse is implicit, when the intended meaning is implied in the utterance, or explicit, when the intention is directly expressed in it. In order to better understand any discourse, the hearer or reader can rely on their schematic knowledge because human memory is made up of complex structures (called schemata) that include all the information we know about a certain phenomenon or event (Zhang 2010). This embedded device (schemata), which is a form of familiar knowledge (Widdowson 2007), can vary among people or even among countries. When choosing a type of discourse, politicians build on the schematic knowledge of their hearers or readers, referring to their sociocultural or historical background by using grammatical structures and vocabulary. Through the analysis of political discourse, we get a chance to understand the reasons and intentions behind the politicians' choices regarding grammatical structures and vocabulary.

3.2. Argumentation and political discourse

Argumentation is a certain type of linguistic reasoning that conveys, supports, refutes, or even debunks claims. Its aim is to achieve communicative goals, one of which is to persuade the audience (Voloshchuk–Usyk 2018). There are implicit and explicit aspects of argumentation that can be revealed, where the argument can be identified as part of a message (Hample 1980). It is of crucial importance for political speeches to be carefully constructed regarding what kind of topics and argumentation to include since they are generally concerned with the promotion of political views (Martínez Guillem 2009). Also, the speakers' awareness of the terms and their associations are in connection with their assumptions about the audience's background knowledge (Martínez Guillem 2009). The context where political speeches are produced is also of high influence. Political arguments are generally held in public spheres where the choices in argumentative discourse and topics are audience-directed and include the purposive use of linguistic devices (Koço 2012). Understanding the essence and elements of argumentation are key to effective communication and critical thinking. In this way the audience can identify, reveal and interpret intentions of persuasion of even manipulation. Concepts such as the nation-state and national identity are often included as a frame of reference in political discourse through the incorporation of histories, sense of collectivity, as well as sense of destiny (Billig 2003). The crucial task while analysing a political text or speech is to understand its argumentative essence, which is essential for the evaluation of the political strategies they are a part of (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012). According to Vadai (2017), political discourse is an abstract and complex phenomenon that can be analysed in numerous ways as well as from various points of views. For this reason, political discourse requires the reconstruction and analysis of arguments as bases for non-arbitrary evaluation, where the intention is to give a clear focus to the argument (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012).

3.3. Argumentative topics, topoi

Topos or topoi denote a point of view or an idea in the argumentation process. They are recurrent arguments, or motifs that are strategically employed in discourse to construct persuasive arguments (Richardson 2004). By employing topoi, the speakers or writers can establish a common ground and appeal to the hearers'/readers' preexisting knowledge and emotions. These shared references and assumptions enable the communicator to create and establish credibility, enhance the chances for persuasiveness, and shape the audience's perception regarding the topic or issue at hand (Rubinelli 2009). Through the use of topoi, political leaders, or people in high or elite positions as well as other influential figures can shape the discourse, knowledge and perception regarding national identity, in order to promote a sense of shared identity and belonging. Topoi can take various forms and address different aspects, such as historical references, highlight unique qualities or achievements or traditions (Wodak et al. 2009). In political speeches, argumentative

discourse requires an understanding of the socio-cultural context, the values and beliefs of the target audience, and the strategic deployment of topoi to effectively shape and influence public discourse (Wodak et al. 2009). The selection and manipulation of topoi are essential tools in constructing a compelling and persuasive narrative of national identity, fostering a sense of unity, pride, and loyalty among the members of a nation. The analysis of topoi can provide valuable insights into the argumentative construction and representation of ideologies and contexts.

3.4. Nation, national identity, nationalism

Although the terms nation, nationality, national culture/identity, and nationalism are closely connected and share some ideological basis, they are not the same. Nation, in broad terms, denotes a "human population sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1991:14). According to Renan (1990), a congregation of like-minded people create the sense of nation. However, people are not only legal citizens of the nation; they also participate in national ideas that are represented by their national culture (Hall 1996).

As Wodak et al. (2009) argue, the nation is an imagined community because it is a mental construct, an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of collective unity and equality, boundaries and autonomy. However, this image is real to the extent that one is convinced of it, believes in it and identifies with it emotionally. The question of how this imaginary community reaches the minds of those who are convinced of it is easy to answer: it is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse. (22)

This sense of belonging is what constructs national identity, which can serve as a basis for nationalism. Members of a nation are reminded of their national identities by using national flags, symbols and banknotes as well as through national media that projects national values (Arslaner 2022). Thanks to these symbols of national identity, the concept of '*us*' is evoked; a concept that involves a group that shares national values, sentiment and uniqueness, in other words, the in-group (Arslaner, 2022). Thus, commemorative national celebrations and holidays (such as the commemoration of the Republic Day of Turkey) are essential in the unification of people based on their shared history and national sentiment.

Nationalism, on the other hand, is an ideology that represents a political philosophy using national identity where people share devotion, respect, and closeness to a nation (Heywood 2011). If nationalism is combined with discourses of prioritisation and marginalisation, it can lead to severe consequences (Konuralp 2013), it may become a contemporary, progressive, or aggressive movement and lead to coup attempts (Köktürk 2016), where there is an *us vs. them* mentality (Wodak et al. 2009), a clash between the superior and inferior arising from differences regarding customs, culture, and language.

3.5. Corpus-based translation studies and political Speeches

Since the corpus of investigation in the present study is based on translated texts, the potential impact of translations needs to be addressed. In order to investigate patterns of grammar, vocabulary, or contextual features of any type of text, the compilation of data is of great importance due to the fact that it provides means of quantifiable data, such as type and token ratio or frequency counts, for the researcher. If we take political discourse as an example, the compilation of political speeches and texts could prove to be helpful in the identification of ideologies because the ideas of political agendas need to be embedded in discourse in a repetitive manner.

Translated texts record "genuine communicative events and as such are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language" (Baker 1993:234). Analysing translation with the help of a compiled corpus of translated texts of the same genre (e.g., commemorative speech or political declaration), enables us to identify features of translated text (Baker 1993).

Corpus and corpora, in corpus linguistics, denote a body or compilation of naturally occurring language, in other words, an organised database that is adequate for computer-assisted analysis (McEnery–Hardie 2012). However, in translation studies, corpus and corpora can refer to a more modest, smaller amount of textual data that can be searched manually (Baker 1993). Even though the analysis of corpus in corpus linguistics usually entails quantitative methods, qualitative corpus analysis can also be of assistance for translation studies because it provides means for pursuing in-depth investigations of linguistic phenomena regarding communicative situations (Hasko 2012).

A monolingual corpus includes linguistic data in one language only (Baker 1995) and can assist analysts to investigate the linguistic nature and elements of the target, translated text, independently of the source language (Zanettin 1998). It is also ideal for investigating the features of certain text types (Mohammed 2022). A corpus incorporates text evidence, and through a different methodological framework of analysis, it also provides insights into the specific text (Bonelli 2010). A specialised translated monolingual corpus can provide insights into specific patterns, terminology, the frequency of conceptually relevant words, as well as cohesive features (Bausela 2016).

The translated text should use terminology that, while maintaining the clarity of the source language, also elicits the associations that the political discourse's intended audience hoped to perceive (Sagadiyeva et al., 2021) since political speech is a purposeful, cohesive stream of words that is typically prepared for delivery to an audience on a political event (Charteris-Black, 2014). Even though there might be differences in terms of lexical items in translated political speeches, the overall political ideology needs to match the political ideology of the source text. The analysis of translated political discourse is not only important on the vocabulary and stylistics level but also in terms of the transfer of strategies in the target language (Pamungkas 2020) because these strategies can contribute to the maintenance of social power as well as to the reproduction of ideology (Bánhegyi 2014). The way in which translated political texts are applied for political goals has complex psychological and textual implications which should be investigated through methods of CDA (Bánhegyi 2014).

4. Analytical Tools, Procedures

The DHA includes the following methodology, which aligns with the present study's qualitative focus.

- Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge (i.e., recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).
- Systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on).
- Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).
- Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).
- Qualitative pilot analysis (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions).
- Formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique).

(Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 96)

In order to investigate the topoi structure of the English translation of Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day Speech, the text of the speech was divided into sentences. In each sentence, the topoi defined by Wodak (2006) and Wodak et al. (2009) were identified and investigated (see further information in the Discourse-Historical Approach section).

4.1. The text selected for analysis

The aim of CDA is to analyse the implicit and explicit relationships within a text by linguistic analysis (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012). For this reason, the chosen corpus for the study has to have the potential to indicate both the use of power and ideological language use, since political speeches may contain various deliberately used elements of power, ideology, and manipulation (Vadai 2017). This study focuses on finding elements or instances of ideological use of language in connection with national identity. It investigates the argumentative schemes and means of linguistic representation of national identity in the translated 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan. As a result of the 15 July coup, socio-political and cultural changes took place that affect the modern Republic of Turkey. There was an attempt to overthrow Erdoğan's government. This study investigates the use of discursive strategies concerning national identity in the translated speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. His translated 2016 Republic Day speech has been chosen for the analysis because it is a commemorative event of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, in the year of the coup attempt. The official English translations of Erdoğan's speeches are available on the website of the Turkish Government, which was used as a source for accessing his speeches for the analysis. The translations are the official translations provided by the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey.

4.2. The Discourse-Historical Approach

The DHA aims to gather all available background information on a systematic basis for the analysis as well as interpretation of the text (Wodak 2011). It enables the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis regarding the implicit and explicit discursive strategies of the performer. The main focus of the DHA is based on the following discursive strategies:

- Referential nomination: Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events, and processes/actions (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Predication: Discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena/ events/processes, and actions (more or less positively or negatively) (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Perspectivization: Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Argumentation: cognitive construct of problem-solving that is represented (even regulated) in sequence(s) of speech acts constitute a complex (and more or less coherent) network of statements (Wodak 2015b)
- Intensification: modifying the intention of utterances (Reisigl 2017).

Argumentation involves the use of argumentative topics (topoi). There have been extensions of the DHA approach (Wodak 2001, 2006 ; Wodak 2009; Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak 2015) over the time and different types of topoi (topos of justice in 2006, topos of burden and topos of favourable time in 2009) for different political speeches were identified. However, not every identified topos includes a definition. For this reason, only those topoi were included in the analysis that had been previously defined. In cases where topoi were defined more than once, the definitions were merged. Such was the case with the topos of history, which was defined in the study of Wodak (2006) and redefined by Wodak et al. (2009) to achieve a more thorough and broader type of analysis. The definitions of the topoi to be investigated are listed below.

The argumentative topoi and their definitions/means of realisations based on the analytical framework of Wodak (2006: 74) and Wodak et al. (2009: 36-42):

- Topos of History: as a teacher: because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation,
- Topos of Threat: if specific dangers or threats are identified, one should do something about them,

- Topos of Definition: a person or thing designated X should carry the qualities/traits/attributes consistent with the meaning of X.
- Topos of definition: temporal reference, indicating continuity
- Topos of Comparison: lexical units with semantic components creating difference or similarity, lexical units with levelling semantic components (justification), referential assimilation, personal pronoun *we,* spatial and personal reference (constructive), lexemes with components creating unification (constructive)
- Topos of Favourable Time: a crisis is also a chance

5. Results and discussion

Let us further investigate the above-mentioned political speech extended with a thorough interpretation, focusing on the frequency and occurrence of specific, already defined topoi. The analysis of Erdoğan's speech (see Tables 1, 2 and the Appendix section) is followed by a detailed interpretation of the topoi and devices.

Argumentative topics (topoi)	Number of occurrences
History	**9**
Authority	1
Threat	**6**
Definition	**8**
Comparison	**8**
Superordinate aim	3
Idyllic place	5
Changed circumstances	3
Consequence	5
Favourable time	**7**

Table 1. The frequency of identified topoi in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech

Since topoi are recurrent arguments, the study will investigate the most frequently identified and used topos in the chosen corpus of the study. For space limitations, only the most frequent five topoi will be investigated. The five most frequently used topoi of the speech are presented in Table 2.

Argumentative topics (topoi)	Number of occurrences
History	**9**
Definition	**8**
Comparison	**8**
Threat	**6**
Favourable time	**7**

Table 2. The most frequent topoi in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech

5. The combination of topoi of threat, history, definition, comparison and favourable time

The combination of topoi, such as the topos of comparison, the topos of history, the topos of definition, the topos of threat, and the topos of favorable time, can be of high influence and effectiveness in the construction and shaping of national identity because of the various functions they address and entail. The topos of comparison enables members of the nation to compare their nation with other ones, through which their sense of belonging can be enhanced because of the highlighting of unique qualities. The topos of comparison is helpful in the reinforcement of the notion

that the Turkish nation possesses distinctive attributes, unique achievements and exceptional values that separate it from others.

The topos of history provides connection for the Turkish nation to its past through an emphasis on long-standing traditions and historical milestones. Through references to the topos of history, national identity is further strengthened by the shared historical experience and continuity of the historical roots. The topos of definition sets the time of continuity of the historical events and clarifies the principles and values that that are connected to the referred events. The topos of definition extends the topos of history through temporal connections. The topos of threat further extends the topos of comparison by highlighting the resilience and strength of Turkish people. Through an emphasis on the endurance and capability of the nation to overcome difficulties and triumph against the external threats and enemies, the sense of national pride is enhanced.

The topos of favourable time reflects progress and achievement because it highlights the growth and the positive transformations of the Turkish nation. The emphasis of the topos of favourable time in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech is on the accomplishment and improvement of the Turkish nation that fuels Turkish national pride. Through the combination of the previously mentioned topoi a multi-dimensional narrative of a nation's identity is constructed because it enables Turks to develop a deep sense of connection, pride, and loyalty to their nation through reflecting on and understanding its distinctiveness, historical context, values, resilience, and progress. Before the extensive and thorough analysis of the excerpts (below), the previously mentioned topoi, namely the topos of threat, history, definition, comparison and favourable time will be further elaborated.

5.1. The topos of history (or history as a teacher) is one of the argumentation schemes (a synonym for topoi according to Wodak et al. (2009)) which aims to call attention to the importance of history-related events and consequences to achieve a deeper emphasis and higher effect on the reader/listener. The inclusion of and reference to historical events and deeds serve as reminders (Aslaner 2022) of the readers'/listeners' national identity and belonging. The attributive elements that are used with the historical inclusions and references serve as either a booster or setback of national sentiment. The depiction of the victorious or tragic events of history is likely to evoke emotions to encourage people to experience feelings of pride or resentment regarding the referred historical event. This sense of pride or resentment can further contribute to unification. The pride will singularise people and construct a certain type of in-group, where all the people proud of their history can be united. The resentment will also unite people against a common enemy, the out-group. The topos of history is further divided into two groups, the Republic of Turkey and the coup attempt of 2016, for this reason, illustrative examples referring to the former or latter topos of history will be included in the excerpts. The next topos is the topos of definition.

5.2. The construction of national identity is a dynamic process that relies on various argumentative schemes and devices (see below). The topos of definition with a temporal reference, allows the establishment of a nation's identity through the inclusion of temporal continuity and progression (Wodak et al., 2009; Schwarze, 2007). Politicians and leaders influence perceptions of the nation's past, present, and future through the topos of definition by emphasising key moments and events that reflect past, present and unification. In this interpretative analysis, we delve into the construction of national identity through the topos of definition with a temporal reference. By examining specific excerpts and their argumentative schemes, we can gain insights into how the topos of definition with a temporal reference shapes and reinforces national identity.

5.3. The topos of comparison shapes and defines a nation's identity by drawing comparisons between their own nation and others. Politicians and leaders can separate their country through features, successes, and values. This argumentative scheme serves to deepen a sense of national identity through the differentiating the in-group, the members of the nation, and the out-group, members outside the nation to either foster national pride, or promote unification through a common enemy (van Dijk 2006). In this analysis, we will explore the construction of national identity

through the topos of comparison, examining how the references to attributive features and abilities of people, historical events, and cultural aspects help to shape perceptions of national identity. The topos of comparison will be investigated on the basis of Excerpts 11-15 below.

5.4. The topos of threat is crucial for the shaping and construction of national identity, since it is a powerful tool for unifying as well as mobilizing communities against a common enemy (van Dijk 2006; Wodak et al. 2009). Through highlighting external or internal challenges, differences and threats, the topos of threat constructs a narrative that emphasises the nation's ability and capacity to overcome obstacles. It also creates a sense of unity or even pride in collective accomplishments. The topos of threat with regards to the construction of national identity in the 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan will also be investigated below.

5.5. The topos of favourable time is applied in order to indicate and emphasise the positive values and attributes of a particular period over another (Ricoeur 1992). This argumentative topic is of crucial importance for politicians because through employing the topos of favourable time, they can emphasise the invaluable period of their ruling. The topos of favorable time, particularly the notion that crisis is also a chance, is employed below to highlight the positive outcomes and progress that have resulted from challenging events. The perfect time for unification is during the time of crisis, be it in the past or in the present.

5.6. The interpretation of topoi in the Erdoğan's 2016 translated Republic Day Speech

For reasons of limitations of space for the study, only the most illustrious excerpts that include more than one topos will be analysed. The parts that indicate the topos or topoi of the chosen part of the speech will be highlighted in bold for making them more visible and easier to detect for the reader.

Excerpt 1
*"The Turkish nation, which has never given in to bondages and dictations, crowned the **war of liberation** that it launched against the **invaders** targeting its liberation and future with a **heroic victory unprecedented** in history"*

The example above incorporates instances of using the the topos of history to remind people of the Turkish War of Independence (1918–1923), after which the Republic of Turkey was born. The reference to history with the expressions *heroic victory* and *unprecedented* are means of creating a sense of pride in Turkish people about their past events. In the above example both in- and out-groups are created, where the in-group is the Turkish nation, and the out-group is the 'invaders'. Not only the topos of history but the topos of comparison is also invoked by the emphasis of the unique nature of the in-group, the 'The Turkish nation' because it has never accepted and will never accept the threat and command of others, which is referenced through the line *which has never given in to bondages and dictations*. The aforementioned excerpt establishes a comparison by the emphasis of resilience and refusal of the Turkish nation to submit, thus it positions Turkey to a higher level. The part *Crowned the war of liberation* is a metaphorical expression where crowning denotes victory over the 'invaders' to signal accomplishment or recognition. The victory is further compared and emphasised, where *unprecedented* indicates comparison to emphasise the extraordinary nature of the victory. It is suggested that the Turkish nation's triumph is unique. In addition, a third topos also appears, the topos of threat, which highlights the resilience and bravery of the Turkish nation against external challenges and forces that attempt to impose control or dominance. The *war of liberation* signifies the threat to the nation's freedom and future because Turks need to be freed from the enemy. The reference to the Turkish War of Liberation is meant to emphasise that the threat can be overcome, but people need to be reminded that there was an external threat in the

past. Through the topos of threat the courage and determination of the Turkish nation are pointed out. This argumentative topic is applied for the enhancement of the national identity and the evoking of pride, unity, and collective strength among the Turkish people.

Excerpt 2

*"After this glorious victory, on **29 October 1923**, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of "**sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the** nation" and with the aim of raising our **nation above the level of contemporary civilizations"***

The topos of history is further emphasised in Excerpt 2 through the specific inclusion of the exact date, 29 October 1923, of the War of Liberation, a time pivotal in Turkish history, also marking the establishment of the Republic. Also, the emphasis on the principle that *sovereignty belongs to the nation* aims to unify the people. There is a certain desire for advancement in the global arena. It reflects the desire to shape Turkey's place in history and among contemporary civilisations.

The topos of definition is also present in various temporal references. The part *After this glorious victory* indicates the sequential relationship of the Turkish War of Liberation and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey to indicate that the Republic of Turkey is itself a victory. The expression *29 October 1923* is a precise temporal reference to the start of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, the passage highlights the significance of the date and the principles guiding the establishment under which Turks were united. The in-groups are created through the use of the inclusive 'we' and the out-group is the 'contemporary civilisations'.

The third topos that appears in Excerpt 2 is the topos of comparison, which is established through explicit and implicit references through the passage *After this glorious victory, on 29 October 1923, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation'* because this statement highlights a foundational principle of the newly established Republic of Turkey. Since the establishment of the Republic is a new foundation of the country, the passage emphasises that the foundational principle is national sovereignty, and it is in the hands of the nation. This comparison is implicit because it contrasts with previous systems of governance that may have limited or denied such sovereignty. However, as the passage continues, there is also an explicit comparison where the aim is to rise *above the level of contemporary civilisation*. In the previous part of Excerpt 2, there is both positive and negative comparison included, because it states that in 1923, the Turkish nation was below the contemporary level of civilisation and thus it needed to be raised. The topos of comparison is expressed through the intention of reaching a creatin level, which is 'above'.

Excerpt 3

*"We consider **our Republic** as an achievement of our **2200-year old state tradition and one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage**, attained under the **difficult** conditions of those days."*

The topos of history in Excerpt 3 is expressed through references to the previous historic era and governing bodies, namely the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire. The reference to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire is controversial because according to Excerpt 3 the Republic of Turkey is heir to the previously mentioned empires. Thus, the Republic is the direct result of the empires. However, during the Turkish War of Independence, Turks were trying to break away from the Ottoman Empire as well as from the Great Powers (Ahmad 2014). The aim is to unify people not only through the shared 'victory' of the Republic of Turkey but through the common previous ancestors, the Seljuqs and the Ottomans.

The topos of definition indicates that the Republic of Turkey is a continuation of the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire. The expressions *2200-year old* and *thousand-year* indicate the importance of the length of the previously mentioned empires. If the Republic is a continuation of the Seljuq and

Ottoman Empire, then it should carry their qualities and attributes. The speaker intends to explain the current governing system with reference to previous ones.

However, the topos of comparison is also invoked and seems to be contradictory at the same time because the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire are referred to as *difficult conditions of those days*. However, since the Republic is heir to those hardships, both periods carry positive qualities as well. The comparison of the Republic of Turkey to this extensive state tradition, suggests a sense of historical significance. In addition, the passage *one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage* highlights the specific contributions and legacies of the Seljuqs and Ottomans. This comparison seeks to emphasise the significance and historical roots of the Republic of Turkey.

Excerpt 4

*"I believe that, **wherever** they are **in the world, all our citizens** and friends are **proud of the epic** which was written on **15 July by our nation**."*

Excerpt 4 includes the topos of history through reference to the coup attempt of 2016 with the expression *15 July*. The other type of pride that the speaker intends to create is through the lexical item and atrribution of *epic*, which creates the historical impotance of the coup attempt of 2016. The topos of favourable time is also expressed in Excerpt 4 through reference to the positive effects of the coup attempt of 2016, because the passage *all our citizens and friends are proud of the epic which was written in 15 July* conveys a sense of positive sentiment and pride. The expression *wherever they are in the world* emphasises the inclusivity of the sentiment of Turks belonging to this favourable time regardless of geographical location. The use of the word *epic* adds a sense of grandeur and significance to the event of the coup attempt. Moreover, it can also denote the literary genre through which the speaker aims to indicate the story of favourable time, which was written on 15 July, when the Turkish nation was unified. According to Excerpt 4, the coup attempt of 2016 holds a special place in the hearts of the nation's citizens and friends, evoking a sense of pride and celebration.

Excerpt 5

*"We have reached the **93rd anniversary** of our **Republic** after having overcome **such a crisis** which was not only a **coup attempt and terrorist attack** but also an **invasion attempt**."*

In 5, the topos of favourable time is employed for highlighting the positive outcome and progress achieved despite significant challenges. The 93rd anniversary of the Turkish Republic is a huge success after the crisis event of the coup attempt of 2016, it is a highly important milestone of celebrating the 93rd anniversary of the Republic. It implies the continuity and resilience of the nation. The part *Not only a coup attempt and terrorist attack but also an invasion attempt* establishes the topic of favourable time by referring to an unfavourable one.

Excerpt 6

*"The **Republic of Turkey** has progressed by **overcoming all the difficulties** it has faced during these **93 years and**, thanks to recent **breakthroughs** in particular, it has **now** accomplished to **stand among** the rising **powers of the world**."*

In Excerpt 6, the topos of definition is indicated through the temporal reference of *93 years*, where the number of years serves to emphasise the long period of hardships that was and still encountered by the Turks. The *recent breakthroughs* emphasise the positive qualities after the long-lasting times of difficulty. The *now* underlines the continuity of achievement. The results and effects of these 93 years and recent breakthroughs indicate continuity because the Republic of Turkey stands *among the rising powers of the world*. Thus, Excerpt 6 creates a relationship between the past, the

present and the future. The present accomplishments are the direct results of the overcoming of the difficulties of the past. The reason why the topos of definition is used is to sequence events logically and indicate the temporal relationships between events. In the provided passage of Excerpt 6, the topos of comparison is used for the emphasis of the progress and achievements of the Republic of Turkey through the reference to its current state and the difficulties it has overcome. Thus, contrasting the past with the present. The indication of the period of time *93 years* and the *recent breakthroughs* point to the fact that the present is better than the past situation and highlights the challenges and obstacles that the Republic of Turkey has encountered in the past. Furthermore, the passage *Thanks to recent breakthroughs in particular* suggests that there have been recent significant advancements or accomplishments that have contributed to the progress of the Republic of Turkey. The topos of comparison is invoked in the passage *It has now accomplished to stand among the rising powers of the world*, which positions the Republic of Turkey among the emerging or ascending global powers. Through this comparison, it is emphasised that Turkey's progress and achievements have elevated its status on the international stage and placed it alongside other influential nations.

Excerpt 7
*"Turkey, with its **growing economy**, **strong democracy**, its **commitment** to fundamental human values and principled and **visionary** foreign policy, **continues to be an inspiration** to its region and **to the World** also today."*

Whereas Excerpt 7 lists the positive qualities of the Republic of Turkey and indicates its continuity, with he inclusion of 'also', it is pointed out that the Republic of Turkey was/is and will continue to remain an inspiration. Thus, the topos of definition is also applied for the spreading of positive national sentiment regarding the Republic of Turkey. In Excerpt 7, the topos of comparison is applied to highlight Turkey's positive attributes and its influence through the reference as an *inspiration to its region and to the world*. The positive attribute in *growing economy* emphasises Turkey's economic growth and power. Since Turkey is an *inspiration* to the world, its economy, governmental system and commitments are compared to other countries and Turkey is above them. The *strong government* implies that Turkey's democracy is not only functional but also robust compared to other nations in its region or beyond. The reference of commitment to *human values* highlights Turkey's dedication to upholding fundamental human values and these values position Turkey as a champion of principles of equality, dignity, and fundamental human rights. The outstanding qualities and uniqueness of Turkey is further supported by the part *Principled and visionary foreign policy*, where the Turkey's foreign policy is guided by principles and vision, implying that it stands out from other countries in terms of its approach to international relations. This comparison highlights Turkey's diplomatic efforts and strategic thinking.

Excerpt 8
*"**The tenacity of the Turkish people**, who **defended** fiercely its **freedom, democracy, government** and state, using **their body** as a shield **against** the arms of **FETO member traitors** are our greatest assurances on the path to achieving **our 2023 vision** for the **100th anniversary** of the Republic of Turkey."*

The topos of definition in Excerpt 8 is used for the defining periods, which are the past, present and future. The temporal references serve to define the Republic of Turkey as a victorious outcome following the glorious victory of the Turkish War of Liberation. Furthermore, by associating the Republic with the qualities and attributes of these the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire, cultural legacy is established. The notion of continuous achievement is also deepened through the victorious depiction of the time of the Republic of Turkey. The temporal references in these excerpts create a logical sequence of events. The temporal reference to the 2023 vision for the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey demonstrates a forward-looking perspective.

Excerpt 8 also includes the topos of threat to praise Turkish people for defending their freedom, democracy, government, and state against perceived threats. The part *using their body as a shield against the arms of FETO member traitors* portrays the Turkish people's determination to put themselves in harm's way in order to protect their nation. The topos of threat is evoked through the reference *FETO member traitors*, which directly creates the out-group and points out the gravity of the threat faced by the nation. The threat was not only made against Turkey but against the 2023 vision of the government. By employing the topos of threat, Excerpt 8 aims to express the determination and sacrifices of the Turkish people in the face of perceived threats from FETO member traitors. The passage of Excerpt 8 emphasises the nation's strength, resilience, and commitment to protecting its core values and achieving long-term goals.

Excerpt 9

*"The **recent events** that took place on the night **of July 15, 2016** reaffirmed beyond any doubt how the **Turkish nation is unified with its state**."*

In the passage of Excerpt 9, the topos of threat is employed to remind the Turkish nation of its unity with its governing body against the external threat, which is the coup attempt of 2016. The event of 2016 suggests a threat that was posed against the nation. The *unified with its state* highlights the strong bond and solidarity between the Turkish nation and its state. In Excerpt 9, the topos of favourable time is also applied for pointing out that thanks to the crisis of the coup attempt of 2016, the Turkish society is even more unified than ever before. The crisis is seen as a success. Even if people tried to overthrow Erdoğan's government, he emphasises the positive rather than the negative effects of it. Despite the crisis or challenge faced, the nation demonstrated unity and resilience, which can be viewed as a favourable outcome.

Excerpt 10

*"**That night**, our nation demonstrated to the **whole world** that it would **fight against** the new **invasion attempts** as resolutely as in **the War of Liberation**."*

In Excerpt 10, the topos of threat is further applied through the *fight against the new invasion attempts*, which elaborates on the nation's new challenges, indicating a threat to its territorial integrity or independence. The lexical item and reference of the term *invasion* further deepens the sense of threat and emphasises the seriousness of the situation. Not only new challenges (the coup attempt of 2016), but old challenges (the War of Liberation) and threats appear in Excerpt 10. The reference to the threats of the past and the present suggests that the nation's response to the new invasion attempts mirrors the resolute attitude displayed during the war, which further highlights the nation's readiness to defend itself.

The night of the coup attempt of 2016 resulted in favourable time, the positive outcome of a crisis event because it accomplished the unification of Turks in the fighting against the common enemy just as in the War of Liberation. Thus, the favourable time is when Turks unite for the common goal. Both the coup attempt of 2016 and the War of Liberation were more favourable times because in both it was proved to the world how unified the Turkish people are.

Excerpt 11

*"My fellow citizens and friends, be assured that **Turkey** is a **stronger, more astute** and more resolute country **today than the morning of 15 July**."*

Excerpt 11 uses the topos of threat to convey a sense of reassurance and confidence in Turkey's strength and resilience through the reference to the defeat of the external threat, the coup attempt of 15 July 2016. Although concerns and doubts may bother Turkish people not only about the past

and present and possible future threats, the speaker reassures the addressees through *be assured* that even if there had been events or situations of difficulties Turkey embodies security and confidence. The part *stronger, more astute and more resolute* depicts the positive transformation and progress of Turkey which is better equipped to face threats or challenges. The part *than the morning of 15 July* is a specific reference to the day of the coup attempt, which implies that there was a critical turning point or challenge.

The topos of favorable time is used through the emphasis on the positive progress and development of Turkey in Excerpt 11. The part *Turkey is a stronger, more astute and more resolute country today* indicates the positive transformation and growth of Turkey over time, which has been accomplished until the day of the Republic Day speech. The inclusion of comparative language *(stronger, more astute, and more resolute)* suggests an improvement or advancement compared to a previous point in time. With the explicit reference to the coup attempt of 2016 through *than the morning of 15 July*, the statement establishes the point of comparison, which is the time after the coup attempt of 2016, where crisis creates opportunities. Thus, positive effects follow the crisis.The topos of favourable time is evident in Excerpt 11, as it presents a positive image of Turkey's current state compared to a specific past moment. By emphasising the country's growth and improvement, it contributes to the construction of national identity and a sense of confidence among the Turkish citizens.

In general, the references (Excerpt 1-4) through the topos of history indicate that Turks should be proud of their history. Through the inclusion of historical events such as the Turkish War of Independence and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, accomplishment, pride and positive feelings are projected towards Turkish people. The lexical items and references of heroism, victory, and glory applied in these passages are meant to emphasise the exceptional nature of the referred historical moments. Besides, references to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empires in Excerpt 3 establish a historical continuity. The inclusion of historical allusions fosters a collective memory (van Dijk 2006). Through the topos of history, Excerpt 1–4 contribute to the construction of a strong national identity by drawing upon past events and heritage.

The use of the topos of comparison in the provided excerpts (Excerpts 1–2, 3, 6–7) effectively contribute to the construction of a positive and elevated image of Turkey. Through the comparisons, Turkey is portrayed as a nation with unique qualities. The comparisons highlight Turkey's protective nature and victorious struggle for liberation. Turkey is positioned as a nation that stands above others. The depiction of Turkey's progress and accomplishments in overcoming difficulties and standing among the rising powers of the world shows its growth and development. The use of comparison effectively contributes to the narrative of Turkey's exceptionalism, historical significance, and current achievements, shaping a positive national identity.

By employing the topos of threat in Excerpts 1, 8–11, the speaker seeks to reassure the audience about Turkey's current state and progress. It is suggested that the nation has effectively dealt with past threats or challenges and has become stronger. The topos of threat is used as a means to construct the national identity of the narrative of Turkey's resilience. It further contributes to the construction of a national identity centred around strength, resilience, and the confidence to confront future challenges.

Through the analysis of Excerpts 4-5, 11, it is revealed that the construction of national identity through the topos of favourable time is of importance for politicians as they highlight the positive values and attributes of a particular period over another. In Erdoğan's case, he indicated that the period of the coup, even if it was aimed against his government, made Turkey a better place for Turks. The present situation of Turkey is favoured over its past. Turkey is stronger and more resilient than it has ever been. By employing the topos of favourable time, politicians foster a sense of confidence and pride during their time in power and their political system that boost the productivity and unity of the nation.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the construction of narrative identity through the translated English version of the 2016 Republic Day speech of the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to highlight the significance and effectiveness of topoi in the construction and shaping of national identity. The study analysed the translated English version of the 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan through Wodak's analytical framework known as the Discourse-Historical Approach. Through the help of DHA, excerpts were used from the corpus and the topoi of history, definition, comparison threat and favourable time were identified in the highest proportion.

By the further examination of the topos of comparison, history, definition, threat, and favourable time, we have gained insights into their functions and impact on the argumentative construction of national identity. The topos of history (references to the War of Liberation, Republic of Turkey and to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire) was used for the creation of national mythologies and narratives, which is aimed to legitimise and reproduce national cultures and identities (Forchtner 2014; Wodak 2015a). Turks belong to a stable and unchanging collective unit because of a specific history (Wodak et al. 2009).The topos of definition has been revealed through a specific conceptualization of time (Schwarze 2007), where Erdoğan aimed to establish the consequential relationship between the time of the historical events through the temporal references to the sequence of the Seljuq, Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey and the coup attempt of 2016. The references denote a principle of temporal constancy that reflects similarity as well as uninterrupted continuity of transformation (Wodak et al. 2009).

The topos of comparison has been identified through the comparison of in-groups and out-groups (Turks) and outgroups (FETO member traitors), where the out-groups were compared negatively, and in-groups positively (van Dijk 2006). The topos of threat has been highlighted as a means of warning against the past and present enemies of Turkey, the invaders of the War of Liberation, FETO members, the participants of the coup attempt of 2016 because the threat of outside forces motivates people to develop more unity against the potential threat of national identity (Wodak et al. 2009). Finally, the topos of favourable time has been revealed though the underlining of the growth and positive transformations of the Turkish nation. Through the topos of favourable time people can view time as divergence, or difference in a positive manner (Ricoeur 1992).

The interplay between these topoi enables Turks to develop a deep sense of connection and pride towards their nation. The topoi structures allow them to reflect understand the distinctiveness of their national identity, its historical context and favourable time. The aforementioned topoi are highly influential in shaping and reinforcing national identity. The functions of these topoi contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex processes involved in the construction of national identities.

However, it is important to mention that there are some limitations regarding the study, such as the lack of consensus regarding the methodology of the analytical tool of DHA. Different or more speeches could have been chosen for a more thorough analysis. The original speeches in their original Turkish versions could have been selected and analysed. The range of analytical tools could be enhanced. Even though the study's goal is to achieve the utmost transferability of results, the interpretations are still qualitative in nature, excluding generalisability. Further research in this area is encouraged in order to shed more light on the intricate relationship between topoi and national identity. The study does not purport to make any political claims; the analysis is solely based on available linguistic data. The linguistic claims pertain solely to the translated English version of Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech. The aim was to make unbiased statements/claims and be sensitive about the context, culture, and audience of the target, namely Turkish society. The analyst of this study is not a member of any political party, and there is no political motivation behind the study.

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Appendix

Table A. The 2016 Translated English Republic Day Speech of Erǧogan and the identified topoi

The 2016 Translated English Republic Day Speech of Erdogan divided	Topoi
1. Today, October 29, marks the 93rd anniversary of the foundation of our latest state, the Republic of Turkey proclaimed under the leadership of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.	Topos of history
2. The Turkish nation, which has never given in to bondages and dictations, crowned the war of liberation that it launched against the invaders targeting its liberation and future with a heroic victory unprecedented in history.	Topos of History Topos of threat Topos of comparison
3. After this glorious victory, on 29 October 1923, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation" and with the aim of raising our nation above the level of contemporary civilizations.	Topos of History Topos of definition Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of Superordinate aim Topos of authority
4. We consider our Republic as an achievement of our 2200-year old state tradition and one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage, attained under the difficult conditions of those days.	Topos of History topos of definition: adverbs of time and adverbial constructions Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of consequence
5. The Republic of Turkey has progressed by overcoming all the difficulties it has faced during these 93 years and, thanks to recent breakthroughs in particular, it has now accomplished to stand among the rising powers of the world.	Topos of History topos of definition: adverbs of time and adverbial constructions Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of favourable time Topos of changed circumstances
6. Turkey, with its growing economy, strong democracy, its commitment to fundamental human values and principled and visionary foreign policy, continues to be an inspiration to its region and to the World also today.	Topos of lovely idyllic place Topos of favourable time Topos of comparison Topos of definition Topos of changed circumstances
7. The recent events that took place on the night of July 15, 2016 reaffirmed beyond any doubt how the Turkish nation is unified with its state.	Topos of threat Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of consequence Topos of history
8. That night, our nation demonstrated to the whole world that it would fight against the new invasion attempts as resolutely as in the War of Liberation.	Topos of terrible place Topos of consequence Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of threat
9. The tenacity of the Turkish people, who defended fiercely its freedom, democracy, government and state, using their body as a shield against the arms of FETO member traitors are our greatest assurances on the path to achieving our 2023 vision for the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey.	Topos of threat Topos of superordinate aim Topos of comparison Topos of definition

10. I am honoured to be the President of this great State and heroic nation.	Topos of lovely idyllic pace.
11. I believe that, wherever they are in the world, all our citizens and friends are proud of the epic which was written on 15 July by our nation.	Topos of history Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance)
12. We have reached the 93rd anniversary of our Republic after having overcome such a crisis which was not only a coup attempt and terrorist attack but also an invasion attempt.	Topos of history Topos of terrible place Topos of consequence Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance)
13. My fellow citizens and friends, be assured that Turkey is a stronger, more astute and more resolute country today than the morning of 15 July.	Topos of threat Topos of comparison Topos of lovely idyllic pace. Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of consequence Topos of changed circumstances
14. No attack against our unity, solidarity, brotherhood, homeland, liberation and future will ever be successful.	Topos of threat Topos of definition Topos of lovely idyllic place
15. Neither terrorist organizations nor the ones exploiting them will be able to prevent us from achieving our goals.	Topos of threat Topos of superordinate aim Topos of comparison
16. With these feelings and thoughts, I cordially congratulate all our citizens living in Turkey and abroad on the Republic Day.	Topos of definition Topos of lovely idyllic place Topos of gratitude
17. Happy 29 October Republic Day!	Topos of history

Source: https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/55815/message-of-president-erdogan-on-the-republic-day

CODE-SWITCHING AS A NATURAL PHENOMENON
AMONG LEARNERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Abstract

Code-switching has long been regarded as a detrimental effect of being able to speak more than one foreign language. It is a widely accepted fact that the simultaneous acquisition of two or more foreign languages will make students code-switch more often compared to those learning only one foreign language at a time. Contrary to the common misconception that bi- or multilingualism through instruction would be any different in contrast to bi- or multilingualism acquired at home, bi- or multilinguals' languages "act" similarly regardless of how they have been acquired. Code-switching can impede and aid foreign language learning at the same time. If code-switching is considered a phenomenon that should be avoided, some EFL teachers tend to make conscious steps to help students discard their code-switches. However, if code-switching is treated as it is, merely a natural phenomenon occurring to multilinguals, then, instead of needing to fix it, it can simply be observed. On the one hand, this study summarises some general findings about code-switching, which can also be observed among students born into monolingual families. The second part of the study is a linguistic analysis of a German L2 – English L3 code-switching phenomenon among Hungarian learners of English. The third part of this paper is an educational outlook highlighting the challenges faced by learners, especially young multilinguals.

Keywords: code-switching, multilingualism, Hungarian L1, German L2, English L3

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is threefold. In the first part, I set out to synthesise the most relevant findings about the characteristics of code-switching, whose theoretical background could also be adapted to multilingual language acquisition through instruction. Most Hungarian citizens are born into monolingual families, thus, they usually become bi- or multilingual in educational settings. In terms of code-switching during multilingual development, what happens during the teaching-learning process at school is analogous to first, second or third language acquisition at home. For the sake of simplicity, the first part of the paper treats dialects as separate languages. Furthermore, no distinction has been made between the terms "code-switching" and "code-mixing", and as such, they are used synonymously.

     In the second part of this paper, I present an experiment conducted in an English as a Third Language classroom at a Hungarian primary school. The experiment is an observation of five lessons with six students, where the second language German is evoked before the English lesson. The experiment has been designed to facilitate natural code-switching between German and English among the participants. The lessons have been observed with the help of audio recordings, then, the supposed code-switches between German L2 and English L3 have been described from a linguistic aspect.

     The third part of this paper is an educational outlook highlighting the challenges faced by learners, especially young multilinguals, when transitioning to new educational environments.

Although teachers play a crucial role in creating an inclusive environment, many struggle due to a lack of language awareness and training, hence, students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds may struggle to adapt. The positive impact of multilingualism, as seen in elite schools, should be emphasised, in contrast with the often negative perception of plurilingual students in mainstream classrooms.

2. Multilingual development in case of children

Research has mostly focused on how infants can handle two or more languages during their acquisition. For the unitary system supporters, language mixing and code-switches were the proof of the child being unable to differentiate between their languages, while for the separated systems supporters it was visible that the unintentional switch between languages took place as an evidence of the interference across the languages and cross-linguistic influences would only occur if the child could differentiate between these languages. According to Göncz and Kodzopeljic, the multilingual child's awareness improves quicker than that of the monolingual ones. (Göncz & Kodzopeljic 1991). For the early phases of language developments in the case of bilingual children, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) established a three-stage model. The first stage includes the common lexical system with words from both languages, and the child is not able to differentiate between his/her languages. Thus, there are language mixings in the developing speech of the child. In the second stage, he/she develops two distinct lexical systems and applies the same syntactic rules to both languages, which causes incorrect structures in either or both of the languages. It is only in the third stage, which is at around 2-3 years of age that the child is able to differentiate between the two linguistic systems, lexically as well as syntactically. Genesee (1989) mentions that early mixed utterances are considered as evidence for the child being unable to differentiate between the languages, emphasising the role of parental input that could result in the child's code/language mixing in the early years of bilingual development. However, it is important to note that Genesee (1989: 174) refutes this argument and concludes that "contrary to most interpretations of bilingual development, bilingual children are able to differentiate their language systems from the beginning" and "they are able to use their developing language systems differentially in contextually sensitive ways", and also that "the case for undifferentiated language development in bilingual children is far from established".

De Houwer (1990) criticises Volterra and Taeschner's views. According to her, they use psycholinguistic terms to prove that during the mixing stage the child has one lexical system. It is considered that the child uses mixed terms only because of the different sociolinguistic categories. Researchers consistently agree on the interactions of the two languages or even more languages, triggering cross-linguistic phenomena at all linguistic levels. Cross-linguistic influences, including code-switching, show the complexity of multilingual improvements, and suggest that there is a constant interaction between the codes as multilingual people cannot deactivate any of their languages (Stavans & Porat 2019). Yet, it varies according to many aspects, for instance, when the dominant language affects the weaker one, but that is not always the case. In a multilingual situation, the systems are interrelated and are always active (Navracsics 2014). The multilingual setting, the individual variability, the proficiency levels of the languages, affect various interferences or cross-linguistic influences. The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner 2002) views multilingual development and multilingualism as a complex, nonlinear process.

It has been proved many times that multilingualism can be achieved with a certain amount of exposure to the languages. The only condition is that the child is exposed to the languages simultaneously and they will develop at the same time. The so-called Unitary Language Development Hypothesis was formed in order to collect the ideas of researchers in the different stages of language development. It was mainly based on the observations that children mix the two languages or lexicons, and that they use the different respective syntactic structures differently (Volterra and Taeschner 1978). However, Genesee (1989) argued that children mix the two lexicons for much the same reasons as adult bilinguals mix languages, such as a lack of vocabulary in one language

or adjusting language choice to that of the interlocutor. In addition, he claimed that there is far more evidence showing that children do not use the respective syntactic structures alternatively.

Recently, there is a global trend towards a heightened interest in enhancing the learning and utilisation of multiple languages within formal school systems. Recent global statistics reveal a rise in top-down language-in-education policies that advocate early language learning and bilingual education in formal settings across Europe, South America, Asia, and Africa. Numerous educational models worldwide strive to afford children opportunities to become multilingual or to cultivate and reinforce their competences in the languages they speak.

In addition to widespread foreign language teaching models, as emphasised in European policy documents (European Commission 2002), bilingual education models stand out as the most prevalent form of multilingual education. This is alongside other variations of multilingual education, where three or more languages serve as the medium of instruction (Cenoz 2013). Recent research on bi-multilingual education models has categorised them based on factors such as the overarching educational objectives of the programs (Baker & Wright 2017), the role of languages either as mediums of instruction or as subjects taught (Beetsma 2001), and the sociolinguistic contexts in which multilingual schools operate (Ytsma 2001). Ytsma suggests a typology of 'trilingual education,' where programs deliberately aim to 'establish additive trilingualism among its students.' This typology is based on the (socio)linguistic context in which educational models are implemented. Factors considered include whether the languages present in each trilingual model are also spoken in the school environment, whether these languages serve as the medium of instruction or are taught as subjects.

Additionally, linguistic distance between the languages involved and the program design employed are taken into account. It is crucial to acknowledge that the matter of school languages or languages used in education is closely intertwined with issues of identity formation, impacting not only individuals but also entire communities. The paths individuals, including children, adolescents and teachers, take in learning languages play a substantial role in shaping their individual identities. Simultaneously, the emphasis placed within the language curriculum significantly shapes the significance and prevalence of specific languages within a country. The languages employed in schools and other educational establishments are directly connected to the linguistic and cultural identity of a society (Hu 2014). A social-constructivist and sociocultural framework interprets identity as a reality that emerges "in an intersubjectively reached agreement that is historically and culturally negotiated" (Bamberg et al. 2011). According to this perspective, this agreement is in a constant state of renegotiation and is dynamic. Within this theoretical approach, it becomes evident that identity is intricately connected to language, "languaging", narratives, and broader societal discourses, power relations, and institutional practices. Research has demonstrated that both adults and children, even at an early age, engage in reflection upon and negotiation of their identities, using various literacy practices to express them. This perspective brings a fresh understanding to language learning and language education, suggesting that language learning/teaching and language practices, particularly in educational settings like schools, are closely intertwined with the construction and negotiation of pupils' identities.

Investigations of early trilingual first language development additionally favour separate improvements, showing that trilingual children's purposes of every language are equivalent to those of their monolingual companions (Montanari 2009), albeit the quantity of examinations is still restricted and future examinations are important. Mikes (1991) is quite possibly one of the earliest researchers zeroing in explicitly on the concurrent advancement of the morphosyntax of three languages at the beginning phases of language advancement, demonstrating that two small children presented to Hungarian, German, and Serbo-Croatian from birth have three separate syntaxes, a finding lined up with the results of numerous bilingual examinations. Quay (2011) followed this up by directing an exhaustive examination of the improvement of a Japanese, German, and English trilingual kid experiencing childhood in Japan, and afterward Montanari (2009) detailed an adjusted advancement of the morphosyntax and dictionary of English, Spanish, and Tagalog in California, USA. Both of these studies completely support the separate advancement of the three semantic

frameworks. Separate advancement does not mean that the various frameworks are totally autonomous. Scientists have reliably found restricted but still clear contrasts between the highlights of bilingual children's language and those of their monolingual companions, and many have recommended the chance of efficient association between the dialects being obtained, as a characteristic outcome of language contact.

Additionally, it is essential to note that the degree of proficiency children achieve in each language will vary to a large extent. This is mainly because bilingual or multilingual development or even loss depends strongly on the linguistic and social environment children are surrounded by and most importantly their individual motivation to use each language that they have learnt.

3. Code-switching behaviours

The ability to switch between two languages and combine them within a sentence, related to the growth of children's competence in each language, is a crucial subject for researchers in the field of bilingual and multilingual language development. While there is considerable evidence from researchers working on language development in multilingual children that code-switching is indicative of highly developed skills in both languages (Meisel 1994), multilingual families, teachers, and policy makers frequently worry that code-switching is a sign of poor language skills. Although relatively little is known about trilingual and multilingual youngsters compared to the literature on bilinguals, any unique qualities or similarities with regard to switching in both groups will be addressed. Many language systems are still in development and are likely to be extremely variable, hence analysing children's code-switching is particularly difficult. This is evident from Cantone's (2007) study of bilingual Italian-German children, who were recorded in either a monolingual Italian or a monolingual German mode. Despite the obvious distinctions between the language contexts in which the children were recorded, the children mixed languages in each of them. In all, between 1% and 20% of the children's utterances were mixed languages, although the percentages varied depending on the language environment. Children's code-switching behaviour may change as their productive capacities develop. Depending on whether code-switching is a common discourse mode in the speech community, this could signify an increase or decrease in code-switching. It is consequently quite challenging to understand how children combine languages at different ages and how this ability changes over time. Children mix their languages more frequently in the early stages than in the later ones, according to some data (Redlinger & Park 1980; Vihman 1982). If this is the case, it may provide evidence for the gradual separation of the two languages in bilingual youngsters as they grow older.

Trilingual children may code-switch more since they are unlikely to be equally proficient in all three of their languages. Hoffmann (2001) claims that trilinguals have at least one weaker language but may have two weaker languages and one stronger language. According to other research, these children could be predicted to code-switch more than bilingual children (Poeste et al. 2019), if it is true that children code-switch more while speaking their weaker languages than when using their stronger languages (Petersen 1988). Further research on the connection between dominance and code-switching is required to clarify the relationship between these two, even though analysing this relationship is complex due to the fact that dominance is task-specific - in the sense that a bilingual can be dominant in one language on some tasks but not on others. Dominance relations are a complex construct that can be operationalised and measured in a variety of ways (Treffers-Daller, 2016). Genesee (1989) notes that since it is frequently unknown how the child's speech was sampled, it is challenging to establish strong evidence for such comparisons. Children are likely to mix and code-switch less when they are only recorded in monolingual modes, as Cantone (2007) found, than when they are also recorded in bilingual modes.

Another issue is that multiple operationalisations of the term "mixing" are used by researchers, which makes it challenging to draw general conclusions about the mixing rates at various developmental stages across various studies. Comparisons between studies are made more difficult

because the frequency of code-switching also depends on sociolinguistic differences between speech communities and typological differences between languages.

The term "code-mixing" rather than "code-switching" is preferred by Muysken (2000) because according to him, it more accurately describes situations "where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear within one sentence", and he considers code-switching as a subcategory of code-mixing. Müller, Cantone and other researchers working in the field of Bilingual First Language Acquisition follow Meisel (1994). According to Meisel, the phrase "code-switching" refers to a particular pragmatic ability in selecting the appropriate language in conversations without flouting grammatical rules. However, other than the demands of the mixed grammars, nothing restrains code-switching, according to MacSwan (1999, 146). It is appealing that this presumption, known as the null theory of code-switching, does not presuppose the necessity of a separate code-mixing language. However, because the grammar rules of the two involved languages frequently diverge significantly, occurrences of mixing may be considered a violation of the rules, or at the very least a modification of the rules of one or both languages.

Children frequently incorporate nouns from language A into stretches of language B discourse, as Cantone (2007, 173) noted. Children's code-switching is comparable to adults' in this regard (Meisel 1994). Due to the fact that neither children nor adults have translations for all words in their respective languages, most authors consider the insertion of nouns and other lexical items as necessary. Only 30.8% of words in bilingual youngsters are doublets or translation equivalents, according to research (Pearson et al., 1995), the percentage is closer to 37%. Of course, the precise percentages will vary depending on the related languages and their typological distinctions. The employment of discourse markers from language A, such as "you know" or "well", in language B is another frequent form of language mixing. Since the discourse marker only appears on the edge of the utterance, this sort of mixing does not require embedding content from language A into language B. When a discourse marker from a language used in the larger community is used in conjunction with a phrase in the child's native tongue, it is preferable to interpret this as an instance of alternation. Some discourse markers, like "ok," have gained widespread usage, so one would no longer think of them as code-switches.

Congruent lexicalisation is rarely discussed in the literature on children's code-switching, despite the fact that insertion, alternation, and backflagging are frequently reported in children's mixing. In his study of code-mixing between English and French, Clyne (2003) found that since the code-mixing comprises a structure that is a compromise between French and English word ordering, it might be thought of as congruent lexicalisation. In other words, neither all of the sentence's structure is based on English nor all of it on French rules. A functional French word (the negation marker *pas*, meaning 'not'), an English verb (*wan*, meaning 'want'), and the homophonous noun *yogurt* are all included in this shared grammatical structure (Clyne 2003). As a result, the sentence exhibits a number of consistent lexicalisation traits. The research of a bilingual child by Lanza (1997), who contends that bilingual children may code-switch in the same way as adults from the age of two, provides supporting evidence for the parallels between children's and adults' code-switching behaviour. As a result, the majority of researchers appear to concur that, except for the early phase, children's code-switches are remarkably comparable to those of adults (De Houwer 1990; Vihman 1998). Code-switching can manifest itself in various ways, involving not only separation between grammars but also instances where clear language boundaries are not evident. Congruent lexicalisation entails using content and function words from both languages within a shared grammatical framework, lacking a distinct matrix language. This type of code-switching, as highlighted by Muysken (2000), tends to be more prevalent among closely related languages. In the early stages, advocating for strict separation is not particularly compelling since children's initial utterances typically consist of single words. While the use of single words from language A in contexts where language B is expected might be perceived as 'mixing' (Genesee 1989), determining the language affiliation of a specific word is not always straightforward. This challenge is especially pronounced in cases where the phonetic systems of the two languages significantly overlap, and there are

numerous cognates—words that bear striking resemblance or are identical in both languages (e.g., English/German: *daddy/Pappa*; *mummy/mamma*).

According to Bosma and Blom (2019), speakers of Frisian frequently integrate Dutch elements into their Frisian, often completely blending the lexicons and grammars of both languages. This practice suggests engagement in congruent lexicalisation, a phenomenon typical of closely related languages with a history of intense language contact. However, Poeste et al. (2019) argue that congruent lexicalisation is too complex for young children, proposing the opposite viewpoint that separation of the two language systems is too intricate at this stage.

In the early stages of child language development, congruent lexicalisation may not be confined to closely related languages like Frisian and Dutch; it may also be prevalent between languages that are typologically more distant, such as Estonian and English, as described by Vihman (1985). This does not imply a fusion of both grammars in the early stages but rather suggests that elements of the two languages are mixed in the process of language production.

4. The experiment

4.1. Method

During the investigation, five separate EFL lessons were audio-recorded. Students participating in the research were asked about their linguistic self-identity in Hungarian. German-English code-switching, albeit previously evoked, was treated as a natural phenomenon without the need to affect it. The recorded lessons had been organised alike in advance and consisted of four stages altogether:

Stage 0: Students were exposed to visual input in GFL (L2) lessons for five minutes. They were asked to look at a notice board with 19 vocabulary items in German. The vocabulary items with the same syllable-length were positioned similarly to the ones on the previous notice board.

Stage 1: In the introductory phase of the EFL (L3) lesson, students were asked to speak freely and express their thoughts in connection with the topic of the lesson for 10 minutes.

Stage 2: Stage 2 lasted for 10 minutes and it was a pair work activity. Students were given game figures and game boards with visual representations of the words on the German notice board. Students were allowed to step forward on the game board if they knew and could utter the word portrayed.

Stage 3: Students played Kahoot with the English equivalents of the words on the German notice board for 20 minutes.

The participants: six 11-12-year-old students with adequate speaking skills but different proficiency levels in both English and German.

Students were taught by the same teacher in L2 and L3 lessons.

The classroom: a friendly atmosphere where students were not afraid of making mistakes or errors in English L3 (and in German L2), a natural atmosphere where code-switching was allowed but L1 Hungarian was to be avoided.

Research question: How does German L2 – English L3 code-mixing manifest itself on a linguistic level in an English as a Third Language classroom?

4.2. Discussion

Code-switches from L3 English to L2 German on different linguistic levels of analysis

Observation 1 (with notes)

Notice board 1

Category 1 – presumedly due to the German notice board

Phonetics (IPA transcription):

ˈhaʊzɪz → ˈhaʊsɪz – The voiced alveolar fricative has become voiceless, which may have happened because of the pronunciation of "s" in the singular form of L2 "Haus" (L3 houses – L2 Haus)

However, **z** and **s** should be observed in a similar environment under similar circumstances to rule out other explanations. It is also possible that **z** has become voiceless because in the vast majority of cases, the base of the plural form is phonetically identical to the singular form. Moreover, students could have heard it from others and started to pronounce the word with an **s**.

ˈwɔːtəfɔːl → ˈvɔːtə**fal** – The long open-mid back rounded vowel has become an open front un-rounded vowel, and as such pronounced in a German way. (L3 waterfall – L2 Wasserfall)

Vocabulary (items in which standard pronunciation features are mostly preserved)**:**

wild swines → *Wildschweine* – Students seeing *wild swines* in the lesson could bring the influence of German L2 to the surface. Nevertheless, it is important to note that *wild boars* is used more frequently when speaking English.

Category 2 – presumedly not due to the German notice board

Vocabulary (items in which standard pronunciation features are mostly preserved):

december → *Dezember* – At first, this might seem like an influence of L1 Hungarian. Still, as "r" is pronounced in a German way as a near-open central vowel in place of the Hungarian voiced dental trill, this switch must have been due to L2 German.

happy children → *happy Kinder* – The English *children* has been substituted by its German equivalent.

Syntax:

I really love sports. → *I love really sports.* – The correct English word order has been altered. Although the German calque of the student's sentence would not be correct grammatically, code-mixing can be observed here as well. In simple German sentences, students expect the German verb in the second place, which might explain the inversion of the word order.

Observation 2 (with notes)

Notice board 2

Category 1 – presumedly due to the German notice board

Phonetics (IPA transcription):

ˈkɒstjuːm → ˈkɔstyːm – The voiced palatal approximant has been omitted and the close back rounded vowel has been replaced by a close front rounded vowel. As the close front rounded vowel is not pronounced short as in Hungarian *kosztüm*, the influence must have been due to L2 German.

Category 2 – presumedly not due to the German notice board

Phonetics (IPA transcription):

ˈʧɒk(ə)lɪ**t** → ˈʧoko ˈla:**d** – The near-close front unrounded vowel has been replaced by a long open front unrounded vowel, moreover, the voiceless alveolar plosive has been replaced by its voiced counterpart. However, the switch here could have happened just as likely due to the influence of L1 Hungarian as L2 German since these two German and Hungarian speech sounds do not differ from each other.

ˈvæləntaɪn**z** deɪ → ˈvaləntiːn**s** deɪ - The voiced alveolar fricative has been replaced by its voiceless counterpart exactly how it is pronounced in L2 German *Valentinstag*.

ɡ**əʊ**st (BrE) / ɡ**oʊ**st (AmE) → ɡ**a:**st – The English diphthong has become a long open back unrounded vowel. It is difficult to decide whether this should be regarded only as a phonetic switch because in standard German, supposing the L2 influence can be derived from the word *Gast*, the speech sound would be categorised as an open front unrounded vowel. It is important to note that the student has made a mistake here and probably mixed up the meanings of *ghost/Geist* and *guest/Gast*.

Vocabulary (items in which standard pronunciation features are mostly preserved):

two → zwei
and → und

The latter two switches tend to happen among learners because of the similarities and close relatedness of English and German.

Pragmatics:

Leise, bitte! – This phrase was used in lesson 2, and students consciously inserted it into their speech several times later on in the other four English lessons as well. Code-switching on the pragmatic level might serve as conscious empowering of a sense of belonging in a group.

Observation 3 (with notes)

Notice board 3

Category 1 – presumedly due to the German notice board

Vocabulary (items in which standard pronunciation features are mostly preserved):

wind → Wind, mouse → Maus, narcissi → Narzisse, fox → Fuchs, golden rain → Goldregen
        These switches to German L2 can be realised on the lexical level and they might have oc-curred due to tiredness and lack of attention.

Category 2 – presumedly not due to the German notice board

Phonetics (IPA transcription):

ˈʧɒk(ə)lɪt → ˈʧoko ˈlaːd (see above in Observation 2)

Pragmatics:

Danke!, Bitte!, Auf Wiedersehen!
        – conscious, occurring several times later on (see above in Observation 2)

Observation 4 (with notes)

Notice board 4

Category 1 – presumedly due to the German notice board

Vocabulary (items in which standard pronunciation features are mostly preserved):

field → Feld, angler → Angler, feather → Feder, land → Land, stork → Storch, app → App, rucksacks → Rucksäcke – Students seeing *rucksacks* in the lesson could bring the influence of German L2 to the surface, although its synonyms are used more frequently when speaking English.

All the above words have been pronounced in a German way, which must have been due to lack of attention similarly to lesson 3.

Observation 5

Notice board 5

- In lesson 5, except for the pragmatic ones mentioned earlier, no further L2-L3 code-switching occurred.

5. Summary of the experiment

The students observed were born into a monolingual Hungarian family. (In this section, dialects are not treated as separate languages.) In the English as a Third Language classroom, they show similarities with all other types of bi- or multilinguals in terms of code-switching. As such, theoretical considerations advocated by the literature about bi- and multilingual code-switching can be transferred naturally into the foreign language classroom.

The findings indicate that the majority of L2-L3 code-switches have happened on the phonetic or lexical level. Even if influencing factors such as tiredness or lack of attention are excluded from the investigation, the underlying reasons for the particular switches are not unambiguous yet and need further investigation, for instance, by repeating the experiment under different circumstances. All six students reported switching accidentally between German and English. It seems that they can successfully separate Hungarian from their two foreign languages. All of them reported that sometimes when they have to talk in English, they accidentally use German. Not surprisingly, the amount of L2-L3 code-mixing began to decrease gradually and students' unconscious code-mixing ceased to exist entirely. The students may have realised some connection between the German notice board and its English equivalents integrated into the lessons recorded. Thus, as for the teaching-learning process, the lessons seem to have fulfilled their covert purpose meaning that students' awareness of their linguistic repertoire developed.

This study has its limitations since the participants' L2 and L3 proficiency levels and also their receptive and productive skills are very different. I have experienced that language learners are more likely to start English after having learned German for some time. In this way, they presumably have more advantages that include better learning strategies, metalinguistic awareness and communicative ability. Within a primary school setting, it is difficult to put students into the same group in a unified manner because of several, mostly pedagogical reasons. Furthermore, in a foreign language classroom, when the teacher is the researcher at the same time, the subjective viewpoint cannot be ruled out entirely. On a more positive note, notwithstanding the differences in knowledge of L2 and L3 grammar or vocabulary, at least all six participants could hold a conversation in English, which is one significant commonality among them.

6. An outlook – Multilingualism and plurilingualism at school

For any learner, switching from one learning environment to another may be both stimulating and difficult. The absence of shared linguistic and cultural knowledge frequently makes it more difficult for a learner whose home language and/or culture differ from that of the classroom, as well as for the teacher and perhaps the majority of the other students.

Young multilinguals may find the move from home to school particularly challenging. Children must adjust to a new environment, comprehend its structure and rules (both explicit and implicit), interact with and build connections with strangers, and try to live up to their expectations, frequently with very little or no verbal support. Children who receive assistance from their families, instructors, or both, may benefit greatly from the extra or different types of stimulation they receive at school. Children who attend bilingual or international schools, where staff members are knowledgeable, trained, and frequently bilingual themselves, frequently experience this. Children gain from their families' support even more when their parents are highly educated and/or aware of school standards and ideals. However, this can be a very stressful scenario for the large majority of children whose families have immigrated to a new country, who belong to a marginalised minority, and who depend on the state sector for their education. In conversations with students who have experience as new entrants and/or as emergent plurilinguals, recurring leitmotifs include not knowing what to do and being unfamiliar with both the language spoken at school and the cultural codes and expectations.

As a result, they develop a keen awareness of non-verbal cues like gestures, facial expressions, and so on, which they interpret in an effort to make sense of their environment—often misreading

the intentions of their interlocutor. The discrepancy between expectations and behaviours may occasionally be brought on by variations in cultural norms. For instance, social norms governing what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, courteous or disrespectful interactions between men and women, and between the older and younger generations differ with countries and cultures. All of these students want to prioritise social connection, acceptance, and inclusion. Although the development of this crucial social support network is hampered by the lack of a shared language for fundamental interpersonal communication, other types of communication should not be stopped. To make the classroom a more welcoming, inclusive, and supportive learning environment, teachers and other adults in the school (classroom assistants, secretaries, caretakers, etc.) must model and normalise these alternative forms of communication, such as gesture, facial expression, learning a few words in the language of the others.

The elite's multilingualism, as supported by foreign schools, for instance, is uncontested. Through multilingual education, frequently in addition to the language spoken at home, these children will pick up a second, third, or fourth language. They will learn multiple languages and be able to negotiate challenging cross-cultural interactions with relative ease. Their multilingualism will be viewed as a strength, a unique complement to the other abilities and information they have gained via education. It will offer up opportunities for them, enabling them to study or work abroad. It will consequently broaden their horizons and aid them in the development of new language, metalinguistic, and literacy abilities. The 'image of the child', as described by Malaguzzi (1994), is positively impacted by such positive attitudes and beliefs regarding languages and their use.

The idea that teachers should perceive children as bright, strong, and beautiful rather than as lacking in skills and knowledge is at the core of Malaguzzi's perspective. The hundred different languages spoken by youngsters, in his view, represent a wealth of resources and assets that should be used to foster and stimulate development. Consequently, the ability of the teacher to shape the learner's own self-image, with potential effects on learner self-esteem, identity construction, and wellbeing, lies at the core of the teacher's perception of the child. Children from lower socioeconomic classes who speak a language at home other than the one used in the classroom see their (emergent) plurilingualism less frequently valued in the classroom. Whether they acquired their plurilingualism naturally or as a result of recent migration, the message young children all too frequently hear is very far from the world of potential and empowerment. They are frequently perceived as being deficient or lacking in language (the language of education), possessing only a small vocabulary, handicapped by their poor communication skills in this language, and also, by implication, their poor cognitive skills, rather than being encouraged to develop social and academic identities of competence (Manyak 2004).

Children are also not immune to the feelings and attitudes of the important people in their lives. They can discern whether their languages and cultures are respected or disregarded, deemed acceptable or unsuitable, in the setting of the school, remarkably quickly. Numerous studies have shown that children begin to internalise the significance that their teachers place on their languages at a very young age, which can occasionally result in what has been referred to as the "silencing" of persons (Thomauske 2015). In other studies, it has been noted that children who disobey this norm are punished, both in the past (Broudic 2013) and in the present. When a youngster refuses to speak in class, this condition has been referred to as selective mutism (et al. 2015). Children who lack their most vital social and cognitive tool—their language—find it difficult to make sense of the events they encounter at school. They could feel alone and like they do not belong in the classroom, with their friends, or at school. Such extreme measures as those described above may leave lasting scars on their self-esteem, confidence, and general well-being (Rezzoug De Plan 2007). School can turn into a struggle, a confusing, misunderstood place where you risk being rejected and left alone.

Teachers have difficulties in these challenging and frequently unpleasant circumstances, and for many teachers of plurilingual students, the teaching and learning process is likewise seen as difficult. The presence of students who do not speak the same language as them can be unsettling for teachers, and they can feel overburdened by the seemingly insurmountable task of bringing

these students up to speed and on par with the other students in the classroom. As it is via inter-action that the youngster will learn the new language, they may, frequently subconsciously, completely shun interaction with them, unintentionally worsening the situation. Some teachers explicitly forbid the use of students' native tongues in the classroom, others adopt a more passive approach and choose to ignore their students' (emergent) bilingualism. According to Cummins (2019), this disre-gard for learners' languages and cultures as learning resources is referred to as "benign neglect". Such regulations go counter to a wealth of evidence-based research that emphasises the value of incorporating learners' languages and cultures into the educational process. However, despite the fact that these policies are documented by researchers (Beiler 2020; Cummins 2019), they are still uncommon in mainstream classrooms where the school's language is still frequently seen as the only acceptable language for instruction.

Why teachers prohibit, ignore, or neglect the use of students' native languages in the class-room, is a complicated issue. Professionals' inadequate language awareness, or more specifically, critical multilingual awareness, is frequently cited as a major underlying cause of such misguided practiced language policies. This is because professionals frequently lack in training and knowledge about the language development of the plurilingual child. Educators across a range of settings, including preschools in Europe and higher education institutions in Australia, still admit to feeling uneasy, unprepared, or unaware of language development-related issues (Cajkler & Hall 2012). How can a learner feel a sense of belonging at school without negating a crucial aspect of herself/himself if the learner's home language is not at the very least acknowledged by the school, by the teachers, by the learner's peers, and preferably named? According to research done in Bel-gium (Van Der Wildt et al. 2017), many plurilingual students do not feel like they belong in the class-room. Allowing all children to live their many, consistent identities in a secure and accepting envi-ronment is essential for their development and well-being in our increasingly complicated, multilin-gual, and multicultural surroundings.

The foundational knowledge a child acquires at home serves as the solid base upon which new skills and knowledge (Vygotsky 1997) can be safely built. These knowledge resources are key to the child's identity and are also crucial to the educational process. It is crucial that the profes-sionals working in the school environment take this crucial factor into consideration when a child arrives speaking a language at home that differs from the school's language because it is through this language that the child's skills and knowledge have been developed, nurtured, and deeply in-grained. Unfortunately, professors and teaching assistants do not always take into account stu-dents' prior learning.

For examples of the translanguaging utilised as an educational technique (Beiler 2020; Mary & Young 2017) learners are empowered rather than silenced when they are encouraged to use their complete linguistic repertoire to enhance their learning. Simple language awareness exercises, such as writing or drawing personal language biographies, surveying the school's language usage, or mapping the area's linguistic landscape can help students and teachers learn about, share, and appreciate the diversity of linguistic experiences and abilities among a school's student body. Such activities can alter how a school views the languages of its students (Simon & Maire Sandoz 2015), allowing children who are multilingual to be proud of their linguistic abilities rather than feeling ashamed of them. Spaces, where translanguaging usually takes place, are perceived as inventive and exploratory, going beyond the established and formalised language norms. They establish an expanded linguistic mode that operates beyond the limits of conventional and prescribed language usage. Translanguaging underscores the diverse methods of conveying meanings through words, placing significance on personal experiences, emotions, and culture (Li 2018). It recognises human beings' capacity to intentionally transcend the constraints of named languages, enabling the crea-tion of innovative forms of expression and communication (Li 2019).

The discourse between siblings is recognised for actively contributing to the revitalisation of languages. De Leon (2018) conducted multifaceted research on bilingual siblings' conversations within everyday family life and observed the remarkable creative manipulation of available codes. Siblings were found to "carve out a space in which two languages coexist as a result of the creative

bilingual performance of new genres" (De Leon 2018). Sibling interactions offer a fertile ground for experimentation, humour, and language learning, as they acknowledge the significance of inhabiting these intermediate spaces and residing in the borders of their multilingualism.

Languages are no longer seen as a problem but as valuable learning resources for the entire learning community when the learner assumes the roles of teacher and expert. In order to actively co-create overlapping spaces that connect home and school with the help of families, teachers who recognise the value of fostering these connections between languages, cultures, and home and school work hard to do so (Audras & Leclaire 2016). These spaces should make both the children and the members of their families feel valued, accepted, and empowered. Professionals can have a significant impact on the learning and wellbeing of all the students in their classrooms by doing nothing more than showing an interest in the languages and cultures of the families they work with and inviting the linguistic and cultural diversity of the local community into the classroom. Due to linguistic and/or cultural insecurity, families that were previously excluded from the educational process may now feel included and empowered to participate to the education of all students and teachers.

Admittedly, both teachers and students are unique. Any particular learning circumstance is influenced by a wide range of elements. The learner's adjustment to formal learning in the new environment will depend on a variety of factors, including the family's socioeconomic status, its educational history, its decision to remain in its current country of residence or move to another country, and the language skills of its members. The learner's unique character, prior formal educational experience, personal language skills, and degree of literacy or preliteracy will also be taken into consideration. However, whether the learner's plurilingualism will be encouraged or suppressed depends on the attitude, vision, and strategy of the teacher within the limitations of any national or regional language education policies. How can a teacher act as a language arbiter if he or she has insufficient expertise of language learning, plurilingualism, and multiliteracy? Plurilingual students will continue to struggle to make sense if teacher education providers disregard the crucial function of teacher language awareness in classrooms. The full linguistic, academic, and personal potential of learners will regrettably go unrealised without classroom-based activities that attempt to integrate home and school languages, cultures, and people.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has attempted to delve into the multifaceted realm of multilingual language development, focusing on the intricate processes of code-switching and language acquisition among young learners. The synthesis of existing literature has illuminated the challenges and dynamics inherent in the transition from monolingual to multilingual settings, particularly within the context of formal education. The experiment conducted in an English as a Third Language classroom may shed some light on the nuanced nature of code-switching between German and English, underscoring the importance of creating conducive environments for natural language alternation.

The experiment explored code-switching among students from monolingual Hungarian backgrounds in an English as a Third Language classroom. Reflecting patterns seen in multilingual settings, participants exhibited code-switching primarily at the phonetic or lexical level between their second language (German) and third language (English). Accidental code-switching diminished over time, suggesting a developing awareness of linguistic repertoire.

In light of these findings, the study advocates for a nuanced understanding of multilingual language development, acknowledging the diversity of experiences among learners. It calls for educators to be equipped with language awareness and training to create inclusive environments that foster positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity. Ultimately, this study contributes to the ongoing discourse on language acquisition, multilingual education, and the intricate dance of code-switching in the dynamic landscape of language development.

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HOW CAN A BLACK HORSE HAVE BROWN FUR?
A STUDY ON CATEGORISATION IN EQUINE COAT COLOUR NAMES IN HUNGARIAN

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Abstract

Hungarian equine coat colour-related terminology is a largely unresearched subject. Its unique situation as a rapidly developing jargon results in multiple nomenclatural systems used simultaneously in the specialised literature. The analysis of the nomenclatural systems' inner structure suggests the usage of two differing methods of categorisation, one based on the visual properties of the subject, the other based on non-visual genetic factors of the described animal.

The paper reviews the colour categories' main traits that influence their categorisation process and compares them with the Hungarian equine coat colours' characteristics. The comparison reveals that Hungarian equine coat colour terms are in many ways similar to the conventional colour terms, but due to their differences they create a separate colour-motivated class of specialised terms.

The analytic part focuses on the different methods of categorisation present in the various nomenclatural systems in the equine coat colour related literature. It defines their main features and the underlying cause of their existence. It explores the division of the nomenclatural systems in accordance with their categorisation process and provides a detailed description of the traits of both traditional and modern nomenclatural systems discussing them on the basis of specific examples.

The further part of the analysis explores the semantic relationship between the conventional colours and the equine coat colours in the context of equine coat colour terms sharing their forms with Basic Colour Terms.

The research material consists of a database of Hungarian equine coat colour-related terms, gathered from a variety of zootechnical, sport and hobby literature and commonly available internet sources on the topic. The nomenclatural systems presented in the sources are visualised in the form of diagrams, illustrating the meaning of individual terms and the systems' internal hierarchies.

The presented findings showcase the complexity of the specialised colour-motivated terms and their difference from the conventional colour terms. They present how external, non-linguistic factors like the development of the natural sciences may influence the relatively hermetic colour-motivated terminology.

Keywords: colour terms, equine coat colours, semantics, categorisation, Basic Color Terms, terminology, specialised language

1. Introduction

The problem of colour categorisation is a prevalent topic for cognitive linguistics. The relationship of Basic Colour Terms to each other, and their definition have been a subject of an academic discussion for a long time (Goddard 1998: 115–117). However, while the basic level of categorisation is often the most important one (Taylor 1989: 50), the variety and complexity of colour terms extends far beyond that of the Basic Colour Terms. The traits of colour itself are a matter of discussion – scholars have pointed out that visual attributes integral to colour sensory experience are omitted by most colorimetric models (Conklin 1979: 933). In some languages, factors like luminescence or glossiness are also vital for the categorisation of colour (Taylor 1989: 4). No matter how

ubiquitous colour terms are, due to the nature of the phenomenon, the colours themselves are notably hard to define without examples.

One of the strategies of conveying colour terms' meaning is using their visual prototypical examples from the real world (Goddard 1998: 127–131). From this standpoint, it is interesting that many examples from the natural world, especially the animal world, display complex colour combinations and patterns. Their visual qualities can be difficult to describe using only Basic Colour Terms or colour terms in general, and often demand an approximation to the most similar colour term or a specialised terminology in order to describe the visual effect properly. The last solution is especially prevalent in the case of domesticated animals, which are bred to display specific traits.

Such specialised terms, while describing purely visual qualities related to colour, are distinct from what is usually considered a colour term, as they are not universally applicable. Coat colour terms are **context-specific** terms describing colour-related qualities of living beings (Goddard 1998: 112). They can possess similar morphology and perform a similar function as colour terms. However, instead of describing a singular colour or restricted colour range, they denote complex colour and pattern combinations.

In this paper I am going to use equine coat colours in Hungarian as an example to delve into the topic of colour categorisation and explore the boundaries of what could be considered to be a colour term. Hungarian equine colour terms belong to a language for specific purpose (LSP) which was not previously studied from a linguistic perspective. In this continuously developing jargon numerous nomenclatural conventions are in simultaneous use, providing examples of varied approaches to colour identification and the definition of animal coat colour.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the unique perspective on the colour categorisation and the semantic structure of coat colour related terminology provided by research on this uncharted territory. The theoretical section discusses the nature and properties of colour and the importance of Basic Color Terms, as well as the sources used to gather the research material: Hungarian equine coat colour terms. The following analytical section describes equine coat colour terms in the context of regular coat colour terms' characteristics and the unique problematics of their categorisation. The main part of the analysis concerns various models of categorisation present in the Hungarian equine coat colour terminology and the usage of Basic Colour Terms in equine coat colour terms.

The included analysis showcases the influence of the development of the natural sciences on colour terminology related to the zootechnical field and the variety of semantic relations between Basic Colour Terms and equine coat colours of the same form.

2. Theoretical basis and research method

As I will discuss colour related terms, it is important to properly define colour and explore its basic qualities, how it will be described and what attributes it can have. In the following section I introduce the concept of colour and colour term, discuss Basic Colour Terms in Hungarian and delve deeper into the problem of colour identification.

2.1. Colours and colour terms

As I mentioned earlier, colour is a phenomenon that is very difficult to define without using particular examples. This problem stems from the perception of colour being a fundamental human experience, which strongly depends on the human body's capabilities. The role of embodiment in describing colour makes colour terms a prominent subject of research in cognitive linguistics. The present paper describes the vocabulary which depends on human perception and interpretation of the physical phenomenon. Therefore, what I understand as *colour* is what colorimetricists call a **colour response** (Agoston 1979: 13–14). What is important about this distinction is that it includes both **chromatic** and **achromatic** colours (Agoston 1979: 10). The second group, especially *black* and *grey* are not considered to be colours according to physics, because they cannot be assigned a

specific light wavelength. They are nonetheless perceived as colours by human beings and are described with colour terms.

A **colour term** is the name associated with a specific colour and a name of a specific category of colour. While colours can be considered universal, each language has its own colour terms.

As colours can be considered categories, they can belong to a specific categorisation level. Those which belong to the basic level are Basic Colour Terms.

2.2. Basic Colour Terms

The term Basic Colour Term (BCT) was coined in 1969 by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay. Their hypothesis was that the human nervous system has an innate tendency to treat certain colours as stronger visual stimuli than others. This leads to recognising the colour categories as centred around **focal colours**, which act as their most easily recognisable, prototypical examples (Taylor 1989: 9–13). This view stood in opposition to an earlier hypothesis, which deemed all examples of a colour belonging to a certain category as its equally good representatives (Taylor 1989: 7). Colour categories focused on the focal colours were described as Basic Colour Terms and constitute the basic level of categorisation among colours.

To be considered a Basic Colour Term, a colour term was supposed to fulfil the following criteria:

- monolexemic and its meaning cannot be predictable on the basis of the meaning of its parts,
- denotes colour spectrum not included in any other colour term,
- universal – its application cannot be restricted to a set class of cognates,
- psychologically salient – it often occurs at the beginning of lists of colour terms, it displays stability of reference across informants and occurrence in idiolect of all informants.

The authors listed four more supporting criteria, helping to determine whether or not the term which would not fulfil the main criteria should be considered a BCT (Berlin–Kay 1969: 6–7).

However, as Biggam (2012: 22–24) states, these criteria are not universally applicable. Depending on the morphological structure of the researched language some of them may not be considered valid solutions to determine the BCT status of a colour term. They are supposed to be used as guidelines, not laws and ideally the researcher should possess knowledge of the language extensive enough to identify the BCTs while choosing appropriate guidelines and taking into account the role researched terms are fulfilling in the language.

Such issues are also evident in Hungarian, which is the language I focus on. According to Berlin and Kay, Hungarian has twelve Basic Colour Terms: fejér (sic!), fekete, piros, vörös, zöld, sárga, kék, barna, lila, rózsaszín, narancs, and szürke (respectively white, black, light red, dark red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey) (Berlin–Kay 1969: 95).

However, it is clear that some of Berlin and Kay's criteria may not apply to Hungarian BCTs. In the case of *vörös* (Eng. *dark red*), *narancs* (Eng. *orange*) and *rózsaszín* (Eng. *pink*), the unpredictability rule does not fully apply, as the etymology of *narancs* comes from a fruit of the same name, *rózsaszín* comes from *rózsa* (Eng. *rose*) and *vörös* is an adjective derived from *vér* (Eng. *blood*).

Apart from that a common alternative form of *narancs* is *narancssárga*. It is a complex word containing *sárga* (Eng. *yellow*), which is a different colour term as a described word and *narancs* (Eng. *orange*) as its descriptor. *Narancssárga* could be considered to break the rule that requires a BCT's signification not to be included in the scope of another colour term (Berlin–Kay 1969: 6).

However, Biggam (2012: 31) argues that the rule of unpredictability does not apply to situations where the connection between the prototypical object and the colour name weakens to the point of homonymy. In such case, *narancs* and *rózsaszín* could retain their BCT status. This guideline's interpretation includes *vörös* as a BCT, however another guideline motivates its possible

exclusion − namely, it has been found to be largely unproductive and not universally applicable (Benczes–Tóth-Czifra 2016).

Individual BCTs' status and their role in the language is not only instrumental to the interpretation of many other colour names, but also interesting from the point of view of equine coat colours. Among those terms in Hungarian, four (*fekete* 'black', *sárga* 'chestnut'/literally, 'yellow', *fehér* 'white' and *szürke* 'grey') share their form with BCTs.

Additional research on BCTs and focal colours (Taylor 1989: 10-12) shows that the colour terms and the process of colour categorisation are closely related to human colour perception, although the scope of specific colour terms is not defined by human physiology − resulting in colour terms' meaning differing greatly in different languages.

As BCTs represent the basic level of categorisation, they are also the terms that provide a frame of reference for more specific colour shades. They can also be used as a metonymic reference point when describing a similar colour. However, to determine colours' similarity to one another, we need a way to describe colours in accordance with their objective properties or traits. That is where some methods of description used in colorimetry can prove to be useful tools.

2.3. Describing colours − colour traits

One of the most well-known characteristics of colour is its continuity. In the case of light as a physical phenomenon, light frequencies which, when reflected, result in the appearance of a particular colour create a continuous spectrum of rainbow. A particular chromatic colour can thus be described as a result of a reflection of a particular wavelength.

However, as I assumed the definition of colour as a colour response, we will be interested in a method of description that includes ACHROMATIC colours as well. Black, white and grey are not included in the definition of colour as a physical phenomenon and are not visible on a rainbow.

In the HSL model (w1), which I use as a tool for colour description in this paper, colour is broken down into three components: hue, saturation and lightness. **Hue** describes the chromatic aspect of the colour or its place on a colour wheel. **Saturation** describes the degree of chromaticity of a colour, with completely saturated hues as one extreme, and achromatic colours as the other. **Lightness** describes the value, with 0% meaning the darkest possible colour, and 100% signifying the lightest possible colour (Agoston 1979: 10−12).

Some scholars point out, however, that colours can have different qualities unrelated to these characteristics. Some languages differentiate between colours on the basis of their glossiness (Taylor 1989: 4). The colorimetry includes another relevant parameter: **brilliance**, which refers to how likely the colour is to reflect onto surrounding surfaces. In this case, one end of the spectrum is nonreflective greyness, and the other − fluorescence (Agoston 1979: 13). While brilliance may have no bearing on mammals' coat colours, it is important to note that there is a variety of colour traits that may extend beyond what we traditionally consider the defining qualities of colour. Some of them, like glossiness, are reflected in the categorisation of equine coat colours and their shades.

2.4. The role of visual example and colour description

As colour terms name basic visual experience, it is hardly possible to explain the meaning of a particular colour without using an example. The values provided by the colorimetric models provide constant results in acquiring a particular colour, as a set of values will always relate to the exact same shade. However, colour terms, especially those of a basic level, would be hard, if not impossible, to describe using only colorimetric values as a reference. Colour terms as categories tend to have fuzzy boundaries, so applying a fixed scope of values would not reflect their actual meaning. Furthermore, digital values are usually unhelpful when trying to describe a colour to a human.

In the case of shades, one could generally use other colours as a point of reference. One could also attempt to describe a Basic Colour Term this way, but it poses a significantly bigger challenge. A quick survey of dictionaries reveals that apart from reference to other colours, the most common

way to describe a colour is to provide an example. Online Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the colour red as: *a colour whose hue resembles that of blood or of the ruby or is that of the long-wave extreme of the visible spectrum* (w2).

The Hungarian monolingual dictionary *Magyar értelmező szótár* (Bárczi–Országh: 1962) defines *piros* as: *a vörös színhez közel eső, de a vörösnél élénkebb és világosabb, kellemes színárnyalatú. Piros alma; piros ajak; piros bársony* ('red: close to the colour marked by *vörös*, but more lively and lighter, of a more pleasant shade. Red apple; red lips; red velvet'). Using an example is also a way in which colour terms are acquired (Goddard 1998: 126–127). The direct relationship between visual stimulus and categorisation as a specific colour has interesting implications, some of which are described by optical sciences and colour theory.

When talking about colour perception, it is important to differentiate between surface colour and the colour that is perceived (Agoston 1979: 10). **Surface colour** is the colour of an object when seen under neutral, white light. **Perceived colour** is the colour an object is when taking into account such conditions as temperature and direction of light, surrounding objects' colours and bounced light. When identifying the colour of an object, we usually rely on perceived colour.

Due to this fact and colour terms' fuzziness, colour interpretation is an extremely subjective matter. The human mind can recognise different light sources and can correctly identify the local colour (phenomenon known as colour constancy) (Agoston 1979: 10). However, there are several factors that may influence this process and in result, have bearing on the way real world objects' colours are named.

The first such factor is **contrast effect** – an object placed next to an object of similar colour will have its differentiating trait magnified (w3).

Simultaneous contrast effect is evident in a similar phenomenon which occurs when an object is placed on a contrasting background. In this case, the object's perceived colour becomes closer to the complementary colour (or the opposite colour on the colour wheel) (Agoston 1979: 5).

2.5. The research method – used sources and database

As a basis of my research I use a database of Hungarian equine coat colour terms (Szymanowska 2021).

The entries in the database are equine coat-colour related terms gathered from varied sources: specialised and hobby literature on the topic of equine sports, animal husbandry and zootechnics, internet sites of breeders, pedigrees, as well as sites regarding equine coat colour genetics. The gathered terms are divided into five semantic groups: coat colours (*színek*), markings (*jegyek*), characteristics (*tulajdonságok*), patterns (*mintázatok*) and superordinate terms (*csoportosítás*). Apart from the entry type, additional criteria according to which the entry is described include represented part of speech, entry's origin (traditional, modern, archaic or regional), proposed Polish and English translations, source of the particular entry and a quote from the source material providing context of use. In this paper, I showcase the analysed nomenclatural systems in forms of diagrams, to provide context on the included coat colours and the relationship between the categories.

3. Analysis

In the following section I characterise the coat colour terms in Hungarian language and the related issues of categorisation. I outline the similarities and differences between conventional colours and equine coat colours. Next, I delve into the issues of differing ways of categorisation found in equine coat colour literature. I describe the features of the traditional and modern nomenclatural systems and their differing ways of categorisation and discuss the consequences of differing nomenclatural models' coexistence in the jargon. The last part of the analysis concerns the semantic relationship between the equine coat colour terms and the BCTs.

3.1. Equine coat colours versus conventional colours: similarities and differences

Having outlined the main characteristics of colours and colour terms, let us compare them with coat colours and coat colour terms.

There are many similarities between these groups of terms. Coat colour terms, similarly to other colour terms, describe a visual, colour-related aspect of a described object. They also have similar morphology, with many examples of shades – the hyponymous terms – morphologically based on their basic level hyperonyms. In Hungarian, coat colour shades are often formed as endocentric compounds, with the basic coat colour serving as the head of the compound:

1a) sötétsárga,
sötét ('dark') + sárga ('chestnut')

1b) hollófekete,
 holló ('raven') + fekete ('black')

1c) rozsdafakó
rozsda ('rust') + fakó ('dun').

This similarity to the expression of regular colour shade is not exclusive to Hungarian. In Polish some of the vocabulary on equine coat colour shades also bears similarity in morphological structure to the names of regular colours' shades, with descriptors of lightness or saturation acting as a second part of the compound (e.g. *ciemnogniady* 'dark bay', *ciemnoniebieski* 'dark blue', *brudnokasztanowaty* 'liver chestnut', *brudnożółty* 'dirty yellow'). Similarly in English – while coat colour shades are not expressed by closed compounds, the terms often indicate level of lightness (e.g. *dark bay, light chestnut*).

However, there are also characteristic differences between the two types of terms. The most evident one is that coat colour terms do not describe colours, or colour ranges per se – they describe specific sets of characteristics. For example bay (*pej*), as a colour, cannot be described in colorimetric terms, nor linked to any particular shade of colour, because it describes not only brown fur of the horse, but also a specific colour of manes, skin, hooves and eyes. The horse is only bay when it has brown fur in combination with black manes, grey skin, dark points and often lighter fur on the muzzle. Also, as Biggam (2012: 45) notes, the coat colour is applicable regardless of the occurrence of white markings. In some contexts, this can also be observed in case of white patterns.
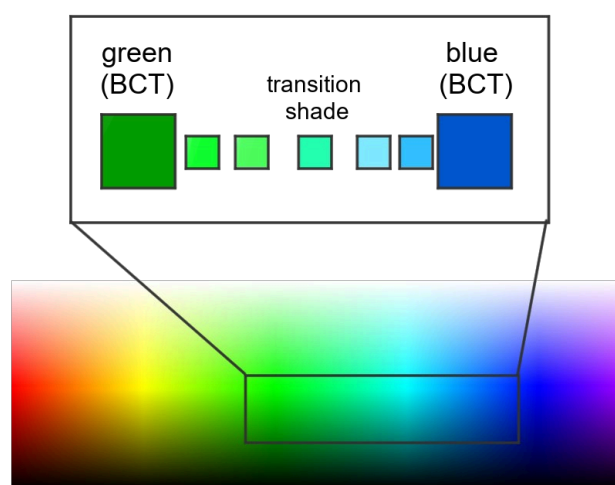
Figure 1. The basic color terms create a fluid spectrum.

Figure 2. The colour range of shades of *chestnut*, *bay* and *black* equine coat colours.
Note the overlapping shades and lack of continuity.

Coat colour terms cannot be linked to a set colour range also due to the fact that in several cases the main body colour overlaps with a different coat colour. In a different fashion to conventional colours, which create a continuous spectrum, with specific colours' ranges bordering each other and sometimes overlapping slightly, coat colours can display an almost complete overlap, meaning it is not possible to differentiate between them on the basis of the main body colour alone.

Coat colour terms also include terms related to specific traits and patterns – whether they work as an addition denoting a specific quality of a phenotype (e.g. *almázott – dappled, szíjált – with a dorsal stripe*) or as an individual name terminologically equal to a coat colour term (*tarka – pinto, párductarka – spotted/appaloosa*). While it can be argued that these terms constitute a separate class, especially pattern terms are used on a par with other coat colour terms. In compound terms they can serve as a main term for a coat colour, with an underlying coat colour used as a descriptor:

2a) feketetarka
fekete (black) + *tarka* (pinto) = piebald

2b) pejpárductarka
pej (bay) + *párductarka* (spotted/appaloosa) = bay appaloosa

3.1.2. The status of coat colour terms as colour terms

Biggam (2012: 44-48) provides an interesting point of view about the coat colour terms' status as colour terms. She describes coat colour terms as sub-sets, defined as "collections of two or more words, some of which are used exclusively, or very nearly so, of one particular subject" (Biggam 2022: 44-45). The equine coat colour terms are treated on par with hair colour names, and used as an example of a culturally significant sub-set of colour terms. The description puts emphasis on

the unconventional use of BCTs, which may be included in sub-sets, albeit used with a context-specific meaning that may diverge from their conventional use.

I would argue that the wider classification of equine coat colour terms as a sort of colour terms would be problematic. Contrary to blonde and other terms describing colour of hair, coat colour of animals often denotes not a singular shade but a certain combination of colours. Colours such as *bay* (*pej*) or *palomino* (*izabellafakó* – Eng. *izabella dun*) would not be separate categories without the colour of manes differing from the colour of the body. Certain shades of *palomino* could not be differentiated from *cremello* if the colour of the skin and eyes would not be taken into account. The coat colours, even in traditional nomenclatural systems are entire visual schemes. Also, the mixed colours and patterns, such as *roan* (hun. *deres*) or *pinto* (hun. *tarka*) are technically coat colour names, and they do not denote colour combination but the way they are combined. While the connection between BCTs and the coat colours of the same form is often perceptible, I do not consider them to be colour terms.

The divergence between these two types of terms becomes more evident in the case of modern coat colour terms.

As evident in the example of *szürke* 'grey' as an equine coat colour name, the meaning can apply to an animal that over time completely changes the colour of its fur. Apart from the fact that the coat colours can describe specific patterns which change over time, the modern understanding inadvertently links equine coat colour terms to a particular genetic combination.

Under this paradigm, a horse whose visual traits make it look like either faded black or a very dark chestnut may be misidentified by the onlooker – but as these two colours differ in terms of genetics, only one of these terms is essentially correct. This approach changes a coat colours' category properties – if it is understood as an objectively unchangeable property of a particular animal, it is a natural phenomenon, characterised by binary membership and clear boundaries. If visual traits are only treated as symptoms of a combination of alleles a certain animal possesses, then it cannot be chestnut to a certain degree. In the following section I delve into what I consider to be traditional and modern equine coat colour terms and I provide examples of Hungarian nomenclature systems using both of these types.

3.2. Traditional and new terms – different ways of categorisation

One of the most interesting features of Hungarian equine coat colour terminology is the variety of terms and the presence of multiple nomenclatural systems. In the following section I explore the possible reasons for this situation, and describe the nomenclatural systems' division into two types differing in terms of the process of categorisation.

3.2.1. The current situation of Hungarian equine coat colour jargon

While recorded archaic and regional forms of equine coat colour terms prove their cultural significance and long-time use, the Hungarian equine coat colour-related jargon is anything but static. Recent advancements in equine coat colour genetics as well as the popularity of uncommon and rare coat colours has led to the identification of numerous new coat colours. They were previously considered variations of existing coats, which was common for silver coats and so-called false dun (w4), or they are modifiers which are considered to be caused by new mutations that previously did not occur at all, e.g. *sunshine* (Holl et al. 2019.) and *mushroom* (Tanaka et al. 2019). In many cases, coat colour genetics called for a revised categorisation of equine coat colours, creating new groups of coat colours which did not have a separate name in Hungarian. Apart from this gap in nomenclature, nowadays the specialised literature is often published in English. The exchange of knowledge via the Internet and the import of studs of foreign breeds all bear influence on the native equine coat colour jargon. The influence is visible in the specialised texts, showcasing a variety of borrowings and calques.

What is important is that in the majority of written sources the terms are presented in the context of other terms – many of them are intended to be guides presenting a complete system allowing for identification of a specific horses' coat colour. In this aspect, most of these nomenclatural systems, despite being comprised of colour-motivated terms, act similarly to regular colours. Often three levels of categorisation can be recognised, with independent coat colour terms (e.g. *sárga* 'chestnut', *fakó* 'dun', *fekete* 'black') acting as the basic level. Shades of a particular coat colour (e.g. *világossárga* 'light chestnut', *aranysárga* 'golden chestnut', *májsárga* 'liver chestnut') are equivalent to the detailed level of categorisation. The terms dividing coats into larger groups (e.g. *alapszínek, hígított színek, kevert színek, mintázatok*) (Eng. *basic colours, diluted colors, mixed colours, patterns,* respectively) represent the superordinate level.

When we interpret the whole nomenclatural systems, it is clear that for some coat colour terms the scope of their meaning differs between sources. The written sources vary in the way the coat colours are grouped together, introducing different superordinate terms. The basis of how the terms are grouped is connected to what can be considered as the basis of their categorisation.

3.2.2. Traditional terms – main characteristics

Let us take a look at the nomenclatural system presented by the web article *Történelmi lószínelnevezéseink* (w5). The article's text is originally attributed to Péter Kun, as a part of his book, *Szelek szárnyán – A sztyeppei nomádok lovaskultúrája* (Kun 2005). It is worth noting that despite the article's title, the author does not treat the majority of terms as archaic, but rather as correct due to being supported by tradition.
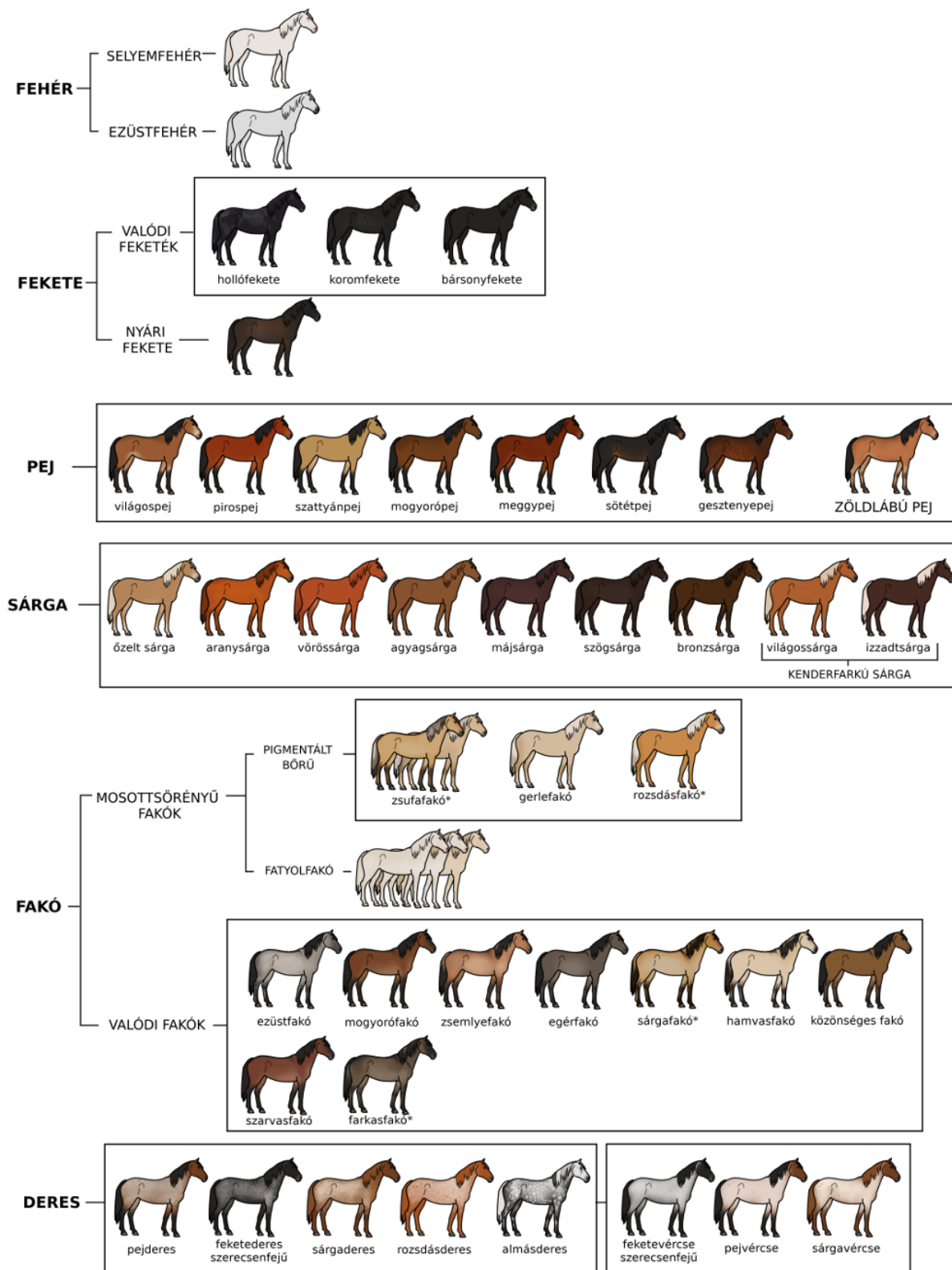
Figure 3. The classification of equine coat colours
in an internet article *Történelmi lószínelnevezéseink.* (w5)

What is noticeable is the lack of superordinate terms – the basic coat colour terms are not divided into larger groups. White patterns such as pinto patterns and appaloosa patterns also seem to be omitted. However, we can see a vast number of shades connected to each of the basic coat colours. The description focuses on colours and traits exhibited by the coat colours, and the genetically unrelated coats might become bundled together under one term, which is then divided to account for the difference in displayed traits.

Such is the case of *fehér*, which contains both completely greyed-out grey horses (as *ezüstfehér* 'silver-white') and dominant white horses whose fur is white at birth, with unpigmented eyes and skin (*selyemfehér* 'silk-white'). Perhaps the most notable example of a genetically diverse category is *fakó*, which contains both dun (*valódi fakó* 'true dun') and cream (*mosottsörényű fakó* 'washed-out-maned dun') diluted coats. Different genetic background and differing traits make the description of what makes a horse *fakó* somewhat unclear. In fact, the only trait those two groups have in common is their eponymical less saturated coat colour which visually separates it from other coat colours. Every other identifier, such as the colour of mane, the appearance of dorsal stripe and even the possibility of lack of pigment in the skin differs for cream and dun. In a similar fashion, *fehér* 'white' covers examples of horses on the basis of purely visual similarity – the white fur colour. *Deres* 'roan' also perpetuates this rule, as one of the examples, *almásderes* 'dappled roan', is a grey horse during one of the stages of greying. It is classified together with genetically roan horses, because like them it exhibits a mix of coloured and white hair on its body. The creators of this term clearly were not ignorant about the *almásderes* ('dappled roan') horses' temporary status as a shade of *deres* ('roan'). The grey horses are of dark colour at birth and in a span of a few years their coat gradually whitens until it becomes white. Grey is an extremely popular coat colour, as it is determined by a dominant allele, which makes the characteristic traits always visible. The greying process is thus notably easy to observe, so the cause of the categorisation of *almásderes* 'dappled roan' cannot be confusion, but more probably the conscious connection between the visual effects of the mixed color of *deres* 'roan' and the mixed fur of *almásderes* 'dappled roan'.

The example makes it clear that under this mode of categorisation, the coat colour of a horse is not considered to be its permanent trait, but is to be identified in its current state. The main factor which motivated the coat colour categorisation is the visual similarity of the colour coats, and although many horses' fur change colours depending on the season, the ample vocabulary related to shades helps describe the coat colour more precisely.

It is important to note that not all traits of the discussed system are common among other traditional systems showcasing a similar process of categorisation – the earliest source in this research, *Ló és tenyésztése* (Kovácsy–Monostori 1905) proposes several superordinate terms and discusses white patterns. However, treating visual colour traits' combination as the basis of categorisation is a common quality of these systems.

I have called such term sets **traditional nomenclatural systems** (comprised of traditional coat colour terms). While less genetically accurate, they have the merit of being more intuitive and easier to use. The basic level of coat colour terms is limited and easy to remember. The main distinguishing features of traditionally understood coat colours are relatively easy to notice in comparison to the modern coat colours.

3.2.3. Modern terms – main characteristics

In comparison, as showcased by a series of articles by Krisztina Juhászné Timár (w6), modern systems of categorisation can be more complex, with many more terms considered to be basic level categories.

ALAPSZÍNEK

SÁRGA
eeaa, eeAa, eeAA

PEJ
EeAa, EeAA, EEAA, EEAa

FEKETE
EEaa, Eeaa

középsárga   májsárga   vörössárga

aranypej   középpej   meggypej

NON-FADING BLACK

hollófekete/bogárfekete   koromfekete   bársonyfekete

sötétsárga   aranysárga   PANGARE FAKTOR

pirospej   gesztenyepej

FLAXEN (MOSOTT SÖRÉNY)

kendersörényű sárga   (kendersörényű) világossárga   pangare sárgán

pangare pej színen   VADPEJ / ZÖLDLÁBÚ PEJ   SÖTÉTPEJ

FADING BLACK
(nyári fekete)

HÍGÍTOTT SZÍNEK

FAKÓ (DUN)
D/D , D/nd1, D/nd2

SÁRGAFAKÓ
(RED DUN)

PEJFAKÓ
(BAY DUN)

EGÉRFAKÓ
(MOUSE DUN, GRULLO)

KRÉM színek

HETEROZIGOTÁK Cr/n

PALOMINO (IZABELLAFAKÓ)

palomino   világos palomino   sötét/chocolate palomino

SOOTY FAKTOR

sooty palomino

BUCKSKIN (ZSUFAFAKÓ)

buckskin (zsufafakó)   buttermilk buckskin (világos zsufafakó)   brownskin sötét zsufafakó

sooty buckskin

SMOKEY BLACK

HOMOZIGOTÁK Cr/Cr

CREMELLO   **PERLINO**   **SMOKEY CREAM**

EZÜST (SILVER)
Z/Z , Z/z

SILVER BAY   **SILVER (DAPPLE) BLACK**

GYÖNGY (PEARL)
Cprl

CREAM-PEARL színek Cr/prl

PALOMINO PEARL   **BUCKSKIN PEARL**   **SMOKEY BLACK PEARL**

PEARL SZÍNEK

SÁRGA PEARL?   **PEJ PEARL?**   **FEKETE PEARL?**

PEZSGŐ (CHAMPAGNE)
Ch/Ch, Ch/n

GOLD CHAMPAGNE   **AMBER CHAMPAGNE**   **SABLE CHAMPAGNE**   **CLASSIC CHAMPAGNE**
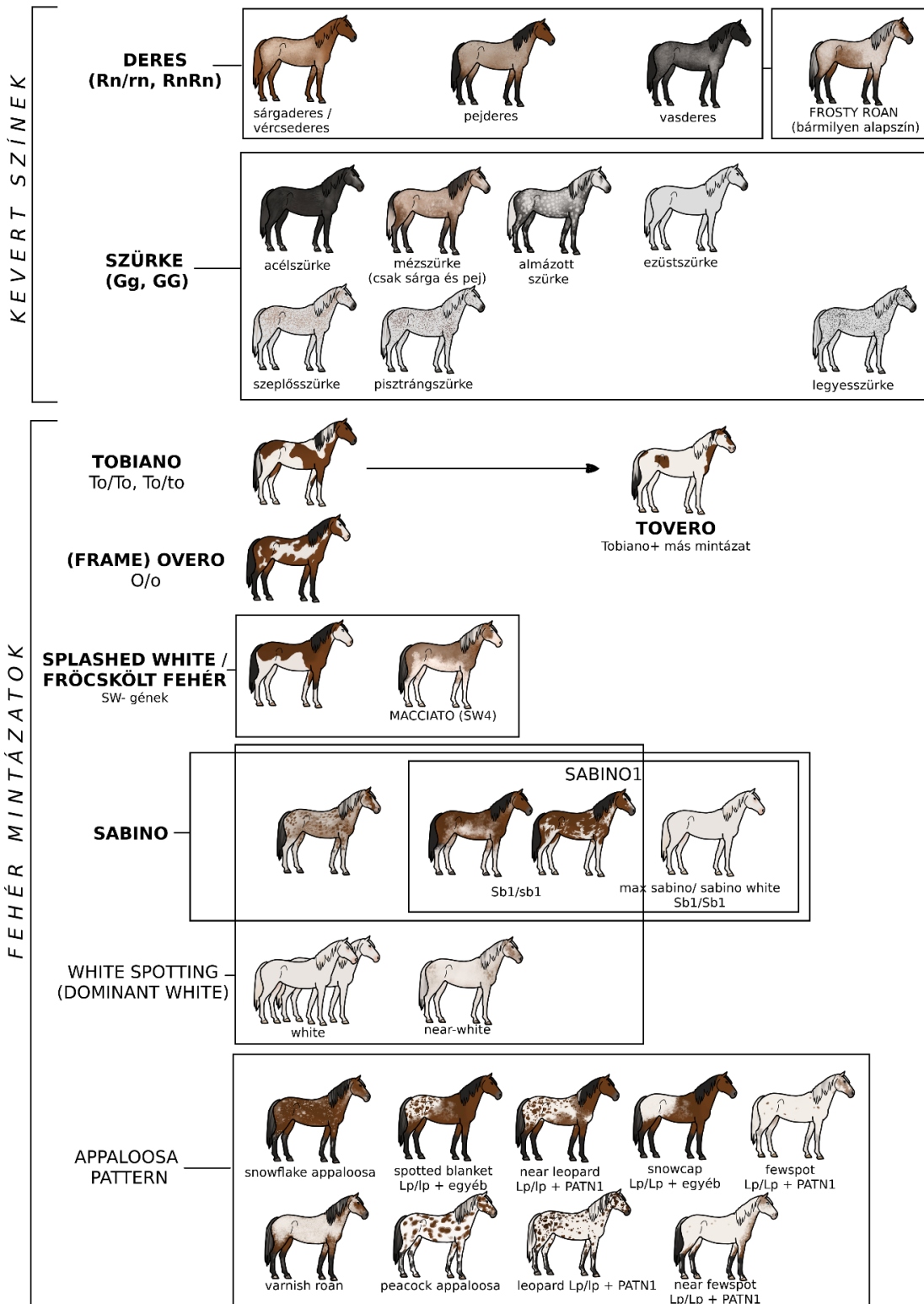
Figure 4. The classification of equine coat colours and patterns
in a series of blog articles by Krisztina Juhászné Timár (w6)

What is noticeable is the smaller number of shades, but also some of the coats which are treated as shades in the traditional nomenclatural systems are here considered to be separate coat colours. The terms describing them are considered basic level terms. Good example of such a shift are cream coat colours (*krém színek* 'cream colours') which before comprised of shade names (*hamvasfakó* 'ashen dun', *ezüstfakó* 'silvery dun', *gerlefakó* 'mourning dove dun', etc.). In the modern systems their variations (*palomino/izabellafakó* 'palomino/Isabella-dun', *buckskin/zsufafakó* 'buck-skin/straw-dun' and *smokey black*) are treated as independent coat colour terms, possessing their own distinct shades.

Numerous superordinate terms are in use – apart from those dividing coat colours into large groups, like *alapszínek* 'basic [coat] colours', *hígított színek* 'diluted colours', *kevert színek* 'mixed colours' and *mintázatok* 'patterns', smaller groups are also present and the coat colours are often grouped by their genetic proximity. If a specific gene defines the appearance of a set of traits, the coat colours caused by said gene will be grouped together (as in the case of *ezüst* 'silver', *pearl* or *champagne*).

Thus, the primary trait that defines the coat colour according to the **modern nomenclatural system** is the genotype. It remains the same throughout the animals' whole life, and as an un-changeable property it exists outside of the realm of interpretation. Modern coat colour terms' scope is in this way more specific than the general description of a combination of visual traits. As modern coat colour terms are linked to genotypes, they effectively describe phenotypes. Phenotype in this context is meant as the set of traits caused by an individual genotype and its expression exhibited by a particular specimen. What is important is that while it is unusual, the modern terms are applicable even when the gene's influence is not visible, as evidenced by the usage of *kriptikus frame overo* 'cryptic frame overo' in a description of a photo used in an article on equine coat colour genetics (w7). Under the modern paradigm, a horse's coat may be misidentified by the onlooker (some coat colours, like *smokey black* are extremely hard to identify), but the factual membership to the category does not change because of its perception.

The identification of equine coat colour in a modern sense is less connected to the perception of colour, and more to recognising secondary traits which allow one to discern between horses of similar colour, but different genetic makeup.

The upside of this type of system is its precision and usefulness in predicting the possible coat colour of an offspring of a particular horse. The significant downside, however, is that it is less intuitive and the coat identification process is significantly more demanding.

3.3. The implications and consequences of parallel nomenclatural systems

The aforementioned shift influences the properties of coat colours as categories. The traditional systems' more flexible approach shows coat colours, and by extension coat colour terms as similar to colour terms - heavily influenced by the notion of personal perception. The example of dappled grey described as *almásderes* 'dappled roan' and grey and white named *fehér 'white'* shows that finding the degree of the familial similarity in the visual aspects of the animals is of great importance to these nomenclatural systems. Contrary to this, in the case of modern systems, familial similarity of visual traits may not be the most important factor in categorising a horse as an example of a specific coat colour. Visual traits are considered helpful in identification, but can also be deemed misleading, as many visually similar coats are genetically different and thus are a different coat colour (e.g. *dark palomino* and *silver dapple black*). The approach to coat colour as a direct result of a specific part of a genotype that can be objectively verified, moves coat colours farther from conventional colours.

Knowledge of the origins of colours and patterns being a biological trait also proves that coat colour categories are natural categories characterised by binary membership (Taylor 1989: 45). It is not possible for an animal to have a specific genetic combination to some degree, either it has the specific alleles or it has different ones. It could be argued that even in many traditional nomen-clatural systems the presented categories have clear boundaries and a binary membership,

although the existence of numerous shades and varieties which sometimes differ greatly from the most prototypical example suggests that the borders of traditional categories can be considered to be more relaxed. Something bearing only a degree of similarity to bay but not fitting any other category could be classified as bay as well – as evidenced by *mosott sörényű pej 'washed-out-maned bay'* (Bodó–Hecker 1992: 77).

However, the claim about clear boundaries in traditional systems should be carefully examined, because it does not apply to all of them. *Ló és tenyésztése* (Kovácsy–Monostori 1905: 178–179) provides an interesting insight into the evolution of the concept of a coat colour as a category.
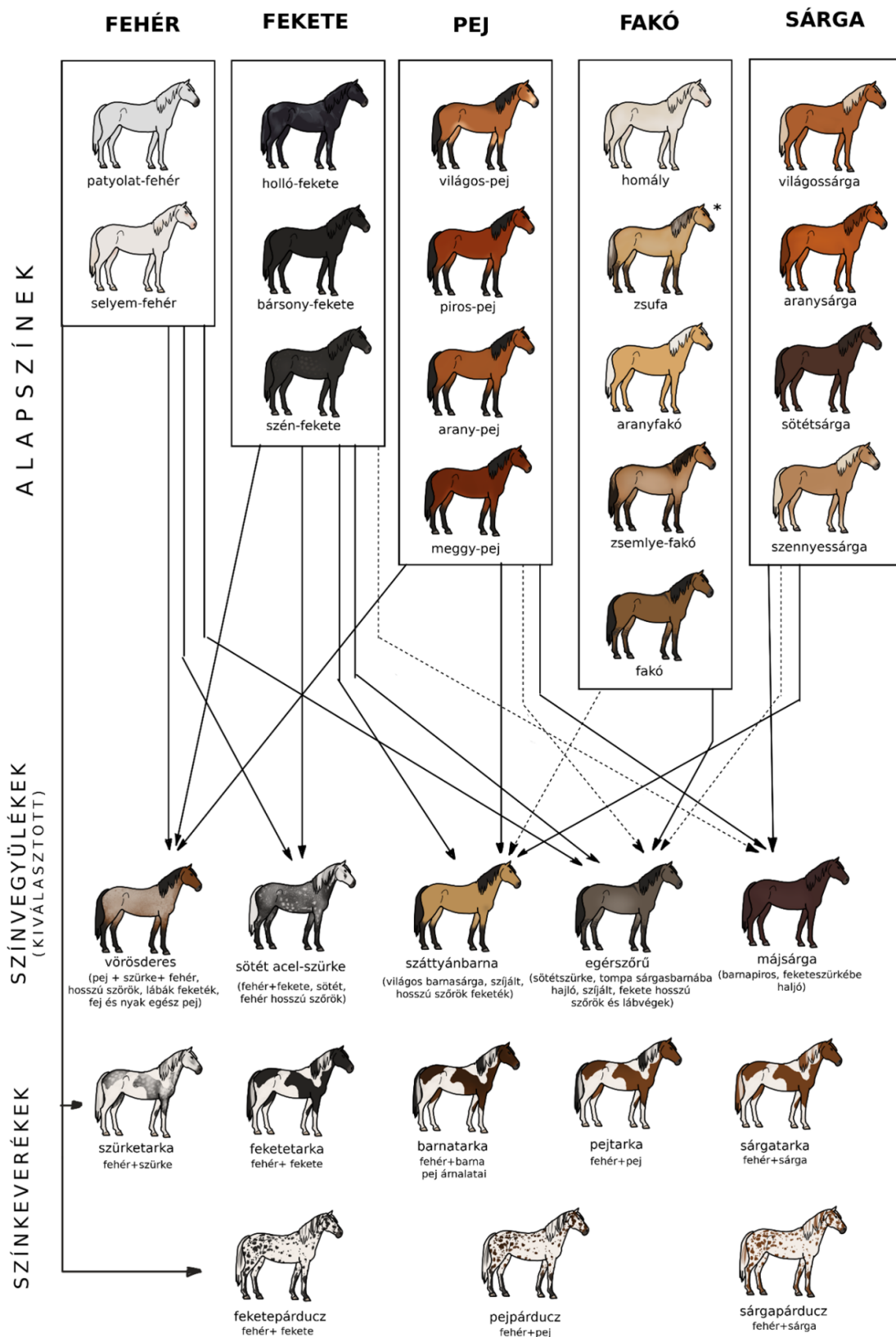
Figure 5. The nomenclatural system in *Ló és tenyése* (Kovácsy–Monostori 1905). The visualisations marked with an asterisk are hypothetical.

This system introduced a separate superordinate level category of *színvegyülékek* 'colour mixtures' and both the name and the description of individual terms suggests that they were supposed to possess mixed traits of the basic coat colours. However, none of the researched texts replicates this approach, so it can be considered outdated.

The important consequence of the rapid change in the basis of categorisation is that both traditional, modern systems and the systems connecting the two types' traits (e.g. *Lótenyésztők kézikönyve* by Bodó and Hecker) coexist in the specialist literature. The concurrent nomenclatural systems whose categorisation is motivated by different factors cause the lack of clarity surrounding certain terms' meaning.

A good example is *fakó*, which in traditional systems encompasses both dun and cream coat colour families. In modern systems and publications focused on equine coat colour genetics, *fakó's* meaning is limited to the dun coat colours, which makes it the precise equivalent of English *dun*.
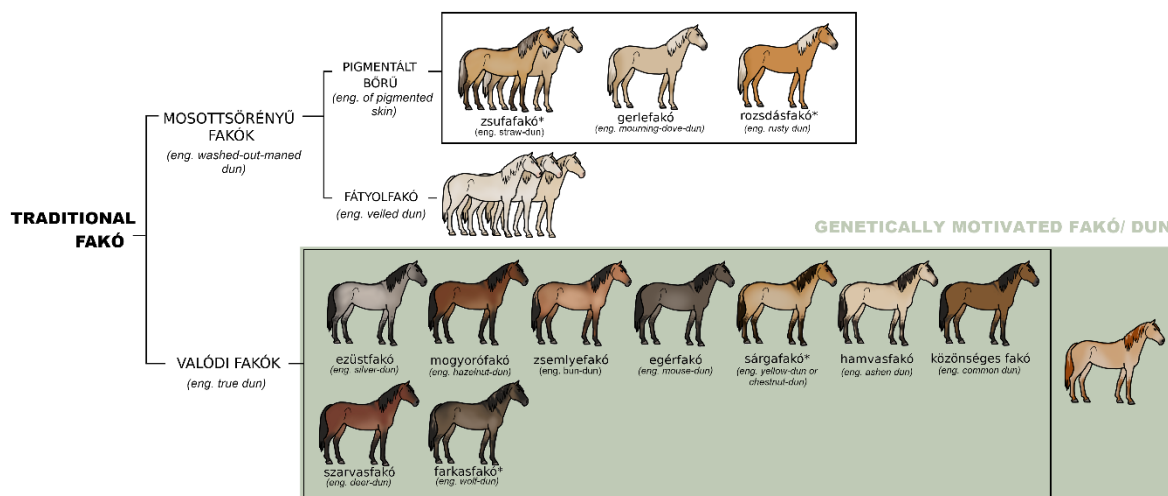
Figure 6. The difference between the traditional and modern meaning scope of *fakó*.

This is an example of a traditional term being integrated into the new nomenclatural system. In fact, the evidence that there was previously no other term reserved only for dun horses is that the authors describing some traditional naming systems were careful to specify which *fakó* are considered **true ones** (*valódi fakó*).

Apart from a traditional term adaptation, the appearance of entirely new categories prompted a variety of different solutions when it comes to term formations. One such solution is the direct borrowing of English terms. As most scientific publications, including those on equine coat colour genetics, are available in English, this solidifies the meaning of the borrowed terms, directly linking them to the same terms in the international discourse. These terms are nonetheless foreign in their form, fitting uneasily into an already established LSP with a long tradition. An alternative solution is provided by the table in an article on Hungarian Wikipedia, titled *A ló jegyei* 'The features of horses' (w8).

ALAPSZÍNEK

SÁRGA
ee, aa/Aa/AA

PEJ
Ee/EE, Aa/AA

FEKETE
Ee/EE, aa

VAD PEJ
(A+)

BARNA
(At)

KRÉM ÉS GYÖNGY GÉN (CREAM AND PEARL)

PALOMINO
ee, aa/Aa/AA, Crcr

SZARVASBŐR (buckskin)
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Crcr

FÜSTÖS FEKETE (smoky black)
Ee/EE, aa, Crcr

KRÉM (cremello)
ee, aa/Aa/AA, CrCr

PERLINO
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, CrCr

FÜSTÖS KRÉM (smoky cream)
Ee/EE, aa, CrCr

pearl gén - PrlPrl/PrlCr

FAKÓ GÉN (DUN) D

SÁRGA FAKÓ
(Red dun / Chestnut dun)
ee, aa/Aa/AA, Dd/DD

PEJ FAKÓ
(Bay dun / Classic dun)
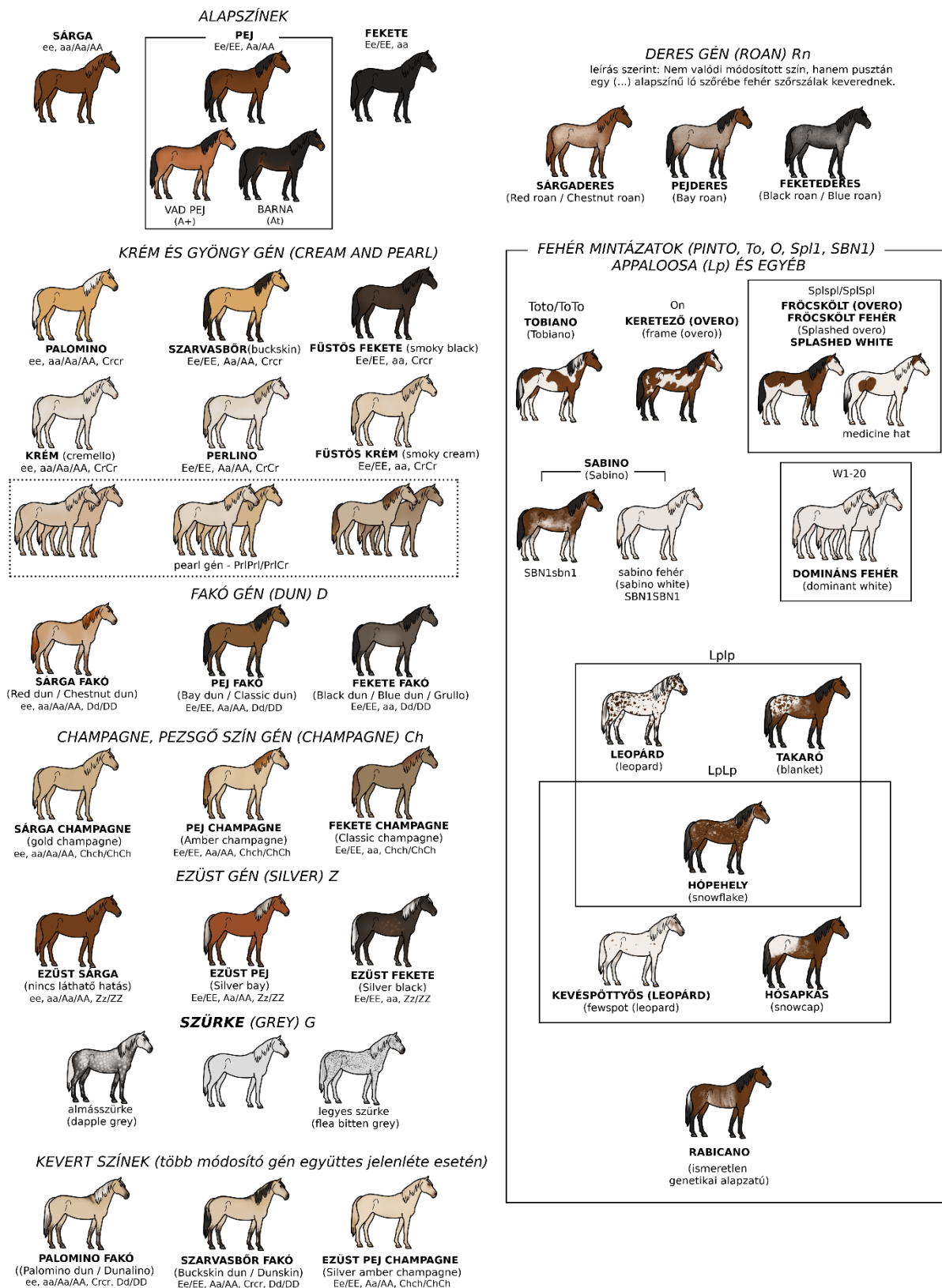Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Dd/DD

FEKETE FAKÓ
(Black dun / Blue dun / Grullo)
Ee/EE, aa, Dd/DD

CHAMPAGNE, PEZSGŐ SZÍN GÉN (CHAMPAGNE) Ch

SÁRGA CHAMPAGNE
(gold champagne)
ee, aa/Aa/AA, Chch/ChCh

PEJ CHAMPAGNE
(Amber champagne)
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Chch/ChCh

FEKETE CHAMPAGNE
(Classic champagne)
Ee/EE, aa, Chch/ChCh

EZÜST GÉN (SILVER) Z

EZÜST SÁRGA
(nincs látható hatás)
ee, aa/Aa/AA, Zz/ZZ

EZÜST PEJ
(Silver bay)
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Zz/ZZ

EZÜST FEKETE
(Silver black)
Ee/EE, aa, Zz/ZZ

SZÜRKE *(GREY) G*

almásszürke
(dapple grey)

legyes szürke
(flea bitten grey)

KEVERT SZÍNEK (több módosító gén együttes jelenléte esetén)

PALOMINO FAKÓ
((Palomino dun / Dunalino)
ee, aa/Aa/AA, Crcr, Dd/DD

SZARVASBŐR FAKÓ
(Buckskin dun / Dunskin)
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Crcr, Dd/DD

EZÜST PEJ CHAMPAGNE
(Silver amber champagne)
Ee/EE, Aa/AA, Chch/ChCh

DERES GÉN (ROAN) Rn
leírás szerint: Nem valódi módosított szín, hanem pusztán
egy (...) alapszínű ló szőrébe fehér szőrszálak keverednek.

SÁRGADERES
(Red roan / Chestnut roan)

PEJDERES
(Bay roan)

FEKETEDERES
(Black roan / Blue roan)

FEHÉR MINTÁZATOK (PINTO, To, O, Spl1, SBN1)
APPALOOSA (Lp) ÉS EGYÉB

Toto/ToTo
TOBIANO
(Tobiano)

On
KERETEZŐ (OVERO)
(frame (overo))

Splspl/SplSpl
FRÖCSKÖLT (OVERO)
FRÖCSKÖLT FEHÉR
(Splashed overo)
SPLASHED WHITE

medicine hat

SABINO
(Sabino)

SBN1sbn1

sabino fehér
(sabino white)
SBN1SBN1

W1-20

DOMINÁNS FEHÉR
(dominant white)

Lplp

LEOPÁRD
(leopard)

TAKARÓ
(blanket)

LpLp

HÓPEHELY
(snowflake)

KEVÉSPÖTTYÖS (LEOPÁRD)
(fewspot (leopard))

HÓSAPKÁS
(snowcap)

RABICANO
(ismeretlen
genetikai alapzatú)

Figure 7. The nomenclatural system in the Wikipedia article A ló jegyei (w8)

The author chose to use numerous calques, such as *szarvasbőr* 'deerskin' for *buckskin*, *pezsgő* 'champagne' directly based on *champagne* and *ezüst* 'silver' in place of *silver*. The version of terms fits in between native Hungarian themes more seamlessly, although it is clear that in some cases the calque from English and the consistent, three-fold approach to the variations in each genetic family resulted in replacing the existing native term (e.g. *fekete fakó* 'black dun' instead of *egérfakó* 'mouse dun', *barna* 'brown' instead of *sötétpej* 'dark bay'). Considering the long tradition the native coat colour terms have in Hungarian, such a choice can be deemed questionable. Firstly, it is yet unknown whether or not the new terms would be adopted by the LSP users – and modifying the existing terms whose meaning has not changed due to the shift in the paradigm makes the adoption of the new terms less likely. Secondly, while keeping an LSP communicative and up-to-date is important, in the case of changing the already existing terms there may be a valid concern about erasing a part of cultural heritage.

3.4. BCTs in equine coat colour categorisation

Despite the vast differences between the coat colour terms and regular colour terms, four basic coat colour terms still share forms with BCTs. The BCTs focality and their role as a basic level category makes their usage as a reference point understandable when it comes to colour-related terminology, despite the fact that the occurrence of such references in equine coat colour jargons differs between languages. Considering only the basic level equine coat colour terms, BCT references are more common in Hungarian terminology than in its English (w9) or Polish equivalents (Stachurska et al. 2017: 5-10). Let us take a closer look at Hungarian equine coat colour terms' relationship with BCTs.

Szürke is a unique equine coat colour, characteristic of some breeds popular in Hungary, such as Shagya arabian and Lipizzaner. Such horses are born in any possible coat colour (but usually with a dark coat) and with time they grey out (*kiszürkül*) to become a horse with a completely white fur. They retain dark skin, eyes and hooves. The change is gradual, and the transient stages of greying have their own terms describing them, such as *acélszürke* 'steel-grey', *daruszürke* 'crane-grey', *almázott szürke* 'dappled grey', *mézszürke* 'honey grey' and *ezüstszürke* 'silver-grey'.

Figure 8. The stages of greying. 1. a foal (start of the greying process), 2. *acélszürke*, 3-4. *almázott szürke*, 5. *ezüstszürke*, 6. *pisztrángszürke* 'trout-grey'

In some cases, after the greying process is finished, the cells which originally stopped producing the pigments in the horse hair start working again in small clusters, resulting in a *fleabitten grey* look. In Hungarian this stage of grey coat has three terms, depending on the colour of spots: *szeplősszürke* 'freckled-grey', *pisztrángszürke* 'trout-grey' and *legyesszürke* 'fly-grey'.

Szürke has an interesting relationship with its related BCT. At some stages of the greying process the colour may appear grey but in fact, the fur of a greying horse consists of a mix of dark and white (unpigmented) hair which visually merge into a greyish colour over distance.

With its most characteristic, almost prototypical form, *ezüstszürke* 'silver-grey', having white fur, the relationship between *szürke* as an equine coat colour and a BCT extends beyond a specific use of BCT – it is polysemic in nature, as while the two have a noticeable connection, the meaning of *szürke* as equine coat colour extends beyond the scope of *szürke* as a BCT.

It is worth noting that the connection of all stages of greying to *szürke* seem to be relatively new, as in the researched traditional sources *ezüstszürke* 'silver-grey' used to be *ezüstfehér* 'silver-white'.

Figure 9. A difference in colour between a grey horse (modern *ezüstszürke* 'silver-grey', traditional *ezüstfehér* 'silver-white' or *patyolat-fehér* 'sheet-white') and dominant white horse modern *fehér* 'white' or *domináns fehér* 'dominant white', traditional *selyemfehér* 'silk-white').

The change in the scope of meaning of *fehér* 'white' illustrates the shift in the basis of categorisation well. In the traditional nomenclatural systems it used to denote both the entirely greyed-out grey horse (as *ezüstfehér* 'silver-white' or *patyolat-fehér* 'sheet-white') and a so-called dominant white horse, whose fur is white from birth. In the modern system, only a way rarer *dominant white* horse (whose genetics include one of the W1-W20 alleles) (w10) can be called *fehér*, to avoid confusion when it comes to both coat colours' lack of genetic affiliation. Greyed-out horses are included as a shade of *szürke* 'grey'.

In the case of *fekete* 'black', the colour of most horses' fur does not significantly divert from the conventional meaning of the colour term. However, both the matter of black coat colour's shades as well as the matter of seasonal changes of the coat colour make it an atypical case. Despite black being very constrained to specific lightness as a colour, in the Hungarian LSP horses can be of several shades of black. The difference between *hollófekete 'raven-black'*, *bogárfekete 'beetle-black'*, *bársonyfekete 'velvet-black'* and *koromfekete* 'soot-black' lies in the presence and underlying colour of a shine. Despite *fekete* as a coat colour term not being a colour term, it is a similar case to the situations where glossiness is treated as a trait differentiating between colours. A somewhat controversial shade is *nyárifekete 'summer-black'* – according to some sources it is a name for black horses whose fur fades to brown in summer due to sun exposure (Juhászné Timár 2017). According to another interpretation, it is actually a name for a shade of bay (Bodó–Hecker 1998: 77).

Regardless of the precise meaning of *nyárifekete*, it is undoubtedly true that some horses change their colours dramatically over the course of seasons. In the case of *black* horses, their sun-bleached fur may make them visually similar to bay horses or dark chestnuts. Nonetheless,

even when their fur is largely brown, their genotype does not change, so they are technically *fekete* 'black' despite their fur not being black.

Figure 10. 1.,2. Faded black horses; 3. Non-fading black horse

Apart from *fekete* 'black', *fehér* 'white' and *szürke* 'grey', using BCTs as a point of reference in equine coat colours seems to happen most often to BCTs from the warm colours' spectrum. Hungarian equine coat colour vocabulary lacks references to blue which are found in English jargon in *blue dun* and *blue roan*. In their case, reference to blue might be motivated by the relatively low saturation in relation to other coat colours. The presence of such a sharp contrast to most other coat colours could involve simultaneous contrast effect due to which the coat colour may appear blueish. In the case of the Hungarian term for wild dun, *zöldlábú pej* 'green-legged bay', the low saturation factor is absent. The reason for the reference to *zöld* 'green' is yet unknown.

Figure 11. 1. *Blue roan* (left) and *blue dun* (right). In Hungarian *vasderes 'iron-roan'* and *egérfakó* 'mouse-dun', respectively. 2. Wild bay phenotype, one of the terms for it in Hungarian is *zöldlábú pej* 'green-legged bay'

The most notable example of an equine colour using the name of a BCT may be *sárga* 'yellow'/ 'chestnut'. Unfortunately, the reason why *sárga* is used as a name for one of the basic coat colours, chestnut, remains unclear. In this case, however, optical illusions such as contrast effect and simultaneous contrast effect can be reliably ruled out as a main reason for the usage of *sárga* as a name for chestnut. The contrast effect happens when the parameters of colour seem altered in contrast with another object. In the case of chestnut, for this effect to appear, the chestnut would have to be significantly closer to yellow in hue than the other coats, and as Figure 2 shows, this is not the case. The chestnut coat is also hardly the outlier in terms of saturation. The more likely explanation would be that the original meaning of *sárga*, which has since been adopted as a name for coat colour, has changed over time. However the confirmation of this hypotheses would require separate etymological studies.

Figure 12. The examples of *vörössárga* 'red-chestnut' and *pirospej* 'red-bay'.

The case of *sárga* is especially interesting when it comes to BCT references, as the colour of human and animal hair similar to a rich *chestnut* is *vörös* 'red'. That being said, *vörös* 'dark red' and *piros* 'light red' are also used in equine coat colour language, as a point of reference in coat colour shades such as *vörössárga* 'red-chestnut' and *pirospej* 'red-bay'. Interestingly, despite *vörös* being more connected to colours of living beings, *Magyar Értelmező Szótár* (Bárczi–Országh: 1962) cites *piros* and not *vörös* as a regional term for a light bay horse.

4. Conclusion

A direct consequence of a rapid development of scientific background concerning the Hungarian equine coat colour-related vocabulary is the creation of new nomenclatural systems while the traditional alternatives are still in use. One of the outcomes is the unclear semantics of certain coat colour terms. The example of Hungarian equine coat colour-related LSP shows that the application of the results of scientific development may result in a changed perspective on a subject matter. As a result, the basis of categorisation can change, influencing the traits represented by the coat colours as categories. The modern coat colours are categories of clear boundaries and binary membership. While the prevalence of these traits can be to a degree discussed when it comes to categories presented by the traditional naming systems, the objective verifiability caused by the direct link between the genotype and a coat colour is a new trait of coat colour categories. It not only serves as a main criterion of the categorisation process in the modern systems, it also sets the modern coat colour terms further apart from regular colour terms.

Despite becoming more distinct from regular colour terms, Hungarian equine coat colour terms maintain a relationship with BCTs. In addition to the four BCTs which share the form with basic coat colours, BCTs can serve as a point of reference in terms for shade. The number of shade terms for individual coat colours seems to decrease in the modern nomenclatural systems. Despite the influence of foreign terms, references to cold BCTs are not as frequent as in the English equine coat colour LSP.

While an optical illusion can interrupt the identification process and skew human perception, there are not many cases in which the usage of BCTs for coat colour could be motivated by a large degree of colour approximation or an optical illusion. The only noticeable case is the use of *szürke* 'grey', where the mixture of pigmented and unpigmented hair is considered grey due to them being indistinguishable over distance. Most of the terms which share their form with BCTs maintain a polysemic relation with them.

Despite many arguments suggesting that equine coat colour terms are a different class of colour-motivated terms than the regular colour terms, from many perspectives they show similarities. On top of the basic coat colour names based on BCTs, the vocabulary also contains names focused on the visual properties of colours, like *fakó* and several terms for shade differentiated by a less conventional property of colour, namely glossiness.

The analysis of the Hungarian equine coat colour-related LSP has shown that the nature of terms and their designated categories can prove to be more complex than expected. It also proves that when reviewing specialised terms, taking into account the context of a specific term in a wider perspective can be invaluable.

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