РЕДАКЦІЙНА КОЛЕГІЯ

ЗМІСТ

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FROM THE EDITOR

A friend or a foe, a fellow or a stranger – this opposition seems to have become the leitmotif of our time. Unfortunately, it does not describe real enemies only.

I was in a foreign country, in a foreign city, where people spoke a language that was foreign to me... I was standing at a bus stop and had been waiting for a bus for 40 minutes. According to the schedule, it should have been there long ago, but it did not arrive. Not a single soul. It was cold. Those who found themselves in a similar situation understand how unpleasant it is to feel lonely, like a stranger. Suddenly, a man of about 65 approached me. He said something to me. He realised that I did not understand him, and then a strange thing happened. With gestures and some bits and pieces of English, he explained (and I understood!) that the bus (specifically today!) was running on a different route due to road repairs and the stop was around the corner... And then he gave me... a chocolate hare! And then he disappeared. He just disappeared while I was looking at the gift in amazement – the man seemed to have vanished into thin air. In 5 minutes, both of us, the hare and myself, were inside a warm bus.

O. E. Pchelintseva,
Editor-in-Chief

It was a real miracle. That man, for whom I was a stranger, did not expect anything in return from me. Not even words of gratitude. Maybe this is how we should act, and then everything in our broken world will start to come to order? Maybe this is how we will finally begin our journey to a world where there is a real dialogue?

These thoughts were inspired by the topics of the articles in the new issue. The authors from Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Estonia, and Ukraine have written about the difficulties of translating modality in business letters, the connection between language skills and social inequality, the use of particles like «yes» and «no» in interpersonal communication, how to establish a dialogue between scientists from different countries, and even how to communicate more effectively about climate change and environmental sustainability. What are all these articles and texts about? They are about DIALOGUE. Dialogue is what we all want. But in today's world, reaching understanding in a dialogue is akin to a miracle.

My immense gratitude extends to the authors, reviewers, literary editors, members of the international editorial board, as well as the proofreaders and technical staff who have made this new issue possible.

We are sincerely grateful to De Gruyter Poland Sp. z o.o. and its representative Sciendo for continuing to selflessly support our publication, helping us climb the ladder of success, and spreading information about us in the scientific information space.

I am sure that our common wish for these Christmas and New Year's days is simply the opportunity to live and do our own thing, the opportunity to be heard in a dialogue, and a free and peaceful sky over all countries.

I believe that this wish will come true! After all, I now know for sure that miracles are a very real thing.

СТОРІНКА ГОЛОВНОГО РЕДАКТОРА

Свій & чужий – здається, це протиставлення стало лейтмотивом нашого часу. На жаль, не лише щодо реальних ворогів.

Я була у чужій країні, у чужому місті, де люди говорили чужою мені мовою… Стояла на зупинці і вже 40 хвилин чекала автобуса. За розкладом давно має бути – але нема. Жодної душі. Холодно. Тим, хто був у такій ситуації, добре зрозуміло, наскільки це неприємно – відчувати себе чужим і самотнім. Раптом до мене підійшов чоловік років 65-ти. Щось сказав. Зрозумів, що я його не розумію – і далі сталась дивна річ. Жестами й уламками англійської пояснив (а я зрозуміла!), що автобус (саме сьогодні!) через ремонт дороги ходить іншим маршрутом і зупинка – там, за рогом… А потім подарував мені … шоколадного зайця! І – зник. Просто зник, поки я здивовано дивилась на подарунок – чоловік наче розчинився у повітрі. А ми із зайцем вже через 5 хвилин були в теплому автобусі.

Справжнє диво. Цьому чоловіку, для якого я була чужинкою, нічого не було від мене потрібно. Навіть слів вдячності. Може так і треба діяти – і тоді все у нашому зламаному світі почне приходити до ладу? Може так нарешті почнеться наш шлях до світу, де є справжній діалог?

Ці думки мені навіяли теми статей у новому випуску. Автори з Литви, Норвегії, Польщі, Естонії, України написали про труднощі перекладу модальності у ділових листах, про зв'язок між рівнем мовних знань та соціальною нерівністю, про частки «так» і «ні» у процесі міжособистісного спілкування, про те, як налагоджується діалог між науковцями різних країн і навіть про те, як ефективніше комунікувати про зміни клімату та екологічну стійкість. Про що усі ці статті й тексти? Про ДІАЛОГ. Справжній діалог – це те, чого ми усі прагнемо. Але у сучасному світі досягти розуміння в діалозі видається дивом.

Моя безмежна вдячність авторам, рецензентам, літературним редакторам, членам міжнародної редакційної колегії, а також коректорам і технічним працівникам, зусиллями яких створено цей новий випуск.

Ми щиро вдячні компанії De Gruyter Poland Sp. z o.o. та її представнику Sciendo за те, що вони продовжують безкорисливо підтримувати наше видання, допомагати нам підніматися сходинками успіху, поширювати інформацію про нас у науковому інформаційному просторі.

Впевнена, що наше спільне бажання у ці Різдвяні та Новорічні дні – просто можливість жити й займатися своєю справою, можливість бути почутим у діалозі, вільне та мирне небо над усіма країнами.

Вірю, що це бажання здійсниться! Адже я тепер точно знаю, що дива – цілком реальна річ.

Олена Пчелінцева

ДИСКУРСИВНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

Oleksandr Kapranov

METONYMY IN ONLINE DISCOURSE ON FACEBOOK BY GREENPEACE AUSTRALIA PACIFIC

Greenpeace Australia Pacific is an "independent campaigning organization that uses peaceful protest and creative confrontation to expose global environmental problems" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023), such as the issues of climate change and environmental sustainability. The aforementioned problems are often communicated by Greenpeace Australia Pacific to its stakeholders and the general public via online means, for instance, Facebook. Given that currently there is insufficient research that investigates Greenpeace Australia Pacific's online discourse on Facebook, this article presents a mixed-methods study that aims to explore how metonymy is used in disseminating environmental and climate change-related issues by Greenpeace Australia Pacific. In order to do so, the study involves a corpus of status updates that are found on Greenpeace Australia Pacific' official Facebook page. The corpus is searched manually for the presence of metonymy and the types of metonymic mappings. The results of the qualitative analysis indicate that there are the following metonymic mappings in the corpus: "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter", "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the country to the country's government", "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", and "from the name of the vessel to its actions". Thereafter, a quantitative analysis of the corpus is carried out in order to calculate the most frequent types of metonymic mappings. The results indicate that the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is the most frequent in the corpus, whose occurrence is concomitant with multimodality. These findings and their discussion are further presented in the article.

Key words: *climate change, discourse, environmental sustainability, Facebook, Greenpeace Australia Pacific, online discourse, metonymy.*

1. Introduction

The issues of climate change and environmental sustainability are often referred to as topical and crucial to the survival of humanity (Dahl & Fløttum, 2019; Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017; Kapranov, 2023a, 2023b, 2021; Søgaard Jørgensen et al., 2024). There is a widely accepted view that the environmental and climate change-related issues should be addressed urgently and resolutely (Gjesdal & Andersen, 2023;

Kapranov, 2022). Therefore, it is of paramount importance to investigate how scientists, business and political actors, and environmental organisations communicate the issues to their stakeholders and the public at large (Kapranov, 2018a, 2018b; Ofori-Parku & Koomson, 2023). One of the effective means of environmental and climate change-related communication is thought to be represented by online discourse that takes place, for instance, on social networking sites (SNSs), such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, which provide a fruitful arena for the dissemination of ideas, information, narratives, and viewpoints (Kapranov, 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2019; Meijers et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2023). For instance, Greenpeace Australia Pacific, one of the leading independent campaigning organisations, habitually communicates its views on climate change and sustainability by means of posting on Facebook (Hall, 2022). Currently, however, little is known about Greenpeace Australia Pacific's Facebook discourse on climate change and environmental sustainability (Wu et al., 2023).

Given that there is a paucity of studies on Greenpeace Australia Pacific's Facebook discourse (Hall, 2022), the present investigation aims to learn about how metonymy is represented in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's discourse on climate change and environmental sustainability, which is posted on Facebook in the form of status updates. The research focus of the study on metonymy is accounted by a cognitive-linguistic paradigm, which posits that metonymy plays one of the central roles in the construction of meaning at the levels of word, utterance, and discourse (Barcelona, 2002, 2007, 2015; Croft, 1993; Hilpert, 2006; Kapranov, 2001a, 2002a, 2002b; Lai, 2008; Panther & Thornburg, 2007). In discourse, in particular, metonymy is involved in fundamental and perhaps, pervasive, relationships that are (i) reflective of people's everyday way of thinking, and (ii) grounded in their experiences, thoughts, and actions (Martin & Papadelos, 2017; Radden & Kövecses, 1999). Informed by the view of metonymy as a conceptual phenomenon, metonymy in cognitive linguistics is regarded as a relationship of contiguity that involves conceptual mappings between two conceptual entities which are closely associated in people's experience and mental representations (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 36). The observation that metonymy rests with the closely related concepts within one domain of experience is crucial to our understanding of the difference between metonymy on the one hand and metaphor on the other hand (Barcelona, 2023; Kapranov, 2015a; Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Whilst both metaphor and metonymy involve conceptual mappings, in case of the former they eventuate between two different domains, and in case of the latter they take place within one experiential domain, or, in other terminology, frame (Brdar-Szabó, 2009; Kapranov, 2017a, 2017b; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, 2011). It should be specified that in cognitive linguistics, a frame represents a model of a recurrent and well-delineated area of experience (Barcelona, 2023; Kapranov, 2002c, 2017c, 2018c; Fillmore, 1985). Hence, a cognitive-linguistic notion of metonymy is defined as

> an asymmetric mapping of a conceptual entity, the source, onto another conceptual entity, the target. Source and target are in the same frame and are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated. (Barcelona, 2011, p. 52)

Guided by the cognitive-linguistic notion of metonymy, the study applies it to a corpus of status updates that are posted by Greenpeace Australia Pacific on its official Facebook page.

The study is based upon a consideration that metonymy is ubiquitous in discourse in general (Radden, 2005), and in online discourse on such SNSs as Facebook in particular. Furthermore, the study factors in a contention that there should be a multimodal component associated with metonymy on SNSs, inclusive of Facebook (O'Neill, 2022; Pérez-Sobrino, 2016). In line with the aforementioned considerations, the study sets off to address the following research questions (RQs):

RQ 1: What kind of metonymic mappings are involved in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook?

RQ 2: What are the most frequent metonymic mappings in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook?

RQ 3: Are there multimodal components that are involved in metonymic mappings in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook?

In order to address the RQs, the article is organised as follows. Firstly, in section 2, the literature on metonymy in climate change discourse is summarised. Secondly, in section 3, the present study is introduced and discussed. Finally, in section 4, the article concludes with the summary of the major findings and their implication to the field of online communication on SNS on the topics of climate change and environmental sustainability.

2. Metonymy in Climate Change Discourse

There is an emergent line of prior research that focuses on metonymy in climate change discourse (Augé, 2019; Bonnefille, 2011; Dancygier, 2023; Deignan, 2017; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023; Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d; O'Neill, 2022). Whilst the publications on metonymy in climate change discourse are not numerous, it is feasible, nevertheless, to distinguish the following themes that draw researchers' attention to (i) individual metonymic mappings (Augé, 2019), (ii) the interrelation of multimodal elements (photos, videos, etc.) with metonymy (Dancygier, 2023; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023; O'Neill, 2022), and (iii) the focus on metaphor with metonymy playing an epiphenomenal role (Bonnefille, 2011; Deignan, 2017; Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d).

The first of the aforementioned research themes is represented by a relatively recent publication by Augé (2019), who investigates the type of a metonymic mapping "from the colour green to the environment" in a corpus of newspaper articles on the topic of climate change. Augé (2019) argues that green represents a benevolent concept for the environment. Presumably, the positive association of green enables a metonymic mapping from the colour to the environment (Augé, 2019). It is noted that the metonymic mapping "from the colour green to the environment" is positively connoted in the British press. Furthermore, the positive connotation of the metonymic mapping in newspaper coverages on climate change is prototypically associated with Greenpeace, which is headquartered in the United Kingdom (ibid.).

The second research theme is illustrated by multimodal metonymy that is typically manifested by an image (usually, a photo) and, in online discourse, by a video, and/or a combination of text with a multimodal component (Dancygier, 2023; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023; O'Neill, 2022). It is inferred from the literature that the visualisation of the issue of climate change in the majority of cases involves a metonymic mapping "from the impact of climate change on the whole endangered animal species" (ibid.). In this regard, it is pertinent to refer to the iconic image of a polar bear that drowns in the open sea, since there is no ice to sustain its habitat. In turn, the ice has melted due to the negative consequences of global warming. Such instances are referred to in the literature as visual metonymy in climate change discourse, which represents a

> visual shorthand (used within a particular culture) which goes beyond the immediately represented denotative content to directly link to a set of ideas in real or conceptual space. In turn, the visual metonym itself can then become indistinguishable from the (often deeply political) judgements with which these ideas are associated. (O'Neill, 2022, p. 1106)

Unlike a purely visual approach to conceptual metonymy that is outlined in O'Neill (2022), Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023) and Dancygier (2023) demonstrate that multimodal metonymy in climate change discourse is instantiated by a combination of text and photos, also referred to as a verbopictorial type of multimodal metonymy (Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023). This type of multimodal metonymy tends to occur in public advertising by environmental organisations, (e.g., Greenpeace), which use, for instance, a picture of plastic floating in the sea and short text about plastic pollution in order to manifest the metonymic mapping "from cause to effect". In this regard, Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023) indicate that iconic images of environmental pollution in conjunction with textual descriptions are associated with emotional implications that may influence the public opinion on the environmental and climate change-related topics. Similar views are expressed by Dancygier (2023), who argues that verbal and visual elements in multimodal metonymy may affect the public's perception of the issue of climate change by evoking certain prototypical aspects of people's everyday lives that are usually connected to the environment and climate change. To illustrate the point, Dancygier (2023) mentions the picture of a diesel-run car that is, as a rule, is connoted rather negatively nowadays due to its association with fossil fuel, environmental pollution, and CO2 emissions.

The third research theme involves a primary focus on metaphor with metonymy relegated to the background (Bonnefille, 2011; Deignan, 2017; Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d). Notably, the primary focus on metaphor and the secondary one on metonymy is explained by the use of these two conceptual entities as a framing device in discourse on anthropogenic climate change (Deignan, 2017; Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d). In particular, it is assumed in the literature that whilst metaphors tend to play a pragma-communicative role of dramatising and introducing a particular stretch of written discourse on climate change, metonymy functions as an ideational source in the text, i.e. it is less salient in contrast to metaphor (Deignan, 2017). The literature posits that a concurrent use of metaphor and metonymy in a piece of discourse on climate change creates an interrelated

network of pragmatic meanings that functions as a frame, which anchors the narrative in a particular socio-cultural discursive space (Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d). Another facet of the third research theme, however, involves the juxtaposition of metaphor and metonymy as a contrasting point in analysing political discourse on the issue of climate change. For example, Bonnefille (2011) postulates that a researcher's concurrent attention to metaphor and metonymy facilitates the unpacking of critical differences in political discourse that are associated with a more nuanced understanding of the politicians' stance on the issue of climate change. Specifically, it has been established that whilst the former US president Obama prefers metaphorical networks and metonymies, his French counterpart Sarkozy does not resort to metonymy in his political speeches on climate change (Bonnefille, 2011).

It appears possible to summarise the outline of the literature by indicating that the current research foci, which centre on individual metonymic mappings, multimodal metonymy, and the co-presence of metaphor and metonymy, do not involve research topics that elucidate how metonymy is represented in climate change discourse on Facebook. The study, which is described in section 3 of the article, seeks to fill the gap in scholarship by means of problematising and researching metonymy in climate change discourse on Facebook by Greenpeace Australia Pacific.

3. The Present Study

As already mentioned, there are no current studies that investigate the use of metonymy in Facebook status updates by Greenpeace Australia Pacific (further – GAP). The present study is an initial attempt to shed light on this under-researched issue. The study is informed by the literature in cognitive linguistics that points to a ubiquitous nature of metonymy in discourse (Radden, 2005), inclusive of discourse on climate change and environmental sustainability (Augé, 2019; Bonnefille, 2011; Dancygier, 2023; Deignan, 2017; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023; Kapranov, 2015a, 2015b, 2017d; O'Neill, 2022). In addition, the study factors in the consideration of multimodality that is co-present with metonymy on SNSs, in particular, on Facebook (O'Neill, 2022; Pérez-Sobrino, 2016). Set within a cognitive-linguistic approach to metonymy and the considerations of multimodality associated with metonymy on SNSs, the study seeks to provide answers to three research questions, or RQs (see introduction).

Following the RQs, the study involved a corpus of status updates that were posted by GAP on its official Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific). The Facebook status updates by GAP were collected between 1 June 2023 and 30 November 2023 (i.e., six months in total). In line with the literature (Kapranov, 2019), the cut-off of six months was deemed to be sufficient for the corpus collection. The Facebook status updates by GAP were downloaded, converted to Word files, and processed in the statistical program Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 (IBM, 2011) in order to obtain the descriptive statistics of the corpus. The descriptive statistics (inclusive of the total number of words, means and standard deviations words and multimedia elements, such as photos, videos, emojis, hashtags, and hyperlinks) were summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Corpus of the Study

#	Descriptive Statistics	Value
1	The total number of FB status updates	147
2	The total number of words	7 385
3	Mean words	50.2
4	Standard deviation words	40.9
5	Maximum words	242
6	Minimum words	1
7	The total number of multimedia elements	813
8	Mean multimedia elements	5.5
9	Standard deviation multimedia elements	3.5
10	Maximum multimedia elements	19
11	Minimum multimedia elements	1
12	The total number of emojis	346
13	Mean emojis	2.6
14	Standard deviation emojis	1.5
15	Maximum emojis	13
16	Minimum emojis	1
17	The total number of photos	206
18	Mean photos	1.8
19	Standard deviation photos	2.3
20	Maximum photos	10
21	Minimum photos	1
22	The total number of videos	42
23	Mean videos	1.3
24	Standard deviation videos	1.5
25	Maximum videos	10
26	Minimum videos	1
27	The total number of hashtags	135
28	Mean hashtags	1.8
29	Standard deviation hashtags	1.5
30	Maximum hashtags	13
31	Minimum hashtags	1
32	The total number of hyperlinks	84
33	Mean hyperlinks	1.3
34	Standard deviation hyperlinks	0.6
35	Maximum hyperlinks	5
36	Minimum hyperlinks	1

The methodology of the present investigation was grounded in the cognitive-linguistic paradigm and involved both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. The qualitative analysis consisted in searching the corpus manually for the presence of metonymic mappings. The qualitative search was facilitated by a typology of conceptual metonymic mappings (see Kapranov 2001a, 2001b, 2002a) that eventuated between two contiguous concepts (the source and the target, respectively) within one frame (see Barcelona, 2011). The association of each metonymic mapping with its respective frame was established in line with the

definition of frame by Barcelona (2011). In addition, the qualitative analysis involved a manual search for multimodal elements, such as photos, videos, emojis, hashtags, and hyperlinks that were related to each individual metonymic mapping. The quantitative part of the analysis consisted in the following. Once the metonymic mappings and the accompanied multimedia elements were identified, they were turned to numeric representations and processed in SPSS in order to establish their frequency. The results of the analyses are further summarised and discussed in subsection 3.1 of the article.

3.1. Results and Discussion

In this section of the article, the results are presented in accordance with the RQs in the study. Let us summarise and discuss the results in conjunction with the first RQ, which aims at identifying metonymic mappings that are involved in GAP's status updates on Facebook within the timeframe from 1 June 2023 to 30 November 2023. The qualitative analysis of the corpus has yielded the results that are presented in alphabetic order in Table 2 below.

Table 2. A Qualitative Summary of the Metonymic Mappings in the Corpus

#	**Metonymic Mappings in the Corpus**	**Frames**
1	From a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter	Climate change
2	From the name of the corporation to its actions	Climate change
3	From the name of the country to the country's government	Climate change
4	From the name of the environmental organisation to its actions	Climate change
5	From the name of the vessel to its actions	Environmental protection

Whilst we will address the frequency of the occurrence of the metonymic mappings (see Table 2) further in the discussion section, let us focus on a qualitative interpretation of the results. In Table 2, we can see that there are several metonymic mappings whose source is associated with the name of the corporation, the name of the country, the name of the environmental organisation, and the name of the vessel (see # 2 – 5 in Table 2). Generalising, we may contend that the "name +" mapping involves the source as the name X and the target that is manifested by what X does, i.e., X's actions. Judging from the data, it follows that the majority of metonymic mappings "name +" (i.e., "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", and "from the name of the country to the country's government") are associated with the frame "climate change". The presence of the aforementioned mappings in the corpus lends support to the literature (Augé, 2019; Dancygier, 2023; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023), which indicates that metonymic mappings are likely to eventuate in climate change discourse. Even though the metonymic mapping "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter" does not involve the conceptual element of the corporation's/country's name, it belongs, nevertheless, to the same frame. In contrast to the frame "climate change", the metonymic mapping "from the name of the vessel to its actions" is restricted to the frame "environmental protection". As previously mentioned, two frames are distinguished in the data, namely "climate change" and "environmental protection", in which different types of metonymic mappings transpire (see Table 2).

Now, let us consider the metonymic mappings that occur in the frame "climate change". They are "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", "from the name of the country to the country's government", and "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter". The latter metonymic mapping is present in the GAP's status update on Facebook on 24 September 2023:

(1) "It is difficult for the sea turtles to lay their eggs as our beaches diminish due to erosion and sea level rise." 🐢💔 George Kalkalua, a dedicated turtle conservation volunteer on Moso Island, Vanuatu. Since 2008, George has witnessed a decline in turtle populations, primarily due to the effect of climate change on their natural habitat. Now, we have a chance to hold **big polluters** to account for the lives and ecosystems they are putting at risk. Join the fight for climate action which is going all the way to the highest court in the world by making a donation today. (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023) plus video

In (1), the phrase "big polluters" refers metonymically to fossil fuel corporations that pollute the atmosphere (i.e., they act as polluters) by producing oil and gas. Notably, in (1) "big polluters" is used rather generically without naming a concrete fossil fuel corporation. It could be posited that the phrase "big polluters" in (1) manifests a case of metonymy that represents, or in Garwood's (2013) terminology, encapsulates the concept of a fossil fuel corporation that alludes to a larger idea without fully stating it (ibid.).

The fact that GAP pays attention to corporate agenda is in line with the literature that describes the attitude of fossil fuel corporations to the issue of climate change (Kapranov, 2018b, 2016c; Livesey, 2002; Livesey & Kearins, 2002). In the present corpus, GAP makes ample references to a number of well-known international corporations (for instance, Shell, Toyota, etc.) by means of the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions". Notably, this mapping appears to be associated with negative and positive connotations. The negative connotation is illustrated by excerpts (2) – (4) below.

(2) **Shell** is suing Greenpeace International and Greenpeace UK and threatening an $8 MILLION damages claim for peacefully protesting their climate destruction ❌
They are a huge multi-billion dollar corporation trying to intimidate us, but we are a movement of people determined to fight for a livable planet 🌏✊ Together we can fight the court case and put pressure on **Shell** to stop drilling and start paying for their climate damage! (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

(3) We're just back from a great trip in Canberra with allies from WA, where we were hosted by Western Australian MPs Josh Wilson MP and Kate Chaney MP for a round table about Woodside's monstrous Burrup Hub. It was great to have support from Government MPs, the Cross Bench and the Greens. Politicians from all sides were shocked to learn **Woodside** wants to turn a pristine coral reef into a massive new gas hub and that this is clearly the most polluting project currently proposed in Australia. (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

(4) Did you know over 99% of cars sold by **Toyota** in 2022 still run on petrol? 🚙💨

Continuing to drive in the slow lane, blocking EV policy and spreading misinformation.

That's why this year they ranked third last out of all traditional automakers in Greenpeace's Automobile Environmental Guide. (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

In (2) – (4), the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is involved in the negatively connoted narratives that point to the fossil fuel corporations' role as polluters that are responsible for the so-called greenhouse gas emissions from burning gas and oil. In particular, the negativity is explicitly referred to in (4), which portrays Toyota, an international automobile manufacturer, as a corporation that continues "blocking EV policy and spreading misinformation".

Unlike excerpts (2) – (4), which represent a negative connotation of the metonymic mapping associated with a well-known corporate actor (e.g., Toyota), the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" appears to be positively connoted when it is referred to Woolworths, the biggest chain of supermarkets and grocery stores in Australia. The positive connotation is seen in excerpt (5) below:

(5) From supermarket to its actions #BREAKING **Woolworths** has committed to 100% electric home delivery trucks by 2030! 🥳🚚 Today's announcement will see over 1,200 electric trucks on our roads by 2030 powered by the wind and sun! Nice one, **Woolies**! 💚(Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

In (5), the positive context, in which the metonymic mapping is situated, is reinforced by the reference to Woolworths as a diminutive "Wollies". We may argue that in (5) there are, actually, two types of metonymic mappings, the first one is represented by the mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" and the other one is manifested by "from the company' full name to its diminutive". However, both of them refer to the company's action (e.g., "Woolworth has committed") that takes place within the frame "climate change", since "electric home delivery trucks" are thought to contribute to climate change mitigation as a clean source of transport.

Whilst (5) is connoted positively, the metonymic mapping "from the name of the country to the country's government" is connoted negatively, as exemplified by excerpt (6):

(6) Introducing Churmer, a climate justice activist from the beautiful island of Bonaire in the Caribbean! 🌴 Recently, he took a bold step and sued **the Netherlands** for stronger climate protection. Like many islands, Bonaire is in danger of sinking due to the climate crisis. Churmer joined our Pacific Climate Justice ship tour in Vanuatu - another place that's facing severe impacts of climate change. (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

In (6), the metonymic mapping "from the name of the country to the country's government" (e.g., "the Netherlands") represents a typical occurrence of the conceptual stand-for relationship between two contiguous concepts within the same frame, which, in our case, is embodied by "climate change". This type of metonymic mapping is rather frequently described in the literature (Augé, 2019; Bonnefille, 2011), which, for instance, reports that in metonymies similar to "France not doing enough to tackle climate change" (Bairin & Woodyatt, 24 April 2021), or "Australia must act now to raise climate targets" (Steggal, 27 October 2023), the name of the respective country is mapped onto the country's government and the actions that the government should undertake in relation to the issue of climate change.

Finally, in the frame "climate change", let us consider the metonymic mapping "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", as emblematised by excerpt (7):

(7) **Greenpeace** joined hundreds of people outside Woodside's Perth headquarters for a Vigil to oppose Woodside seismic blasting in endangered whale habitat. This is what community care and action looks like! 💚🕯️ Thanks to everyone who came along and made their voices heard. Let's keep going! (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

In (7), the metonymic mapping "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions" foregrounds the concept of an organisation, in our case, Greenpeace, whose conceptual structure is mapped onto the actions the organisation, for instance, "Greenpeace joined hundreds of people". Whilst this type of metonymic mapping is rarely reported in the literature on metonymy in climate change discourse, it is mentioned rather abundantly in studies on corporate discourse (Koller, 2006; Schoeneborn et al., 2016).

In contrast to the aforementioned metonymic mappings that are present in the frame "climate change", the metonymic mapping "from the name of the vessel to its actions" occurs in the frame "environmental protection", as shown in excerpt (8):

(8) While **the Rainbow Warrior** was visiting Scott Reef in Western Australia, we were delighted to have special guests Sailing La Vagabonde join us! ⛵💚 Definitely worth a watch if you've ever wondered what life is like onboard our iconic flagship vessel! (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023)

In (8), arguably, the metonymic mapping is reliant on a more abstract schema TOOL for ACTION (Barcelona, 2015), which is instantiated in the frame "environmental protection". The name of the iconic vessel, the Rainbow Warrior, is conceptualised as a TOOL that performs a number of actions (e.g., the Rainbow Warrior visits/was visiting) in line with the environmental agenda. We will return to discussing the role of the Rainbow Warrior later in the article when the frequency of the occurrence of the metonymic mappings is dwelt upon.

Having presented and discussed RQ 1, let us proceed to the next RQ in the study (i.e., RQ 2), which seeks to establish the frequency of the occurrence of metonymic mappings in the corpus. It is graphically represented by Figure 1 below.
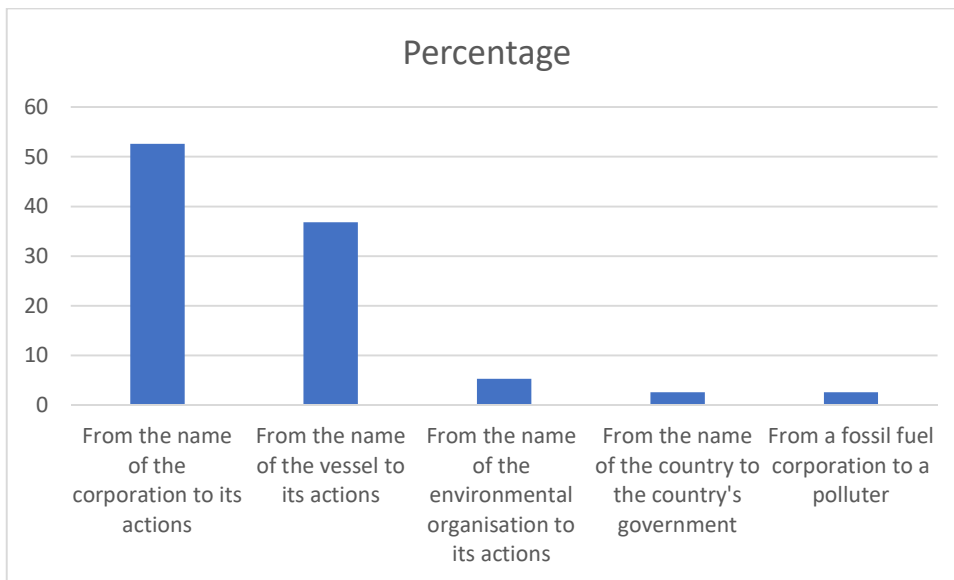
Figure 1. The Frequency of the Occurrence of Metonymic Mappings
in the Corpus

In total, 38 cases of metonymy have been identified in the study. Among them, the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is the most frequent one (N = 20, or 52,6%). This finding is indicative of the priorities set by GAP in its climate change-related agenda, which consists in campaigning against international and domestic corporate actors that fail to consider the issue of climate change in their activities. The only exception in GAP's negative attitude towards big corporate actors is represented by Woolworths (see excerpt 5), whose climate change-related undertakings are seen rather favourably by GAP. In other cases, however, the most frequent metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is negatively connoted. Judging from the data, the frequency of this mapping in the corpus is explained by GAP's attention to Woodside, which is one of the largest Australian petroleum exploration and production companies. Specifically, between 1 June 2023 and 30 November 2023, GAP's status updates on Facebook appear to be quite often associated with Woodside and its activities that involve Burrup Hub, an untapped gas field off the Western Australian coast. As already illustrated by excerpt (3), GAP reacts negatively to Woodside's drilling activities that risk "to turn a pristine coral reef into a massive new gas hub" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023). Hence, we can argue that the frequency of the occurrence of the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is clarified by GAP's particular focus on the corporate world. Indirectly, this finding provides support to a number of prior studies (Kapranov, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018b; Livesey, 2002; Livesey & Kearins, 2002) that demonstrate the importance of metonymy, as well as metaphor, in climate change-related narratives by corporate actors and their opponents, that, in our case, are represented by GAP.

Another frequent metonymic mapping in the corpus is "from the name of the vessel to its actions" (N = 14, or 36,8%). The frequency of its occurrence is determined by the significance of the Rainbow Warrior as a Greenpeace ship that

was involved in numerous campaigns against whaling and nuclear testing. The original Rainbow Warrior sank in Auckland (New Zealand) in 1985. However, the current Rainbow Warrior has been in operation since 2011 (Greenpeace, 2023). We may argue that the frequency of the occurrence of the metonymic mapping "from the name of the vessel to its actions" in the corpus is reflective of the iconic status of the Rainbow Warrior, which is regarded by GAP as a symbol of its environmental campaigns.

Lastly in the discussion, let us consider the third RQ in the study. To reiterate, RQ 3 aims to establish a possible presence of multimodal components that are involved in metonymic mappings in GAP's status updates on Facebook. The data analysis has revealed that there are multiple multimodal elements in the corpus (the total N of multimedia elements = 813, mean = 5.5, standard deviation = 3.5). However, not all of them are associated with the metonymic mappings, as indicated by the quantitative analysis (the number of multimodal elements associated with metonymic mappings = 205, mean = 5.5, standard deviation = 4.0). It is evident from the data that out of 205 multimodal elements, the majority of them are manifested by emojis (N = 71, mean = 2.3, standard deviation = 1.0). Taking into consideration the literature, these findings can be considered novel, since the prior research points out to the predominant role of photos as a multimodal element in climate change discourse (Dancygier, 2023; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023; O'Neill, 2022).

It follows from the present data that emojis accompany all types of the metonymic mappings in the corpus (see Table 2). Judging from the data, emojis play a subsidiary pragmatic role in (i) manifesting the GAP's attitude towards a piece of news communicated in the status update, as in excerpt (8), e.g. "While **the Rainbow Warrior** was visiting Scott Reef in Western Australia, we were delighted to have special guests Sailing La Vagabonde join us! ⛵💚" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023), and (ii) illustrating the focal point in a status update, as in, for example, excerpt (4) "Did you know over 99% of cars sold by **Toyota** in 2022 still run on petrol? 🚙💨" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2023). We can summarise that emojis rather frequently accompany metonymic mappings in the corpus, which appear to be a combination of text and emojis. This finding allows us to argue that metonymy in the corpus is manifested by a verbopictorial type of multimodal metonymy in the sense postulated by Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023).

Another frequently occurring multimodal element is represented by photos (N = 70, mean = 2.3, standard deviation = 3.0), whilst hashtags, hyperlinks, and videos are less frequent, as illustrated by Figure 2. It should be observed that the multimodal elements in Figure 2 are given as the percentage to the number (N = 205, or 100%) that accompanies metonymic mappings.

Following the results of the data analysis summarised in Figure 2, it seems reasonable to contend that the metonymic mappings in the corpus are typically accompanied by emojis and photos, which impart a visual dimension to GAP's status updates on Facebook. A substantial visual multimodal element that is involved in the instances of metonymy in the corpus buttresses the prior studies by O'Neill (2022), Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023), and Dancygier (2023), who argue that metonymy in climate change discourse is concomitant with visual multimodality.
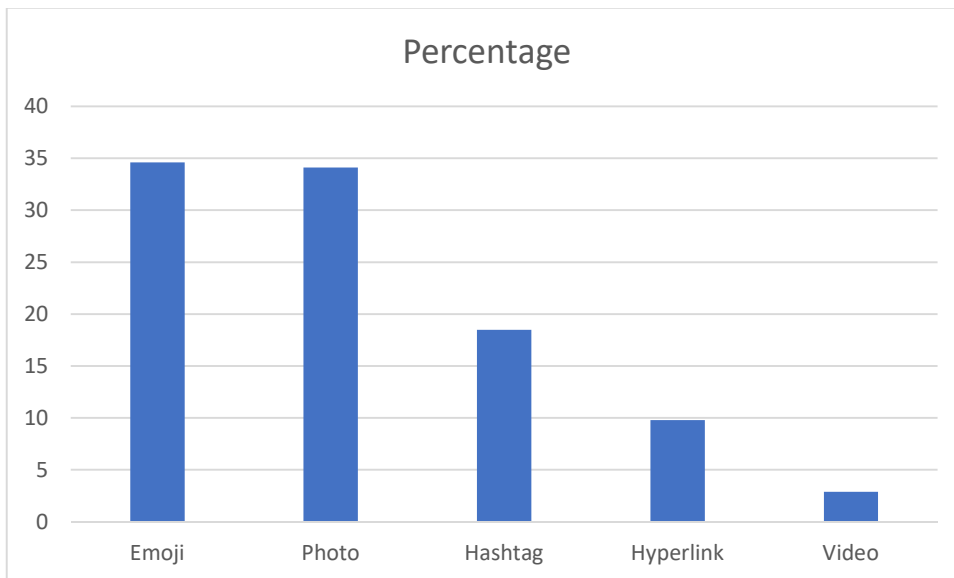
Figure 2. The Distribution of Multimodal Elements Associated
with Metonymic Mappings

4. Conclusions

The article discussed a mixed-methods study whose aims were to identify and quantify the types of metonymic mappings in the corpus of Facebook status update by GAP. In addition, the study sought to learn about whether or not metonymic mappings in the corpus would be accompanied by multimodality. The results of the qualitative data analysis revealed that there were five types of metonymic mappings, which were associated with two frames, namely "climate change" and "environmental protection". The former involved the metonymic mappings "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter", "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the country to the country's government", and "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", whilst the latter was manifested by the mapping "from the name of the vessel to its actions". The metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" was found to be the most frequent in the corpus. However, irrespective of the frequency of the occurrence, all metonymic mapping were accompanied by, at least, one multimodal element. The most frequent multimodal element in the corpus was represented by emojis, which were closely followed by photos.

Summarising the findings, it would be feasible to postulate that the instances of metonymy in GAP's status updates on Facebook involved, mainly, the frame "climate change", in which metonymy was associated with the big international and domestic corporate actors. GAP's particular focus on corporate actors, first of all, fossil fuel corporations, was accompanied by metonymies that eventuated from the mappings "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter" and "from the name of the corporation to its actions". The findings could be epitomised by the contention that GAP's status updates on Facebook, to an extent, were centred on the issue of climate change and the role the "big polluters" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific, 2013) were playing in it.

In terms of the implications to the field of online communication on SNSs on the topics of climate change and environmental sustainability, the study revealed the importance of metonymy and multimodality, especially emojis, in GAP's communication of its agenda. The findings could facilitate further studies on climate

change discourse by non-profit environmental organisations in the Southern Hemisphere and worldwide.

Acknowledgements

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Резюме

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МЕТОНІМІЯ В ОНЛАЙН-ДИСКУРСІ GREENPEACE AUSTRALIA PACIFIC НА FACEBOOK

Постановка проблеми. Greenpeace Australia Pacific є «незалежною організацією, що проводить кампанії та використовує мирний протест і творче протистояння, щоб викрити глобальні екологічні проблеми» (Greenpeace, 2023), такі як питання зміни клімату та екологічної стійкості. Greenpeace Australia Pacific часто повідомляє про вищезазначені проблеми своїм стейкхолдерам і широкій громадськості через онлайн-засоби, наприклад, Facebook. З огляду на те, що наразі недостатньо досліджень, які вивчають

онлайн-дискурс Greenpeace Australia Pacific у Facebook, ця стаття представляє дослідження, яке має на меті дослідити, як Greenpeace Australia Pacific використовує метонімію для комунікації питань, пов'язаних зі зміною клімату та навколишнього середовища.

Мета. Мета дослідження – дати відповіді на наступні дослідницькі запитання (ЗП): **ЗП 1**: Які метонімічні перенесення використовуються Greenpeace Australia Pacific в статусах на Facebook? **ЗП 2**: Які метонімічні перенесення найчастіше зустрічаються в статусах Greenpeace Australia Pacific на Facebook? **ЗП 3**: Чи є мультимодальні компоненти, які беруть участь у метонімічних перенесеннях, у статусах Greenpeace Australia Pacific на Facebook?

Методи. Методологія ґрунтувалася на когнітивно-лінгвістичній парадигмі та охоплювала якісні та кількісні виміри. Якісний аналіз полягав у пошуку метонімічних перенесень, які виникали між двома суміжними концептами (джерелом і метою, відповідно) в одному фреймі. Крім того, якісний аналіз передбачав пошук мультимодальних елементів, які були пов'язані з кожним окремим метонімічним перенесенням. Кількісна частина аналізу полягала в обробці метонімічних перенесень і мультимедійних елементів у SPSS (IBM, 2011) з метою встановлення їх частотності.

Результати. Результати якісного аналізу свідчать про те, що в корпусі присутні такі метонімічні перенесення: «від корпорації з викопного палива до забруднювача», «від назви корпорації до її дій», «від назви країни до уряду країни», «від назви екологічної організації до її дій», і «від назви судна до його дій». Результати кількісного дослідження показують, що в корпусі найбільш частотним є метонімічне перенесення «від назви корпорації до її дій», яке супроводжується мультимодальністю.

Дискусія. У корпусі є кілька метонімічних перенесень, джерело яких пов'язане з назвами корпорації, країни, природоохоронної організації та судна. З наших даних випливає, що метонімічні перенесення, які мають елемент «назва +», відбуваються у фреймі «зміна клімату». Незважаючи на те, що метонімічне перенесення «від корпорації з викопного палива до забруднювача» не включає концептуальний елемент назви корпорації/країни, воно, тим не менш, належить до того самого фрейма. На відміну від фрейма «зміна клімату», метонімічне перенесення «від назви судна до його дій» обмежене фреймом «охорона навколишнього середовища».

Ключові слова: зміна клімату, дискурс, екологічна стійкість, Facebook, Greenpeace Australia Pacific, онлайн-дискурс, метонімія.

Abstract

Kapranov Oleksandr

METONYMY IN ONLINE DISCOURSE ON FACEBOOK BY GREENPEACE AUSTRALIA PACIFIC

Background. Greenpeace Australia Pacific is an "independent campaigning organization that uses peaceful protest and creative confrontation to expose global environmental problems" (Greenpeace, 2023), such as the issues of climate change and environmental sustainability. The aforementioned problems are often communicated by Greenpeace Australia Pacific to its stakeholders and the general public via online means, for instance, Facebook. Given that currently there is insufficient research that investigates Greenpeace Australia Pacific's online discourse on Facebook, this article presents a mixed-methods study that aims to

explore how metonymy is used in disseminating environmental and climate change-related issues by Greenpeace Australia Pacific.

Purpose. The purpose of the study is to provide answers to the following research questions (RQs): **RQ 1**: What kind of metonymic mappings are involved in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook? **RQ 2**: What are the most frequent metonymic mappings in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook? **RQ 3**: Are there multimodal components that are involved in metonymic mappings in Greenpeace Australia Pacific's status updates on Facebook?

Methods. The methodology was grounded in the cognitive-linguistic paradigm and involved qualitative and quantitative dimensions. The qualitative analysis consisted in searching the corpus manually for the presence of metonymic mappings. The qualitative search was facilitated by a typology of conceptual metonymic mappings that eventuated between two contiguous concepts (the source and the target, respectively) within one frame. Also, the qualitative analysis involved a manual search for multimodal elements that were associated with each individual metonymic mapping. The quantitative part of the analysis consisted in processing the metonymic mappings and multimedia elements in SPSS (IBM, 2011) in order to establish their frequency.

Results. The results of the qualitative analysis indicate that there are the following metonymic mappings in the corpus: "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter", "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the country to the country's government", "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", and "from the name of the vessel to its actions". The results of the quantitative investigation show that the metonymic mapping "from the name of the corporation to its actions" is the most frequent in the corpus. Furthermore, its occurrence is concomitant with multimodality.

Discussion. There are several metonymic mappings in the corpus whose source is associated with the names of corporations, countries, environmental organisations, and vessels. Judging from the data, it follows that the metonymic mappings "name +" (i.e., "from the name of the corporation to its actions", "from the name of the environmental organisation to its actions", and "from the name of the country to the country's government") take place in the frame "climate change". Even though the metonymic mapping "from a fossil fuel corporation to a polluter" does not involve the conceptual element of the corporation's/country's name, it belongs, nevertheless, to the same frame. In contrast to the frame "climate change", the metonymic mapping "from the name of the vessel to its actions" is restricted to the frame "environmental protection".

Key words: climate change, discourse, environmental sustainability, Facebook, Greenpeace Australia Pacific, online discourse, metonymy.

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МОВНА КОМПЕТЕНЦІЯ ТА КОМУНІКАЦІЯ

Erika Jasionytė-Mikučionienė

RESPONSE PARTICLES
IN LITHUANIAN CONVERSATION
AND TURN DESIGN

The paper deals with response particles in Lithuanian conversation. The results of the analysis provide evidence that sequential environments response particles are used in turn out to be central. Thus, the distinctive usages and functions of the particles are investigated in the following sequences: questions-answers, assertions-reactions and directives-reactions. The paper considers similarities and contrasts among the Lithuanian affirmative as well as negative particles. The results of the analysis show that the particles mainly appear in positive responses, thus the inventory of the affirmative particles is much more abundant than that of negative particles. The primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar (yes-no) questions, as responses to assertions or directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. Affirmative particles firstly operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles, on their turn, primarily operate as disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Sequential contexts appear to have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of response particles that have not been discussed in Lithuanian grammars.

Key words: response particles, affirmative and negative particles, question-answer sequences, Lithuanian conversation, turn design.

1. Introduction

Cross-linguistically, the semantic class of particles have been studied from different perspectives: their multifunctionality, position in a sentence and discourse, correlation with the information structure and the so called peripheries of a sentence (resp. utterance) (König 1991; Fischer 2000; Aijmer 2002; Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2003; König & Siemund 2007; Haselow 2012; Grosz 2016; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017 among others). By emphasizing the relationship between particles and discourse structure, numerous studies have provided typological accounts of response (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017), interrogative (Siemund 2001; Metslang et al. 2011), emotive (Xiang 2011) and other classes of particles.

Over the past few years, response particles (RPs) have been discussed within interactional studies (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001;

Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 among others). Various umbrella terms are used to name the particles under consideration: 'listener responses' (Oreström 1983), 'discourse markers' (e. g., *oh* in Schiffrin 1987), 'linguistic feedback' (Allwood et al. 1992), 'backchannels' (Angles et al. 2000), 'response particles' (Sorjonen 2001) and others. More specifically, RPs have been the subject of investigations on turn-initial particles that are initially positioned in a turn at talk. All turn-initial particles are produced in reaction to prior turns and project upcoming responses (Heritage, 2018, p. 182). While most turn-initial particles have both backward and forward orientations, one of them are more forward looking (for example, English *well*), while others – more backward looking (for example, English *oh*) (Heritage, Sorjonen, 2018, p. 13). Different RPs may share contexts of use, however, «[r]esponse particles that share sequential environments can in a very refined way differ from each other, not only in terms of the stance to what should follow, but also how they treat their prior talk, when looking backward. Here, the epistemic and affective construction of the prior talk turns out to be central» (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 31).

In Lithuanian, the inventory of particles is heterogeneous both in their semantic and structural respect (LG II 1971, p. 543-576; Ambrazas, ed., 2006, p. 432-437). The existing descriptions focus more on individual particles (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), while a more systematic account of different semantic classes of particles based on synchronic as well as diachronic data is still lacking. As a consequence, Lithuanian response particles have received little attention by linguists. The origin and meanings in Old Lithuanian have been sketched in Lithuanian etymological dictionaries (Fraenkel 1962, 1965; Smoczyński 2007), also in Ambrazas (2006), Nau & Ostrowski (2010). From a synchronic perspective, RPs were analyzed in descriptive Lithuanian grammars (LG II 1971; Ambrazas, ed. 1997, 2006). Thus, the paper aims at exploring functional distribution of the RPs in Present-day Lithuanian, their role in discourse structure and its impact on functions of RPs. Special attention is paid to the relation of the particle to the preceding (as well as to the upcoming) turn and its design. Besides, the paper considers similarities and contrasts among the Lithuanian affirmative as well as negative particles.

2. Response particles in grammars and dictionaries

The particles under consideration are used as responses in conversation: they function as answers to polar questions and as reactions to affirmations or other clause (resp. speech act) types, cf.:

(1) *Ar ateisi rytoj?* 'Will you come tomorrow?'
  a. **Taip**, *ateisiu.* 'Yes, I will.'
  b. **Ne**, *neateisiu.* 'No, I will not.'

An answer to the question provided above, *Ar ateisi rytoj?* 'Will you come tomorrow?', is either the affirmative particle *taip* 'yes', or the negative particle *ne* 'no'. Both polar particles (*taip* and *ne*) belong to the core set of Lithuanian response particles. However, one can witness a distribution of particles depending on the variety of the language: in standard Lithuanian, the only affirmative particle in use is *taip* 'yes' (Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 398). In colloquial Lithuanian, particles *taigi* 'yes', *jo, aha* 'yeah', *mhm* 'hmm' can also be used instead. The negative particle *ne* 'no' is used in all (standard and non-standard) language varieties.

Table 1. The inventory of Lithuanian response particles

LITHUANIAN RESPONSE PARTICLES (RPs)	
TAIP, JO, AHA, MHM, NU	NE
Affirmative (*yes*-type) *particles*	*Negative* (*no*-type) *particles*

In Lithuanian grammars, affirmative as well as negative particles are perceived as distinct semantic-functional types (Ambrazas ed., 1997, p. 397). Affirmative particles are characterised as modal words that express the speaker's attitude to the content of the utterance (ibid.). The prototypical affirmative particle *taip* 'yes' is often used alone as an affirmative reply to a (polar) question:

(2) – *Ar važiuosi namo?* – **Taip**.
'Will you go home? - Yes.'

This particle is also used when confirming negation (a), in echo questions to express speaker's surprise (b), as an emphatic marker (c) and with adverbs (d), cf.:

(a) – *Juk jūs ten nebuvote?*
– **Taip**, *nebuvau.*
'But you weren't there, were you? - No, I wasn't (lit. Yes, I wasn't.)'
(b) – *Ar žinai, kad jis grįžo?*
– **Taip***? Nežinojau.*
'Do you know he is back? - Really? No, I didn't.'
(c) *Čia* **taip** *gražu.*
'It is so nice here.'
(d) **taip** *gražiai*
'so nicely'

(Examples from Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)

In Standard Lithuanian, four negative particles are in use: the principal particles *ne* 'no, not' and *nebe* 'not (any more / longer)', and also *nė* and *nei* 'not (a)', 'not even' (Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399). The particle *ne* can be used singly in response to a general question. In a reply to a negative question, this particle expresses confirmation and in a reply to a positive question, it expresses negation; cf. respectively (3) and (4):

(3) – *Nematei jo?* – **Ne**.   'You didn't see him? - No.'
(4) – *Ar grįši šiandien ?* – **Ne**.   'Will you return today? - No.'

(Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)

The particle *nebe* differs from *ne* in that it is used to negate continuation of an action or state that has gone on for some time; cf. (5a) and (5b):

(5a) *Mano sūnus* **ne** *toks greitas.*
'My son is not so fast.'
(5b) *Mano sūnus (jau)* **nebe** *toks greitas.*
'My son is not so fast any longer.'

It should be mentioned that the particles *ne* and *nebe* also double as negative prefixes:

(6) *Jis buvo* **ne***geras.*
'He was not good.'
(7) *Jis* **nebe***rašo.*
'He does not write anymore.'

In spelling, those prefixes adjoin verbs, adjectives etc., in accordance with Lithuanian orthography. When a Lithuanian question contains a negated form of a verb, for example:

(8) *Juk jūs ten* **ne***buvote?*
'You weren't there, were you?'

One can reply to this question by saying: *Ne, buvau* lit. 'No, (but) I was', which denies the implied negative presupposition and affirms the opposite. Also, the response *Taip, nebuvau* ('No, I wasn't') is possible which affirms the negative presupposition.

Another negative particle *nė* denotes emphatic negation (a sentence usually contains another negative marker), cf. (9a) and (9b):

(9a) *Aš jo nepastebėjau.*
'I didn't notice him'
(9b) *Aš jo **nė** nepastebėjau.*
'l didn't even notice him'

(Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)

However, it contradicts grammar for the particle *nė* to be in a standalone position in a sentence, since it should attach the negative form of the verb.

Lithuanian dictionaries provide insights into the use of the particles. The very first usage of the particle *taip* 'yes' mentioned by the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Language* is as an affirmative answer to *yes-no* questions and a means to express confirmation. It is a Lithuanian word which is etymologically associated with the demonstrative pronoun *tai* 'that' (Fraenkel, 1965, p. 1051). As indicated in the dictionary, the particle *jo* 'yeah', by contrast, is a loan word from German. Its meanings are described as equivalent to the German particle *ja* 'yes', and the dictionary gives an earliest example from written Lithuanian in 1857. However, the ultimate Germanic source of the Lithuanian *jo* 'yeah' as well as the date of its origin are difficult to establish due to the lack of research on this issue[1]. Examples with the particle *aha* come from spoken speech as well. It was also attested for the first time in 19th century. The particle *mhm* is absent in Lithuanian dictionaries. The particle *nu* is characterized as an emphatic particle and as being capable of conveying positive responses to questions or assertions. Examples that illustrate the usage of the particle date from the beginning of the 20th century. The negative particle *ne* 'no' is characterised in Lithuanian dictionaries as the one that ascribes to the word it goes with the meaning of negation. The very first examples of this particle come from Old Lithuanian writings (16-17th c.).

3. Data and methods

The study is mainly based on speech data. For the synchronic analysis, the data was obtained from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian*[2], namely, its sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication which is about 121,788 words. The sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication includes informal talks with friends, relatives and family members.

In spoken Lithuanian, the inventory of response particles is more abundant than in written Lithuanian. Table 2 below gives the overall distribution of the particles in spontaneous private speech. As can be seen, the particles *nu* 'well' and *ne*[3] 'no' clearly outrank other response particles (there are 1398 occurrences of *nu*

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[1] I am grateful to the reviewers for bringing this to my attention.
[2] *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian* is a morphologically annotated corpus collected at Vytautas Magnus University (sakytinistekstynas.vdu.lt). The creation of the corpus was supported by the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation (2006-2008), the Research Council of Lithuania under The National Lithuanian studies development programme for 2009-2015 (LIT-9-11) and the State Lithuanian Studies and Dissemination Programme for 2016-2024 (LIP-085/2016). The corpus consists of more than 320,000 words.
[3] Note that the negative response particle exists in two forms in spoken Lithuanian: *ne* and *nea* (with a glottal stop). However, this distinction is not reflected in the analysed data.

and 1266 occurrences of *ne*). The high number of instances of *nu* 'well' and *ne* 'no' is related to the fact that the particles enter a wider range of sequential environments than other RPs: both particles are found not only in responsive, but also in non-responsive contexts, they are multifunctional and often appear in sequences with other particles. It should be mentioned that the particle *taip* 'yes' functions not only as a particle, but also as an adverb (see examples (c)-(d) on Page 3). The cases where *taip* functions as an adverb fall outside the focus of the present study. What is more, the affirmative particle *jo* 'yeah' is characteristic for spontaneous speech, and it overtakes the particle *taip* 'yes' in the data (712 and 425 occurrences respectively).

Table 2. Overall raw frequencies of the particles in the corpus

	Spontaneous private speech (121,788) Raw frequency
TAIP 'yes'	425
JO 'yeah'	712
AHA 'yeah'	211
MHM 'mhm'	414
NU 'well'	1398
NE 'no'	1266

Since raw frequencies of response particles under study varies, for the present study 100 samples of each particle were selected (600 examples in total).

Also, *the Database of Old LT Writings* was used to sketch the functional profile of RPs in the earliest stage of Lithuanian, i. e., in the 16th century. The electronic texts and concordances of *The Postilla* by Jonas Bretkūnas (1591) and *The Postilla Catholica* by Mikalojus Daukša (DP, 1599) were consulted.

When analysing the particles in the Lithuanian language, the principles of conversation analysis (CA) were applied. The focus of CA was on turns and sequences, the mechanisms through which conversers take turns and on understanding of how dialogue turns form larger sequences. As a consequence, the Lithuanian RPs are studied in interaction: the functions of the particles under investigation are based on the structure of the conversation in which they are used, the previous segment of the discourse. Thus, the Lithuanian response particles are investigated with respect to their place in turns and sequences as well as with a relationship to the prior and the following remark.

Note that the distinction among the categories of *discourse particles, discourse markers, pragmatic particles* and *modal particles* cross-linguistically as well as language-particularly is not clear and well established (cf. Panov 2023). However, response particles used in discourse and fulfilling discourse functions are labelled as discourse particles in the present study. The Lithuanian response particles functioning as discourse particles occur in language-specific constructions.

4. Response particles in Old Lithuanian writings

While trying to sketch the usage of RPs in the earliest texts of Lithuanian, one must note that in Old Lithuanian, only the items *taip* 'yes', *ne* 'no' and *nu* 'well' are attested: the particles *jo* 'yeah', *aha* and *mhm* are absent. This may be due to the nature of the earliest Lithuanian texts: these are written texts and do not reflect

actual speech of the period. In the analysed Old Lithuanian texts, the particle *taip* 'yes' prototypically functions as an adverb (9-11) or a conjunction (12):

(10) *Beͭ ßitůs wienu ʒodʒiu / kaip perkûnų ſudauʒo Iônas s. kad **teip** bîlo / O Díewas buwo taſsai ʒodis.* (DP 44,24)

'But John shatters these like a thunderbolt with a single word whenever they speak **like that**; and God was that word.'

(11) *Del to tu weiſdi ßwairai / iog aſch **teip** geras eſmi?* (BP I 230,17)

'That's why you're staring so hard that I'm **so** good?'

(12) *Man macʒis ira důta **teip** danguie kaip ßemeie.* (BP I 10,20)

'Power is given to me both in heaven and on earth'

Example (11) illustrates an emphatic context, where *taip* accompanies the adjective *geras* "good" and functions as an emphasizer. In (12), the particle *taip* forms a correlative conjunction *taip… kaip…* 'as… as'. As indicated in examples above, *taip* 'yes' in most cases takes medial position: there are no cases where the particle appears in initial position in responses to a previous discourse (resp. text segments). The particle *ne* 'no', by contrast, is already used as a particle. It is found in responsive contexts, e. g.:

(13) *Er eſſi Prarakas? Atſake anas / **Ne.*** (BP I 39,5)

'Are you a prophet? - **No**, - he replied.'

Here, the particle *ne* 'no' stands as a negative reply to a polar question. Besides, in BP and DP, *ne* functions as a part of correlative conjunctions ***ne**tiktai..., net ir...*, ***ne**tiktai..., bet ir...* ('not only…, but also…') that are used to connect and emphasize two constituents at the same position, cf.:

(14) *Taꝺ praßúko wiſsá miniá / biłôdama. **Ne** tą / beͭ imk' tą / o ißłáiſk' múmus Barabôßių.* (DP 168a(168),15-16)

'Then the whole crowd shouted and spoke: '**Not** this one, but take that one and release Barabbas to us.'

(15) *[I]r taſsai ira numaldimu muſu grieku / o **ne**tiktai muſu / net ir wiſso Swieto.* (BP II 102,10)

'He is expiation for our sins, and **not** only for our sins but for those of the whole world.'

Turning to the particle *nu* 'well', in Old Lithuanian writings, the particle is employed as a temporal adverb and carries a meaning of 'now', cf.:

(16) *Ką aß daráu /tu **nų** neʒinái: bet <u>potam</u> ʒinôſsi.* (DP 136,4)

'What I do, you don't know **now**, but you will know later.'

In (16), the meaning of time is reinforced by another lexical marker conveying time, i. e. by the adverb *potam* "later". The marker under study is also characteristic for other languages: Slavic (*no, nu*), German (*na, nu, nun, nuna, nǻ*), even for aerially distant Semitic languages (Sawicki, 2012, p. 163; Auer, Maschler 2016). Thus, the spread of *na/nu* markers exhibits an areal tendency. There is evidence of universal developmental paths of the markers under consideration: in previous stages of different languages, *na/nu* served as a deictic adverb of time and eventually evolved into a discourse particle (see Auer, Maschler, 2016). Due to the lack of research on the Lithuanian data, it is hard to say whether the origin of the Lithuanian particle *nu* 'well' can be explained through its relation to the adverbs *nu* and *nūnai* 'now/today'.

Typically, *nu* 'well' is found in medial position though at times it may be used clause-initially as well, cf.:

(17) *Pirmo pamokſlo ſchos Schwentes / ape Dangaus ßengima Pono Kriſtaus / **Nu** klauſikit teipaieg ir antro pamokſlo.* (BP II 117,9)

'The first sermon of this feast about the ascension of Christ. **Now** listen to the second sermon as well.'

The particle *nu* in the initial position can no longer be associated with the deictic meaning of time, but with the text-deictic meaning: the author indicates that it is at this place in the text one has to listen to the second sermon. In other words, in such cases *nu* refers to a specific place in a text. As noted by Lenker (2010, p. 61), the adverbial *nu* 'now' in Old English used to be associated not only with real time, but also with text creation time, and, as a consequence, tended to be used with verbs referring to the following text. In this respect, the Lithuanian adverb *nu* can also be interpreted as a metalinguistic device indicating text producing time and projecting the text that follows (resp. discourse).

5. Response particles in Present-day Lithuanian: affirmative type

To begin with, the functions of the particles under study will be shown to be closely related to the grammatical construction of their prior talk. The data show that RPs appear in question-answer, also assertion-reaction and directive-reaction sequences. The diagram below indicates that the particles (affirmative as well as negative) most frequently follow assertions and questions.
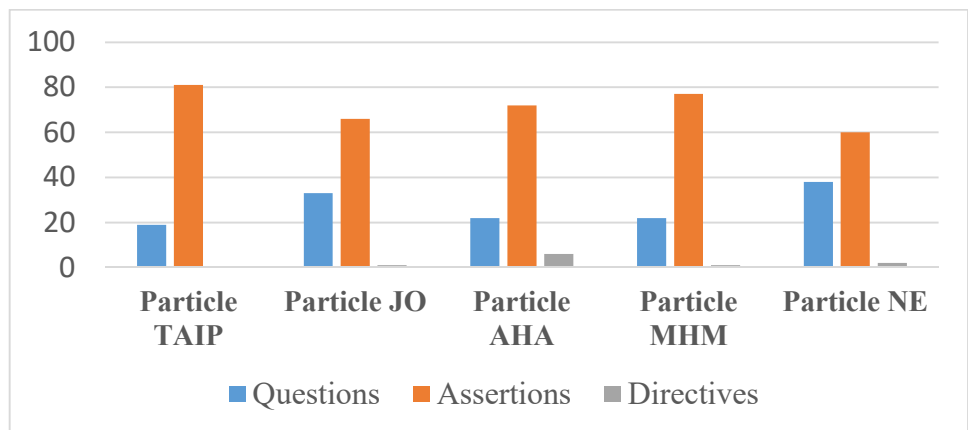
Thus, primary functions of the particles encompass responding to previous turns. When the *yes*-type particles (i. e. *taip, jo, aha, mhm*) are in postposition to questions, they serve as affirmative answers to *yes-no* questions, cf. (18):

(18)

Draugai kalbasi:	'Friends are talking:
A: +< Ką baigei?	*A: What studies did you finish?
B: Baigiau filologiją, dabar kalbotyrą stud@nz [:studijuoju] +/.	*B: I graduated from philology, now I am studying linguistics.
A: +< Filologija yra su kalbom(is)?	*A: Is phylology about languages?
*B: **Taip**.*	*B: **Yes**.'

In such conversational environments, the *yes*-type particles function as confirmation devices: by using a certain response particle, the speaker acknowledges that a proposition of a previous utterance is true. Moreover, there are contexts where the affirmative particles are used in index epistemic stance, namely, the particles respond to a previous turn that implies co-participant's uncertainty with respect to what Speaker B has said or to the existence of some state of affairs. As confirmation devices, the affirmative particles typically stand alone in an utterance and seal the whole sequence initiated by a *yes-no* question.

The Lithuanian affirmative particles are used not only to answer polar questions, but also to confirm any fact or thought; thus, they can also stand as agreement markers, cf. (19-20):

(19)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje:
*A: Žinai, slenkantis grafikas, blemba@k, išeis šventėm(s), dirbsi.

*B: Nu **taip**, čia jau minusas toks, nieko nepakeisi.

‘**Friends talking in a cafe:**
*A: You know, rotating schedule, if there are holidays, you will have to work.
*B: Well, **yes**, that's the drawback, you won't change anything.’

(20)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:
*A: Kam, neapsimoka, jeigu skrydis, nu kad ten jau nuo pusės keturių jau įleidžia į tą laukimo salę.
*B: Ai.
*A: Nu, tai nieko neapsimoka daryt(i) jau.
*B: **Jo**, ten paskiau nenuvažiuosi, gali nespėt(i).

‘**Mother and daughter talking at home:**
*A: Why, not worth it if the flight; well, they let you into that waiting room from half past three.
*B: Ah.
*A: Well, it's not worth doing anything already.
*B: **Yeah**, you won't go there then, you might not make it.’

Sequences with response particles as agreement markers are initiated by assertions. By indicating agreement, the Lithuanian *yes*-type particles confirm a previous statement and admit it as being true. The speakers share the access to what is being talked about: in (18), Speaker B agrees with the fact that a rotating schedule is a drawback, and, in (19), Speaker B agrees with the statement that "it's not worth doing anything already". In such cases, the affirmative particles respond to the prior "affiliation-relevant utterance" (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 167) that displays a stance toward an issue that the speaker treats as known to the recipient. In other words, the speaker claims affiliation by implying 'I agree with you, and I am on your side'.

The *yes*-type particles can appear in questions themselves. In such cases, the speaker uses the particles *taip* or *jo* to ask or request for confirmation: (s)he checks information that (s)he thinks (s)he knows is true, cf.:

(21)

Vaikas ir mama žiūri nuotraukas:
*A: Viskas, pykstu, reikia eit(i) eiti miegučio, **jo**?
*B: Mhhh.
*A: Aha, reik(ia) eiti miegučio, **taip**?
*B: Mhhh.

‘**A child and mother are looking at pictures:**
*A: That's it, I'm angry, you need to go and take a nap, **huh**?
*B: Mhhh.
*A: Yeah, gotta go take a nap, **yeah**?
*B: Mhhh.’

As can be seen from the example, one finds the affirmative particles *jo* and *taip* in interrogative tags. We can talk of the association of RPs with questions which invite confirmation of knowledge which the questioner already possesses. Simultaneously, such questions formulate themselves as answers that do not provide (any) new information. The latter claim may be justified by the provided example (21) where interrogative tags are followed by the affirmative particle *mhm* indicating weak

commitment of the co-participant to the conversation: the particle *mhm* stands alone and closes the turn in which it is used.

In assertion-reaction paired turns, the *yes*-type particles encode various further intersubjective meanings, for example speaker's understanding (22) or surprise (23):

(22)

Namuose šeima dirba kompiuteriais:	'At home, the family works on computers:
A: Paduok man atmintuką iš stalčiuko.	*A: Give me the USB from the drawer.
B: Tuoj paduosiu.	*B: Just a minute.
A: Atmintuką aš turiu galvoj(e).	*A: I have the USB in mind.
*B: **Taip taip**. Nėra.*	*B: **Yes yes**. There is no.'

(23)

Dukra kalbasi su tėvu:	'Daughter talking to father:
A: Kaip vakar praėjo diena?	*A: How was your day yesterday?
B: Vakar labai smagiai.	*B: Yesterday was very fun.
*A: **Jo?***	*A: **Really**?
B: Buvau su draugais Birštone.	*B: I was with my friends in Birštonas.'

In (22), the speaker indicates that (s)he understands what is being talked about ('yes, I do understand that you have the USB in mind'). It has been mentioned that the affirmative particles index mutually shared information, but in examples like (23), the Lithuanian affirmative particles *taip* and *jo* are closely associated with the emergence of new information. Alongside the English particle *oh*, the Lithuanian particle *jo* is used as a 'change-of-state' token: "its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (Heritage, 1984, p. 299). Thus, speaker's A response *Jo?* in (23) receives previous information as new and simultaneously evaluates it as surprising.

Besides the functions of affirmative particles discussed above, the usage of the Lithuanian affirmative particles can be described in terms of discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that begin a stretch of talk, cf.:

(24)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:	'Mother and daughter talking at home:
A: Koncertus pažėk@st [: pažiūrėk], kas koncertuos.	*A: Check concerts, see who will perform.
B: Koncertų dabar nerodo, nevyksta, o spektakliai +//.	*B: There are no concerts now, but performances are taking place.
A: Imk.	*A: Book it.
*B: **Taip**, pavyzdžiui, Primadonos, čia senas yra jau kažkoks.*	*B: **Yes**, for example, "Primadonos", this one here is old.'

In (24), the speaker does not reply to the directive *imk* 'order' but returns to his/her previous statement ("there are no concerts now, but performances are taking place"), gives an example of the performance ("Primadonos") and prefaces this exemplification by the particle *taip* 'yes'. It must be noted that in the analysed data the function under discussion is typical for the particle *taip* only: neither *jo* nor *aha* and *mhm* are found in such sequential environments.

The least frequent contexts where the *yes*-type particles appear are responses to directives (commands, suggestions etc.), cf.:

(25)

Pašnekovai kalbasi pusryčiaudami:	'The interlocutors talk over breakfast:
A:+< Labas_rytas.	*A: Good morning.
B: Labas, Gražvydai.	*B: Hi, Gražvydas.
C: Eikši, Gražvydai, valgyt(i).	*C: Come to eat, Gražvydas.
*A: **Aha**, tuoj.*	*A: **Yeah**, just a minute.'

Here, the particle *aha* provides an acceptance of invitation and Speaker A replies in the following way: "Yes, I will come, just a minute". As a response to an imperative, the particle is most often all the speaker says in his/her turn, though the particle can also be followed by further linguistic elements in the same turn (as in (25) by the adverb *tuoj* 'soon').

Separate attention should be paid to the particles *aha* and *mhm*. The data show that they both exhibit what Jefferson calls 'passive recipiency' (Jefferson 1984): by using this term it is proposed that "the co-participant is still in the midst of some course of talk, and shall go on talking" (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 25), cf.:

(26)

Kalbasi vyras ir moteris:	'A man and a woman are talking:
A: Net ir jų neužtenka, kad būtų tvarka.	*A: Even they are not enough so that there would be an order.
B: Taip.	*B: Yes.
A: Jo, reikia, nežinau, dažniau tuos generalinius tokius padaryt(i).	*A: It is necessary, I don't know, to do regular cleaning.
*B: **Mhm**.*	*B: **Mhm**.
A: O tada jau bus lengviau šiaip tuos patvarkymus, ir jie greičiau.	*A: And then it will be easier to do those repairs anyway, and they will be faster.
*B: **Mhm**.*	*B: **Mhm**.'

In (26), the particle *mhm* seems to be a weaker and a more neutral acknowledgement token than the particle *taip* 'yes', displaying weak commitment to the talk to which it responds. Besides, the particles *aha* and *mhm* stands as 'continuers' (Sacks 1992) that express speaker's understanding, cf.:

(27)

Kalbasi du studentai pirmakursiai:	'Two first-year students are talking:
A: Ten tai fainai labai, kur mes gyvenom(e), dviejų aukštų toks, žinai.	*A: It's very nice there, where we lived, two-storied, you know.
B: Aaa.	*B: Aaa.
A: Gerai, tie kambariai faini.	*A: It's good, those rooms are nice.
*B: **Aha**.*	*B: **Yeah**.
A: Nauji baldai visiškai.	*A: Completely new furniture.
*B: **Aha, aha**.*	*B: **Yeah, yeah**.
A: Fainai.	*A: That was nice.'

By using the particles *aha* or *mhm*, the speaker indicates that (s)he is following co-participant's thoughts. It means that the particles under consideration less often

initiate further speakership: the speaker does not take a floor. The particles merely respond to the factual character of the prior utterance and registers it as understood, leaving aside its affiliation-relevant aspect.

In Lithuanian, an affirmative response to a polar question may contain another particle, i. e. *nu* 'well'. Though the particle under consideration is not ascribed to the class of response particles in Lithuanian grammars, it can also appear in responses to interrogatives. *Nu* is multifunctional and performs an array of different functions both in responsive as well as non-responsive environments: "justifications, explanations, reactions or reasons pertaining to the information conveyed by the previous speaker" (Šolienė, 2020, p. 246). Generally, the particle *nu* is not produced as a free-standing turn in its own right: rather, it occurs in combination with other lexical or clausal units. However, the particle under consideration can be deployed as a stand-alone turn-constructional unit: in responsive contexts, *nu* conveys an affirmative response (see Example 28). Thus, we can observe two different *nu* particles in Lithuanian: one of them is the bound (unstressed) particle which is often accompanied by other particles (for example, *nu taip* 'well, yes', *nu ne* 'well, no' etc.) and another is a response particle proper which is a free form. Similarly to the cases of other response particles in Lithuanian, meanings of *nu* are particularized through context.

(28)

Dukra moko tėvą naudotis telefonu.	**'Daughter teaches father to use the phone.**
*A: Nu kas, pabandykit(e) tą paspaust(i) tą vidurinį - pasaulį. Tą va, tą [/] tą pas, čia vidurinis, čia.	**A: Well, try to press that... to press that middle – the world. This one, that one [/] that one, here is the middle one, here.
*B: Čia?	**B: Here?
A: **Nu. Man tai reikia, atrodo, rašyt(i) adresą ten interneto.*	**A: **Yes**. It seems to me, you need to write the web address there.'

In line with other affirmative particles, *nu* 'well' indicates response to a polar question and functions as a confirmation marker.

In other response contexts with *nu*, no straightforward confirmation or disconfirmation is provided. In other words, the speaker neither confirms nor disconfirms the proposition of the previous utterance, cf.:

(29)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:	**'Mother and daughter talking at home:**
*A: Ta, turbūt, ta šventė tai buvo tokia trumpa, ane? Bendro pobūdžio?	**A: Probably, that celebration was so short, wasn't it? Of general character?
B: **Nu, biškį padainavo ten.*	**B: **Well**, they were singing a bit there.'

In the example above, the speaker does not directly confirm that celebration was short or of general character: (s)he specifies in the *nu*-prefaced turn that people were singing a bit there. Like Russian *nu* 'well', the Lithuanian particle *nu* occurs in non-straightforward responses (cf. Bolden, 2018, p. 35).

As already mentioned, the particle *nu* 'well' forms collocations with other affirmative particles (especially with *taip* 'yes' and *jo* 'yeah') and, in this way, signals speaker's stance, affiliation, cf.:

(30)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje:

*A: Nu, aišku, kai po darbo grįžti, tai jau nelabai eisi sportuot.

*B: Tai jo, jeigu sakai, kada baigi, tai būsi žiauriai pavargus.
A: **Nu jo, vis_tiek dvylika valandų, tai, pavyzdžiui, kai dvi laisvos, tai per tas abidvi laisvas eitumėm.*

'**Friends talking in a cafe:**

*A: Well, of course, when you come back after work, you won't go in for sports much.

*B: Yeah, if you say when you finish work, you'll be terribly tired.
*A: **Well yeah**, it's still twelve hours, so, for example, when two days are free, we'll go on those two free days.'

Here, the usage of *nu* reflects the contexts of other Lithuanian *yes*-type particles where they preface responses aligning or affiliating with the initiating action and operates as agreement markers.

Nu-prefaced responses may reject the assumption that the respondent knows the answer. More specifically, *nu* 'well' emerges in responses that claim a lack of knowledge, cf.:

(31)

Svetainėje kalbasi mama ir sūnaus draugė:

*A: +< Bet, pavyzdžiui, į svečius gali kas ateit(i), ane? Turi pasą palikt(i) kažkaip, ar ne?

B: **Nu, nežinau. Pas mane niek(a)s nėjo į svečius.*

'**A mother and her son's friend are talking in the living room:**

*A: But, for example, someone can come to visit you, right? You have to leave your passport somehow, don't you?

*B: **Well**, I do not know. No one came to visit me.'

Here, Speaker B replies by claiming a lack of knowledge and then accounting for not knowing by saying that (s)he has no similar experience ('I don't know whether it is possible to come to visit since no one came to visit me').

To sum up, the use of affirmative Lithuanian particles in diverse sequential environment determines their multifunctionality: functions of the particles range from positive responses to intersubjective values.

6. Response particles in Present-day Lithuanian: negative type

As discussed in Section 2, Lithuanian grammars describe the negative particle *ne* 'no' as a response particle, while its use in reactions to assertions is not examined. In polar questions-initiated sequences, the negative particle *ne* 'no' may be associated with both negative and positive responses (rejections and confirmations respectively). In assertion-initiated sequences, the particle *ne* 'no' can stand as an agreement marker, e. g.:

(32)

Namuose kalbasi močiutė ir anūkė.

*A: Nu tai_vuot@d [: tai_vat], va tas svarbiausiai, ka@d [: kad] ne tokie va kažkokie va, tokie labai jau išsistatantys.

B: **Ne, jie patys tai labai paprasti.*

'**Grandmother and granddaughter are talking at home.**

*A: Well, that's the most important thing, that they're not so… so arrogant.

*B: **No**, they themselves are very simple.'

In the given context, another agreement marker, i. e. the affirmative particle *taip* "yes", could also be used.

However, agreement contexts with the particle *ne* 'no' are not frequent. In assertion-initiated turns, *ne* 'no' more often corrects (33) or negates (34) a previous proposition, cf.:

(33)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje.　　　　**'Friends are talking in a cafe.**
A: Nes ketriasdešim　　　　　　　*A: Because forty is too expensive
[: keturiasdešimt] tai man jau biškį　for me.
per brangu.
B: Ne, trisdešimt_du sakė.　　　　*B: **No**, thirty-two, they said.'

(34)

Svetainėje kalbasi mama ir　　　**'A mother and her son's friend
sūnaus draugė.　　　　　　　　**are talking in the living room.**
A: Aš įsivaizdavau, kad,　　　　　*A: I imagined that, you know,
supranti, ten viskas netoli peškom　everything is within walking distance.
nueit(i).
B: Ne ne. [...] [J]eigu pirma　　　*B: **No no**. [I]f the first lecture,
paskaita, ką_žinau, kokia ten　　　I don't know, for example, psychology,
psichologija, tada turi važiuot(i) į savo　then you have to go to your faculty
fakultetą.　　　　　　　　　　by bus.'

In (33), Speaker A claims that forty is too expensive for her but Speaker B corrects the initiating assertion and, at the same time, cancels an incorrect presupposition by saying that it is not true: something costs thirty-two but not forty. Similarly, in (34), the *ne*-prefaced turn rejects an assumption that everything is within walking distance: Speaker B tells that if the first lecture is psychology, which is taught at the faculty, then one has to go by bus. Moreover, in assertion-reaction sequences *ne* 'no' can negate expectations, implied presuppositions, cf.:

(35)

Kalbasi mama su sūnumi:　　　**'A mother talks to her son:**
A: Nu, ten grynai toks, aš　　　　*A: Well, it's just like that, I
nežinau, ką ten veikt(i). Ten kaip　don't know what to do there. It's like
kokioj(e) Ukmergėj(e) va ar Jonavoj(e).　some Ukmergė or Jonava. Well,
Nu rimtai.　　　　　　　　　　seriously.
B: Ne, tai gali būt(i).　　　　　*B: **No**, it can be.'

Here, Speaker A says that some place resembles such small Lithuanian towns like Ukmergė or Jonava and, at the end of his/her turn, adds a remark: "Well, seriously". The latter remark indicates a possible assumption by the co-participant (Speaker B) that (s)he does not believe in the truth of the information being conveyed. But then Speaker B responses by the *ne*-prefaced turn implying: "No, it is not the case that I do not believe in what you are saying; it can be".

Besides assertion-reaction pairs, the negative particle *ne* 'no' – in line with the discussed affirmative particles – can also be associated with directive-reaction pairs, e. g.:

(36)

Šeima pietauja.　　　　　　　**'A family is having lunch.**
A: Labai skanūs. Ačiū.　　　　　*A: Very tasty. Thank you.
B: Imk dar.　　　　　　　　　*B: Take more.
A: Ne ne.　　　　　　　　　　*A: **No no**.'

(37)

Kalbasi mama su sūnumi:	**'A mother talks to her son:**
*A: O neturi kūdesnio sūrio?	*A: Don't you have low-fat cheese?
*B: Žinok, labai skanus, Mantai.	*B: You know, it's very tasty, Mantas.
A: **Ne, labai daug sočiųjų riebalų.*	*A: **No**, very high in saturated fat.'

In (35), there is a straightforward directive *imk* "take" but the speaker rejects the offer to take more food. Example (36) illustrates an indirect offer to taste the cheese (Speaker B says: "You know, it's very tasty, Mantas"). Speaker A starts his responsive turn with the particle *ne* 'no' and then completes it by providing an explanation for not eating the cheese that is very high in saturated fat.

The data presented in this section show that the functions of the negative Lithuanian particle *ne* 'no' are not as varied as those of the affirmative particles *taip* 'yes', *jo, aha, mhm* 'yeah' or *nu* 'well': the particle *ne* 'no' encodes less intersubjective functions and, as a consequence, indicates a lower degree of intersubjectification.

7. Concluding remarks

The present study settles the inventory of response particles in Lithuanian conversation (i. e. spontaneous private communication) and complements the existing descriptions of the particles in Lithuanian grammars. By using the methodological framework of conversation analysis, it has been explored the kinds of meanings recipients display when responding with a particle to what the co-participant just said. It has been observed that the particles under analysis mainly appear in positive responses. This may be due to the fact that the inventory of affirmative particles is much more abundant than the inventory of negative particles.

The Lithuanian response particles are used turn-initially and display a wide range of functions. The primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar (*yes-no*) questions, as responses to assertions and directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. Affirmative particles firstly operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles (namely, the particle *ne* 'no'), on their turn, primarily operate as contradiction or disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Some of the affirmative particles are associated with distinct functions: the particles *aha* and *mhm* mark 'passive recipiency' and, at the same time, a dispreference to continue the current topic (both particles do not initiate speakership).

Sequential contexts appear to have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of RPs that are not discussed in Lithuanian grammars. The particles under consideration (especially the affirmative ones) may encode various interpersonal (resp. intersubjective) functions: speaker's stance, affiliation, surprise, understanding etc. Some of the particles (for example, the affirmative particle *taip* 'yes' or the negative particle *ne* 'no') are associated with discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that begin a stretch of talk and show textual relations with previous turns.

The Lithuanian response particles may be deployed either as stand-alone turn-constructional units or as turn prefaces. When response particles stand separately, they tend to close the whole (conversational) sequence initiated by polar questions or assertions or directives and operate as feedback elements. Some of the analysed particles (for example, *nu* 'well') do not operate as stand-alone turn-constructional units and favour collocating with other affirmative particles.

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Резюме

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ФРАЗОВІ ЧАСТКИ В ЛИТОВСЬКІЙ РОЗМОВІ ТА КОНСТРУКЦІЇ ЗВОРОТНОГО ЗВ'ЯЗКУ

Постановка проблеми. Протягом останніх років фразові частки обговорювалися в рамках інтеракційних досліджень (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 серед інших). Вони були проаналізовані з акцентом на зв'язок між частками та структурою дискурсу. Зокрема, розглянуті частки були предметом дослідження зворотно-ініціальних часток, які ініціально розташовані в розмові поперемінно. У литовській мові інвентар часток неоднорідний як семантично, так і структурно. Наявні описи зосереджені більше на окремих частках (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), тоді як не було знайдено жодного дослідження, яке б систематично досліджувало різні семантичні класи часток на основі синхронних та діахронних даних. Як наслідок, литовські фразові частки отримали відносно мало уваги з боку лінгвістів.

Мета дослідження – з'ясувати функціональну дистрибуцію фразових часток (часток відповіді) в сучасній литовській мові, її роль у структурі дискурсу та її вплив на функції часток.

Методи. Дослідження ґрунтується на даних Корпусу розмовної литовської мови, а саме – даних субкорпусу спонтанного приватного спілкування. Застосовано принципи конверсаційного аналізу. Литовські фразові частки досліджено у взаємодії: функції часток ґрунтуються на структурі розмови, в якій вони вживаються, на попередньому відрізку дискурсу. Особливості вживання та функції часток досліджено у таких послідовностях: питання-відповіді, твердження-реакції та директиви-реакції.

Результати. Дослідження показало, що основна функція таких часток полягає у реагуванні на попередній відрізок дискурсу: вони виступають як позитивні або негативні відповіді на полярні (так-ні) питання, як реакції на твердження або директиви, а також як так звані елементи зворотного зв'язку (або зворотного каналу). Стверджувальні частки функціонують передусім як маркери підтвердження та згоди, тоді як заперечні частки, у свою чергу, передусім функціонують як маркери незгоди, хоча інколи вони також здатні

функціонувати як засоби згоди. Крім того, в розмовному дискурсі розглянуті частки (особливо стверджувальні) можуть кодувати різні міжособистісні (або інтерсуб'єктні) функції: позицію мовця, приналежність, здивування, розуміння тощо. Деякі з часток пов'язані з організацією дискурсу: вони функціонують як дискурсивні частки, що ініціюють висловлювання мовця в розмові та демонструють текстові зв'язки з попередніми висловлюваннями.

Дискусія. Це дослідження надає докази того, що послідовний контекст, в якому вживаються фразові частки (відповіді), виявляється основним чинником: він впливає на появу дискурсивних (відповідно інтерактивних) значень часток відповіді, які не було розглянуто в литовських граматиках.

Ключові слова: фразові частки (відповіді), стверджувальні та заперечні частки, послідовності запитань-відповідей, литовська розмовна мова, конструкція зворотного зв'язку.

Abstract

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RESPONSE PARTICLES IN LITHUANIAN CONVERSATION AND TURN DESIGN

Background. Over the last years, response particles have been discussed within interactional studies (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 among others). They have been analysed by emphasizing the relationship between the particles and discourse structure. More specifically, the particles under consideration have been the subject of investigations on turn-initial particles that are initially positioned in a conversation in turns. In Lithuanian, the inventory of particles is heterogeneous both in the semantic and the structural respects. The existing descriptions focus more on individual particles (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), while no research has been found that systematically surveyed different semantic classes of particles based on synchronic as well as diachronic data. As a consequence, Lithuanian response particles have received relatively little attention by linguists.

Purpose. The paper examines response particles in conversational Lithuanian. The purpose of the study is to explore functional distribution of response particles in modern Lithuanian, their role in discourse structure and its impact on functions of particles.

Methods. The study is based on spoken data which are drawn from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian*, namely, its sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication. The principles of conversation analysis are applied. Lithuanian response particles are studied in interaction: the functions of the particles are based on the structure of the conversation in which they are used, the previous segment of the discourse. The distinctive usages and functions of the particles are investigated in the following sequences: questions-answers, assertions-reactions and directives-reactions.

Results. This study has shown that the primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar

(*yes-no*) questions, as responses to assertions or directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. In the first place, the affirmative particles operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles, in their turn, primarily operate as disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Besides, in spoken discourse, the particles under consideration (especially the affirmative ones) may encode various interpersonal (resp. intersubjective) functions: speaker's stance, affiliation, surprise, understanding etc. Some of the particles are associated with discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that initiate a speaker's saying in a conversation and demonstrate textual relations with previous statements.

Discussion. This study provides evidence that sequential environments, where response particles are used, appear to be central: they have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of response particles that have not been discussed in Lithuanian grammars.

Key words: response particles, affirmative and negative particles, question-answer sequences, Lithuanian conversation, turn design.

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TRUDNOŚCI W PRZEKŁADZIE KATEGORII MODALNOŚCI W KORESPONDENCJI BIZNESOWEJ
(na materiale języka polskiego i rosyjskiego)

Język komunikacji służbowej, głównie korespondencji biznesowej, jest oparty na specyficznej modalności dyskursywnej, przejawiającej się w standardowych zwrotach i połączeniach wyrazowych. Należy podkreślić, że przeważającym rodzajem modalności w komunikacji tego typu jest modalność informatywna, necesywna, wolitywna oraz imperatywna.

__Słowa kluczowe:__ modalność, intencja, komunikacja biznesowa, konfrontacja językowa, przekład.

1.0 Wstęp

Obiektem naszego badania są pisma biznesowe jako rodzaj tekstu funkcjonującego w dyskursie zawodowym. Zgodnie z obserwacjami popartymi doświadczeniem dydaktycznym, najefektywniej umożliwiają one obcokrajowcom uczącym się języka rosyjskiego lub polskiego osiągnięcie umiejętności stosowania różnych typów modalności. Przedmiotem badania jest identyfikacja środków językowych, służących do wyrażenia modalności w oryginalnych i tłumaczonych rosyjsko- i polskojęzycznych tekstach biznesowych oraz typologizacja tych środków z punktu widzenia intencji nadawcy. Celem badania jest konfrontacja tych rosyjskich i polskich środków językowych wyrażających modalność w tekstach pism biznesowych, które mogą sprawiać trudność w procesie przekładu ze względu na bliskość pochodzenia obu języków.

Stan badań na temat modalności wypowiedzi językowych: badanie modalności jest zagadnieniem problematycznym dla lingwistów z powodu braku spójności w podejściu do tego zjawiska w ujęciach teoretycznych. Modalność była analizowana, m.in. przez Bellert (1971), Bogusławskiego (1971), Jodłowskiego

(1971), Boniecką (1976), Rytla (1982), Holvoeta (1989), Koseską-Toszewą (1996), Komendzińskiego (1997, s. 95–104). Korytkowską (1997), Ligarę (1997), a z nowszych prac należy wymienić: Tutak (2003, s. 51–69), Maldžieva (2003), Greszczuk (2006), Malinowski (2006), Dudek-Waligóra (2017), Labocha (2019; 2020), Heliasz-Nowosielska (2023) i Paducheva (2023). Wśród wymienionych opracowań brakuje rozwiązań dotyczących badania modalności w tekstach o charakterze biznesowym.

Najogólniej, i upraszczając nieco, można wyróżnić dwa stanowiska dotyczące definicji terminu „modalność". Pierwsze traktuje modalność jako „wyrażanie postawy nadawcy wypowiedzi wobec przekazywanych treści", drugie natomiast dopatruje się istoty modalności „w stosunku między treścią przekazywaną a obiektywnym stanem rzeczy" (Labocha 2020, s. 205–206). W niniejszym opracowaniu rozumiemy modalność jako wyrażenie przez nadawcę stosunku miedzy treścią przekazywaną przez niego a obiektywnym stanem rzeczy.

Materiał badawczy stanowią autentyczne teksty korespondencji biznesowej zaczerpnięte ze źródeł internetowych oraz tłumaczeń własnych.

Metodologia badania opiera się na następujących elementach składowych: analiza porównawcza (W. Zmarzer. J. Wawrzyńczyk), analiza funkcjonalno-pragmatyczna (O. Leszczak), metoda obserwacji (B. Malinowski, M. Weber) oraz metoda jakościowa, głównie analiza dyskursu (T. van Dijk, J. Labocha).

2.0 Specyfika komunikacji biznesowej

Tekst listu biznesowego najczęściej składa się ze wstępu i części zasadniczej. We wstępie opisuje się powody, które skłoniły do napisania pisma, a którym towarzyszą odsyłacze do faktów, dat i odpowiednich dokumentów. W drugiej części jest formułowany cel zasadniczy listu (zamówienie, oferta, odmowa, prośba, reklamacja, gwarancja itp.). Zarówno pierwsza, jak i druga z części pisma biznesowego zawierają środki językowe, służące do ujawniania intencji nadawcy i wpływania na odbiorcę.

Dla osiągnięcia głównego celu komunikacji niezbędne jest zrozumienie rozmówcy i zastosowanie środków oddziaływania na niego z uwzględnieniem jego reakcji. W związku z powyższym można powiedzieć, że list biznesowy jako gatunek zawsze jest modalnie nacechowany. W dyskursie zawodowym, ze względu na jego ściśle określony format, modalność jest wyznacznikiem nie tyle idostylu autora, co gatunkowo-stylistycznego nacechowania tekstu.

Najważniejszym komponentem każdej sytuacji służbowej jest intencja komunikatywna, którą można podzielić na: *informowanie*, czyli nakreślenie przedmiotu rozmowy, *przekonywanie*, czyli próbę nakłonienia rozmówcy do podzielenia opinii przy pomocy odpowiednich argumentów i dowodów, *perswazja* – apelowanie nie tylko do rozumu, ale również do uczuć interlokutora z wykorzystaniem zarówno logicznych, jak i emocjonalnych środków oddziaływania i *nawoływanie do działania* poprzez przekonywanie rozmówcy do konieczności jego podjęcia. Głównym elementem intencji jest czwarta składowa, chociaż nie może się ona obejść bez trzech pozostałych. W ten sposób, w komunikacji służbowej podstawowymi kategoriami modalności, poza informacyjnością, jest perswazyjność i nawoływanie do działania.

Modalność w biznesowym pisemnym dyskursie zawodowym jest wyrażana przy pomocy przeróżnych środków leksykalnych i gramatycznych, wśród których można wymienić wyrazy i wyrażenia wtrącone: *к сожалению, конечно, очевидно* (polskie: *niestety*, *oczywiście*, *jak wiadomo* i in.), czasowniki modalne i kategoria

stanu: *должен, обязан, вынужден, можеm, готов, намерен, нужно, надо, необходимо, следует* (*powinien*, *jest zobowiązany*, *jest zmuszony*, *może*, *jest gotów*, *ma zamiar*, *trzeba*, *koniecznie trzeba*, *należy* i in.), odpowiednie formy trybu oznajmującego, rozkazującego i przypuszczającego czasowników.

W języku polskim i rosyjskim wymienione środki wyrażenia modalności mają swoje odpowiedniki, jednakże w tym zakresie można zauważyć zarówno podobieństwa, jak i różnice, które mogą komplikować proces formułowania poprawnej wypowiedzi w języku obcym, ponieważ sama znajomość znaczenia ekwiwalentu leksykalnego nie wystarczy do poprawnego jego zastosowania – niezbędna jest wiedza o pragmatyce użycia danej jednostki.

3.0 Leksykalne środki wyrażania modalności
Przy pomocy środków leksykalnych w tekstach o charakterze biznesowym można wyrazić dwa rodzaje modalności: modalność informatywna oraz necesywną.

Informatywna modalność (modalność rzeczywistości) może być wyrażana przy pomocy oceny wypowiedzi przez piszącego, co osiąga się przez wprowadzanie wyrazów i wyrażeń wtrąconych: *К нашему большому сожалению, в партии товара, поставленной Вами по контракту №...* (*Z przykrością zawiadamiamy, że w partii towaru, dostarczonej zgodnie z umową nr...*); *С сожалением сообщаем, что мы не сдержали сроков поставки* (*Informujemy, że niestety nie możemy dotrzymać terminów dostawy*). Ocena wiarygodności informacji w listach tego rodzaju jest także wyrażana przy pomocy wyrazów wtrąconych *несомненно, возможно, по всей вероятности, очевидно, должно быть* (*niewątpliwie, możliwe, zapewne, z pewnością, musi być*). Przykładowo: *Очевидно (по всей вероятности) недостача произошла по вине Вашего экспедитора* (*Z pewnością (zapewne) niedowaga zaistniała z winy Waszego przewoźnika*). Można zatem powiedzieć, że wyrazy wtrącone należą do sfery modalności, ponieważ pokazują bezemocjonalny stosunek piszącego do przekazywanej informacji w obu językach.

Pewne problemy pojawiają się przy zastosowaniu wspomnianych uprzednio modalnych wyrazów, ponieważ w języku polskim istnieją pewne nieodpowiedniości w odniesieniu do języka rosyjskiego. Przykładem mogą być konstrukcje *с сожалением* и *к сожалению* (np.: *С сожалением сообщаем, что...* но: *К нашему большому сожалению, мы до сих пор не получили...*). W języku polskim odpowiednikami rosyjskich wyrażeń są *Z przykrością* (*с сожалением*) i *niestety* (*к сожалению*). Dlatego też Polacy często zamieniają przyimki *с* i *к* w połączeniach z wyrazem *сожаление,* wskutek czego powstaje pseudoanalogon[1] *к сожалению сообщаем*. Jak pokazuje praktyka, duże problemy są związane także z przekładem wyrazów wtrąconych. Wyraz *очевидно* jako wtręt, werbalizujący ocenę wiarygodności informacji (założenie), najczęściej jest używany w znaczeniu możliwości, prawdopodobieństwa czegoś: *Очевидно, недостача произошла по вине экспедитора.* Jednak w roli predykatu ten wyraz jest stosowany w znaczeniu czegoś niebudzącego wątpliwości: *Таким образом, совершенно очевидно, что недостача произошла...* Pierwszy przykład tłumaczymy na język polski jako *sądzimy (uważamy), że...* (*мы считаем, что*). W drugim przypadku zaś dla wyrażenia pewności stosujemy konstrukcję *oczywiste jest...* (*очевидным является* lub *понятно, что*). Jak widać z przytoczonych przykładów, w języku polskim te dwa rosyjskie wyrazy mają inne odpowiedniki. W większości słowników jednym z

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[1] Termin użyty w pracy Król (2009) dla określenia niepoprawnie utworzonych w języku obcym form morfologicznych, syntagmatycznych i syntaktycznych.

pierwszych rosyjskich ekwiwalentów dla polskiego wyrazu *oczywisty* jest słowo *очевидный*, co prowadzi do błędnego użycia tego wyrazu. Poza tym polski przysłówek *oczywiście* oznacza brak wątpliwości w stosunku do czegoś. W funkcji predykatu lub wyrazu wtrąconego przysłówek *oczywiście* nie jest stosowany w oficjalnym pisemnym dyskursie zawodowo-ekonomicznym.

Ocena wiarygodności informacji w rosyjskich listach biznesowych jest wyrażana także przy pomocy wyrazów wtrąconych *безусловно, бесспорно, несомненно* (pewność) *наверно, возможно* (presupozycja). W danym przypadku problemem dla Polaków staje się prawidłowe zastosowanie wyrazu wtrąconego *наверно*, ponieważ jest on utożsamiany z leksemem *наверняка* i mylony z polskim *na pewno*, którego rosyjskim odpowiednikiem jest słowo *обязательно*. Wskutek tego pojawia się błąd: *Мы наверно выполним Ваши требования* (jako wyrażenie zobowiązania, gwarancji).

Zgodność z oczekiwaniami w rosyjskiej korespondencji biznesowej można wyrazić przy pomocy wyrazów wtrąconych *конечно* и *действительно*: *Конечно, при определенных уступках с Вашей стороны, мы можем принять Ваши условия; Мы рассмотрели Вашу рекламацию и обнаружили, что, действительно, в партии товара были дефекты.*

Dla naszego badania ważny jest adekwatny przekład powyższych wyrazów i wyrażeń na język polski, ponieważ, jak pokazuje praktyka dydaktyczna, stanowi on największy problem dla studentów obcojęzycznych. Przykładem może być tłumaczenie problematycznego dla Polaków frazemu *между прочим*, ponieważ w słownikach możemy znaleźć ekwiwalent *między innymi*. W związku z tym w miejscach, gdzie Polacy użyliby frazemu *między innymi*, tłumaczą go jako *между прочим*, tymczasem ta analogia nie zawsze istnieje. W języku polskim oprócz ekwiwalentu rosyjskiego *между прочим* istnieją także homonimy o znaczeniu 'nawiasem mówiąc' oraz 'przykładowo; wliczając to'. Pierwszemu polskiemu homonimowi odpowiada rosyjskie *кстати*, a drugiemu – *в частности* lub *например*. Porównajmy: *W wyniku przeprowadzonej kontroli inspektorzy zakwestionowali 32% dostarczonej partii towaru, **między innymi** z uwagi na niezgodność towaru z warunkami umowy. – В результате проведенного инспекторами контроля они забраковали 32% поставленной партии товара, **в частности**, из-за несоответствия товара условиям договора.* Другой пример: *W partii towaru zostały wykryte wady, **między innymi** w skrzyniach nr 2,3,4... – В партии товара были обнаружены дефекты: **например**, в ящиках № 2, 3, 4...* Inny przykład: *Jesteśmy gotowi do współpracy ze wszystkimi wspomnianymi firmami, **między innymi** z Waszą firmą. – Мы готовы к сотрудничеству со всеми упомянутыми фирмами, **включая** Вашу фирму.* We wszystkich przytoczonych przykładach tłumaczenie polskich homonimów *między innymi* jako *между прочим* byłoby nieprawidłowe.

Dla Polaków trudny jest również przekład wyrażeń modalnych *по крайней мере* i *кстати,* ponieważ pierwsze z nich studenci próbują tłumaczyć słowo po słowie, mimo że w rzeczywistości należy je przełożyć jako *przynajmniej*. Co się tyczy wyrazu *кстати*, to Polacy zwykle tłumaczą je jako łacińskie *a propos*.

Przejdźmy do modalności necesywnej (modalności powinności), która odnosi się do nierzeczywistych (możliwych, oczekiwanych, ale nie realnych) sytuacji i zakłada uświadomioną konieczność. Jest ona aktualizowana w rosyjskich listach służbowych przy pomocy leksemów: *следует, нужно, необходимо, надо, надлежит* i in.: *В связи с вышесказанным Вам **нужно** будет возместить все расходы, связанные с недопоставкой;* lub przy pomocy takich konstrukcji, jak:

В связи с этим мы **настаиваем на** *допоставке недостающего количества товара.* Możemy mieć do czynienia także z innym rodzajem modalności powinności, kiedy musimy coś zrobić, ale bardzo tego nie chcemy (jesteśmy zmuszeni). Ten rodzaj modalności w języku rosyjskim wyrażany jest przy pomocy leksemu *вынуждены*: *В противном случае мы* **вынуждены** *будем передать наш спор в арбитраж.* W ten sposób modalność powinności z punktu widzenia rzeczywistości / nierzeczywistości wypowiedzenia oznacza, że podmiot dyskursywny przedstawia treść jako możliwą, oczekiwaną, zakładaną, wątpliwą itd., czyli jako nierealną. W tym miejscu można wspomnieć o modalności możliwości / niemożliwości: *Мы* **готовы** *(не готовы) принять Ваше предложение*; czy też o modalności zamiaru: *Мы* **намерены** *осуществлять поставки на условиях.* W konfrontacji z językiem polskim w tych przypadkach także pojawiają się określone trudności. Rozpatrzymy je na przykładach. *Вам нужно будет допоставить* (*Musicie dostarczyć brakującą ilość*); *Вы должны* (*Musicie, Należy*); *Вы обязаны* (*Jesteście zobowiązani*); *Мы настаиваем* (*Nalegamy na*), *Мы готовы* (*Jesteśmy gotowi*), *Мы намерены* (*Zamierzamy*), *Мы вынуждены будем* (*Zmuszeni będziemy*); *следует – należy, обязан – jest zobowiązany*. Porównajmy: *Перевозчик обязан проверить наличие заявленного количества товара* (*Przewoźnik zobowiązany jest sprawdzić deklarowaną ilość towaru*); *Мы должны Вас предупредить, что упаковка товара не включена в общую сумму контракта* (*Musimy uprzedzić, że...,*); *Товар должен быть поставлен* (*Musi być / powinien być dostarczony*). Jak widać z przytoczonych przykładów, każde z modalnych słów języka rosyjskiego ma swój ekwiwalent w języku polskim. Problemem jest jednak użycie odpowiedniego wyrazu modalnego w określonym kontekście. Przykładowo: *Мы (обязаны, готовы, можем, должны) пойти Вам навстречу и предоставить скидку в размере 5%.* W przypadku, jeśli kontrahent prosi o rabat, w odpowiedzi na ustępstwa z jego strony, w rosyjskiej korespondencji służbowej stosowane są konstrukcje *Мы готовы (можем) предоставить Вам скидку, при условии, если Вы....* Jeśli jednak jest to reklamacja (pretensja kontrahenta), to należy użyć konstrukcji *В данной ситуации мы обязаны (по договору) предоставить Вам скидку...*; *Вы (должны, можете, готовы, обязаны) допоставить нам товар еще в текущем месяце.* O delikatnym wpływaniu na odbiorcę można mówić w przypadku konstrukcji: *Мы надеемся, что Вы можете допоставить нам товар ...*, natomiast sztywne wymagania ilustruje wypowiedzenie *Вы должны допоставить нам товар.* W języku rosyjskim w liście służbowym można zastosować zarówno wyraz modalny *должен*, jak i słowo *обязан*. Jednak przy tworzeniu umowy bezwzględnie należy użyć wyrazu *обязан*, ponieważ w umowie określane są obowiązki partnerów.

Określenie obowiązków kontrahenta zawiera zarówno polecenie, jak i zakaz zrobienia czegoś i stanowi jeden z głównych rodzajów modalności powinności w języku komunikacji biznesowej (w obu analizowanych językach).

Necesywną modalność można wyrazić w nakazie przy pomocy stanowczego polecenia wykonania określonej czynności i wyłącznie jej: *W ciągu 30 dni od daty naszego listu* **powinni Państwo** *wyrównać poniesione straty* (**Вы должны** *в течение 30 дней с даты нашего письма возместить причиненный нам ущерб)* (w razie niewykonania czynności grożą sankcje) lub propozycji wyboru jednego z możliwych wariantów: *W ciągu 7 dni kalendarzowych od daty niniejszego pisma* **muszą Państwo** *dostarczyć brakującą ilość towaru lub dokonać przelewu na należną za brakującą ilość kwotę na nasz rachunek bankowy* (**Вы должны** *допоставить недостающее количество товара в течение 7 календарных дней*

с даты настоящего письма или перевести сумму за недостающее количество на наш расчетный счет).

Z kolei, zakaz zrobienia czegoś mówi o zakładanym bezdyskusyjnym niewykonaniu przez partnera pewnych czynności. Semantycznie odpowiada to stanowczemu poleceniu: ***Nie mogą Państwo*** *przesunąć terminu dostawy bez uprzedniej zgody sprzedawcy* (*Вы **не можете** перенести срок поставки без предварительного согласия продавца*). Zignorowanie zakazu może doprowadzić do niepożądanych skutków: *W przypadku **niespełnienia** naszych wymagań, przekażemy sprawę do sądu arbitrażowego* (*В случае **невыполнения** Вами наших требований, мы передадим дело в арбитраж*); *Informujemy, że umowy **nie można** odwołać przez przedstawiciela* (*Информируем, что договор **не может** быть расторгнут представителем*); *Zaznaczamy, że przechowawcy **nie wolno** używać rzeczy bez zgody składającego* (*Подчеркиваем, что хранитель **не может** пользоваться вещами без согласия поклажедателя*). Jak widać z przytoczonych przykładów powyższe intencje można wyrazić zarówno przy pomocy czasowników modalnych z przeczeniem, jak również rzeczownikami odczasownikowymi z przeczeniem.

W języku polskim powinność werbalizowana jest przy pomocy czasowników modalnych w formie osobowej lub w postaci imiesłowu: *nakazane jest, powinien, musi, zakazane jest, może, dozwolone jest, wymagane jest, obowiązany jest* itp., wyrażających polecenie, zakaz lub pozwolenie na zrobienie czegoś: *Zawiadamiamy, że umowa leasingu **powinna być** zawarta na piśmie; Do zawarcia przez wykonawcę umowy o roboty budowlane z podwykonawcą **jest wymagana** zgoda inwestora; Sprzedawca **może** dostarczyć towar przed terminem wskazanym w umowie za zgodą Nabywcy.*

Do tej grupy wyrażeń zalicza się także frazem *ma obowiązek*[2]: *Sprzedawca **ma obowiązek** dokonywania napraw wadliwego sprzętu w okresie gwarancyjnym* (*Продавец **обязан** ремонтировать поврежденное оборудование в течение гарантийного срока*).

Mówiąc o modalności powinności, warto wspomnieć również o różnicy syntaktycznej między porównywanymi językami. W rosyjskich pismach służbowych w zdaniach w czasie teraźniejszym w orzeczeniach złożonych z predykatywami nie stosuje się formy osobowej czasownika. Natomiast w języku polskim jest on konieczny: *проведение консультаций необходимо – niezbędne **jest** przeprowadzenie konsultacji; изменение графика поставок нежелательно – zmiana harmonogramu dostaw nie **jest** wskazana.*

4.0 Gramatyczne sposoby wyrażania modalności

Modalność jest werbalizowana nie tylko przy pomocy środków leksykalnych. Gramatycznie można ją wyrazić przez zastosowanie odpowiedniego trybu czasownika. W ten sposób można wyrazić modalność informatywną, wolitywną oraz imperatywną.

Modalność rzeczywistości jest wyrażana przy pomocy trybu oznajmującego i określa niezaprzeczalny fakt, który często bywa udowadniany za pomocą niezbędnych dokumentów. Przykładami zastosowania trybu oznajmującego mogą być: *Сообщаем, что в партии товара, поставленной нам по контракту №..., была обнаружена недостача, что подтверждают приложенные к письму документы* (*Informujemy, że w partii towaru, dostarczonej zgodnie z*

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[2] Za: Malinowski, 2006, s. 11.

kontraktem nr... wykryto niedoładowanie / niedowagę, co potwierdzają załączone do pisma dokumenty)*; Данный факт удостоверен актом приемки №...* (*Dany fakt potwierdzono w protokole przyjęcia nr...*)*; Имеет место просрочка в поставке товара* (*Ma miejsce opóźnienie w dostawie*). W powyższych przykładach można zaobserwować bezemocjonalny stosunek do wypowiedzianej treści.

Wolitywna modalność werbalizowana jest najczęściej z użyciem trybu przypuszczającego: ***Chcielibyśmy**, żeby płatność za faktury była dokonywana przelewem* (***Мы хотели бы**, чтобы товар был поставлен на условиях франко-вагон*) i okresu warunkowego: *Jeśli nasza oferta zostanie zaakceptowana i zamówią Państwo towar do 12 stycznia, to jesteśmy gotowi udzielić zniżki w wysokości 10 proc. od ceny regularnej* (*Если Вы рассмотрите наше предложение и сделаете заказ до 12 января т.г., то мы готовы предоставить Вам скидку в 10% с указанной в прейскуранте цены*)*; W przypadku, jeśli Państwo nie wyrażą zgody, to przekażemy sprawę do arbitrażu* (*В случае Вашего несогласия, мы передадим дело в арбитраж*). Przy tej okazji warto wspomnieć o często stosowanym w rosyjskich pismach urzędowych wolitywnym wyrazie kategorii stanu *желательно*, który na język polski należy przetłumaczyć z zastosowaniem trybu przypuszczającego: *Желательно, чтобы оплата производилась посредством инкассо – Chcielibyśmy, żeby płatność była dokonywana w formie inkaso.*

Imperatywna modalność w pismach służbowych rzadko jest wyrażana przy pomocy trybu rozkazującego. W języku polskim najczęściej stosowane jest słowo *prosimy* w konstrukcjach *prosimy, aby; prosimy* + bezokolicznik lub w konstrukcjach z przyimkiem *o* i rzeczownikiem odczasownikowym: ***Prosimy wybaczyć** nam opóźnienie dostawy towaru* (zamiast ***wybaczcie nam***); ***Prosimy, aby powiadomić** nas o terminie zakończenia dostaw* (zamiast ***powiadomcie nas***); ***Prosimy o przesłanie** nam nowych katalogów* (zamiast ***przyślijcie***). Ma to zastosowanie również w reklamacjach: ***Prosimy_o dostarczenie** brakującej partii towaru*. W języku rosyjskim istnieje natomiast tylko jedna konstrukcja, a mianowicie z bezokolicznikiem *Просим извинить*. Warto w tym miejscu dodać krótką dygresję o charakterze translatorycznym. Wyrażenie *просим извинить* na język polski trzeba przetłumaczyć jako *przepraszamy za*. Z praktyki dydaktycznej wynika, że częstym błędem Polaków jest niepoprawne odwrotne tłumaczenie *przepraszamy za* jako *извиняемся за*, które jest dopuszczalne w ustnych wypowiedziach, ale całkowicie nie do przyjęcia w pismach służbowych.

Imperatywna modalność w korespondencji biznesowej może być wyrażona implicite: *Mamy nadzieję, że z należyta uwagą odniosą się Państwo do naszej prośby, aby niezwłocznie wyrównać straty* (*Мы надеемся, что вы с должным вниманием отнесетесь к нашей просьбе незамедлительно возместить наш ущерб*). W podanym przykładzie w istocie mamy do czynienia z intencją nakłonienia kogoś do wykonania czegoś, przy czym bezzwłocznie. Jednak werbalizacja zostaje dostosowana do stylistyczno-pragmatycznych wymogów i zaakcentowaniem uprzejmości w stosunku do partnera bez względu na okoliczności. Można zatem mówić tu o wymaganiu wyrażonym implicite w grzecznościowej formie uprzejmości, co ilustruje istnienie dyskursywnej modalności w korespondencji służbowej. Użycie trybu rozkazującego wskazuje na semantykę subiektywno-modalną. Wyjaśnienie dowolnego znaczenia imperatywu wymaga uwzględnienia pojęcia mówcy i jego stosunku do rozmówcy.

5.0 Wnioski

Podsumowując, można zaznaczyć, że:

1. Język komunikacji biznesowej, głównie korespondencji biznesowej, jest oparty na specyficznej modalności dyskursywnej, przejawiającej się w standardowych zwrotach i połączeniach wyrazowych. Należy podkreślić, że przeważającym rodzajem modalności w komunikacji tego typu jest modalność informatywna, necesywna, wolitywna oraz imperatywna.

2. Modalność w pismach biznesowych zwerbalizowana jest przy pomocy szablonowych konstrukcji, które w językowym obrazie świata użytkowników są związane z oficjalną zawodową działalnością dyskursywną.

3. Modalność jako niezbędna składowa każdego zdania w pismach biznesowych stanowi uniwersalną kategorię mowną zarówno w języku polskim, jak i rosyjskim. Przy dokonywaniu tłumaczenia należy jednak uwzględniać specyfikę dyskursywną każdego z języków.

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Резюме

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ТРУДНОЩІ ПЕРЕКЛАДУ КАТЕГОРІЙ МОДАЛЬНОСТІ В ДІЛОВОМУ ЛИСТУВАННІ
(на матеріалі польської та російської[3] мов)

Постановка проблеми. Вивчення модальності є проблемним питанням для лінгвістів через відсутність узгодженості в теоретичних підходах до цього явища. Модальність аналізували, зокрема, Bellert (1971), Boguslawski (1971), Jodlowski (1971), Boniecka (1976), Rytel (1982), Holvoet (1989), Koseska-Toszewa (1996), Komendziński (1997), Ligara (1997), Korytkowska (1997), а з нещодавніх праць варто згадати: Tutak (2003, с. 51-69), Maldžieva (2003), Greszczuk (2006), Malinovsky (2006), Labocha (2019; 2020), Dudek-Waligóra (2017), Heliasz-Nowosielska (2023) та Paducheva (2023). Серед вищеназваних досліджень бракує рішень для вивчення модальності в ділових текстах. Загалом, дещо спрощуючи, можна виокремити дві позиції щодо визначення терміна «модальність». Перша трактує модальність як «вираження ставлення відправника висловлювання до переданого змісту», а друга вбачає сутність модальності» у відношенні між переданим змістом та об'єктивним станом речей» (Labocha 2020). У цьому дослідженні ми розуміємо модальність як вираження відправником відношення між переданим ним змістом та об'єктивним станом речей.

Мета дослідження – зіставлення тих російських і польських мовних засобів вираження модальності в текстах ділового листування, які можуть спричиняти труднощі у процесі перекладу через близькість походження обох мов. Об'єктом нашого дослідження є ділові листи як різновид ділових документів. За спостереженнями, підтвердженими досвідом викладання, саме вони дають змогу іноземцям, які вивчають російську або польську мови, набути вміння використовувати різні типи модальності найефективніше. Предметом дослідження є виявлення мовних засобів вираження модальності в оригінальних і перекладених російськомовних і польськомовних ділових текстах та типологізація цих засобів з позиції інтенцій відправника.

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[3] Офіційна мова держави-терориста проти України. – *Прим. ред.*

Методи. Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на таких складових: порівняльний аналіз (V. Zmarzer. J. Wawrzyńczyk), функціонально-прагматичний аналіз (O. Leszczak), метод спостереження (B. Malinowski, M. Weber) та якісний метод, переважно дискурс-аналіз (T. van Dijk, J. Labocha). Матеріалом дослідження слугували автентичні тексти ділового листування, взяті з інтернет-джерел, та власні переклади.

Результати. Мова ділового спілкування, переважно ділового листування, ґрунтується на специфічній дискурсивній модальності, що проявляється в стандартних фразах і словосполученнях. Домінантними типами модальності в цьому виді спілкування є інформативний, вольовий, імперативний та спонукальний. Модальність у ділових листах вербалізується за допомогою шаблонних конструкцій, які в мовній картині світу користувачів асоціюються з офіційною професійною дискурсивною діяльністю.

Дискусія. Модальність як обов'язковий компонент кожного речення в ділових листах є універсальною мовленнєвою категорією як у польській, так і в російській мовах. Однак у процесі перекладу необхідно враховувати дискурсивні особливості кожної мови.

Ключові слова: модальність, інтенція, ділове спілкування, мовна конфронтація, переклад.

Abstract

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DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSLATING MODALITY CATEGORIES IN BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE
(based on Polish and Russian materials)

Purpose. The purpose of the study is to compare those linguistic means expressing modality in Russian and Polish written business texts which may cause difficulties in the translation process due to the close origin of both languages. The object of our study is business letters as a type of business document. According to observations supported by teaching experience, they most effectively enable foreigners learning Russian or Polish to acquire the ability to use various types of modalities. The subject of the study is the identification of linguistic means expressing modality in the original and translated Russian and Polish business texts and typology of these means from the point of view of the sender's intentions.

Background. The study of modality is a problematic issue for linguists due to the lack of consistency in the theoretical approaches to this phenomenon. Modality has been analyzed, among others, by Bellert (1971), Boguslawski (1971), Jodlowski (1971), Boniecka (1976), Rytel (1982), Holvoet (1989), Koseska-Toszewa (1996), Komendziński (1997, pp. 95–104), Ligara (1997), Korytkowska (1997) and from more recent works we should mention: Tutak (2003, pp. 51–69), Maldžieva (2003), Greszczuk (2006), Malinovsky (2006), Labocha (2019; 2020), Dudek-Waligóra (2017), Heliasz-Nowosielska (2023) and Paducheva (2023). Among the above-mentioned studies, there is a lack of solutions for the study of modality in business texts. Broadly speaking, two positions can be distinguished regarding the definition of modality. The first approach treats modality as "expressing the attitude of the statement sender to the transmitted content", while the second approach sees the essence of modality "in the relationship between the transmitted content and the

objective state of affairs" (Labocha 2020, pp. 205–206). In this study, we understand modality as the sender's expression of the relationship between the content transmitted by them and the objective state of affairs.

Methods. The methodology of the study is constructed of the following components: comparative analysis (V. Zmarzer. J. Wawrzyńczyk), functional-pragmatic analysis (O. Leszczak), observation method (B. Malinowski, M. Weber) and qualitative method, mainly discourse analysis (T. van Dijk, J. Labocha). The research material consists of authentic texts of business correspondence taken from Internet sources and own translations.

Results. The language of business communication, mainly business correspondence, relies on a specific discursive modality, manifested in standard phrases and word combinations. It should be emphasized that the predominant type of modality in this type of communication is the informative, volitional, imperative and obligatory modality. Modality in business letters is verbalized with the help of template constructions, which in the linguistic image of the users' worldview are associated with official professional discursive activity.

Discussion. Modality as a necessary component of every sentence in business letters is a universal speech category in both Polish and Russian. However, when translating, it is necessary to take into account the discursive peculiarities of each language.

Key words: modality, intention, business communication, linguistic confrontation, translation.

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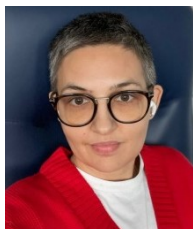**ORCID** 0000-0002-4511-3901

ПОЛІТИЧНА ЛІНГВІСТИКА

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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF GLOBALIZATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Since English is primarily the medium of communication for international business and trade. In addition to being the official language of many international organizations (such as the UN, WHO, etc.), it has become a lingua franca in the modern world. English language lessons are delivered and required in many secondary schools globally. English is taught by many public schools as a compulsory subject, sometimes at the expense of other languages. Taking into account the rapid global spread of the English language, the article examines the main advantages and disadvantages of English being a global language providing an example of Ukrainians living abroad and in their home country. Postcolonial and globalization theories are analyzed to demonstrate that the spread of English is a result of the British Empire and the rise of the United States as a global actor in international relations thereafter. On the contrary, the linguistic human capital theory and theory of cultural capital underline that language proficiency may serve either as a limitation or a getaway in socioeconomic situations. The article deploys a qualitative research method, namely, online surveys of Ukrainians in Poland, Estonia, Germany, Spain, and Ukraine. The results indicate that English as a global language provokes inequalities for Ukrainians whose English skills are even below pre-intermediate level, both within Ukraine and outside their home country. The driving motivation for both groups to learn English is better job opportunities.

Key words: English language, lingua franca, social inequality, linguistic human capital theory, theory of cultural capital, postcolonial theory, globalization, Ukrainians, Ukrainian migrants.

1. Introduction

English became a lingua franca in the modern world since its role is not limited by being the official language for a number of international organizations (e.g., UN, WHO, etc.). English is also the medium of international trade, and businesses.

English classes are gaining momentum worldwide and are compulsory for a number of secondary schools around the world. In many states, English has become a leading foreign language in schools and even sometimes replaces other foreign languages. For instance, in 1996, French classes were substituted with English classes as a foreign language in Algerian schools (Crystal, 2003). The prevalence of English is also highlighted by Rao (2019), who made a comparison between the popularity of English and Chinese languages and came up to the conclusion that even though Mandarin Chinese is spoken by a vast number of people, Mandarin is not as popular as English because it is limited to certain territories and Chinese businessmen should learn English in order to run business internationally.

This article addresses fundamental questions related to the advantages and disadvantages of English being a global language. The article provides a case study of the importance of English mastery for Ukrainians living in Ukraine and abroad. By investigating the advantages and disadvantages of the English language as a global language, we contribute to existing literature by framing these issues under the connectivity of linguistic and political theories. The theories used in the article are linguistic human capital theory, the theory of cultural capital, postcolonial theory, and globalization. We suggest three hypotheses related to the inequality invoked by English as a global language:

H.1. The essence of the knowledge of the English language is highlighted by the fact that it provides more social opportunities to people, especially if they are migrants.

H.2. Knowledge of the English language has a direct influence on personal income.

H.3. Young people in Ukraine are more aware of the necessity to learn English in comparison with the Ukrainian adults who live abroad.

The article offers a historical overview of English spreading as a result of colonization, the ways in which globalization of the English language is connected with the countries' economic growth, and the future prospects for the dominance of the English language worldwide. Furthermore, this article presents the findings of an empirical study wherein Ukrainians were surveyed, followed by a succinct analysis of the collected data. The novelty of the research is highlighted by the fact that the importance of the English language to the Ukrainian people (both within the country and abroad) has not been investigated after the full-scale invasion that spurred intensive migration of Ukrainians to the European Union.

2. Theoretical framework

In our study, we aimed to explore the intricate dynamics of language inequality, specifically focusing on the role of English language proficiency among Ukrainians in various countries and its impact on their lives. Drawing upon the linguistic human capital theory as discussed by Chiswick and Miller (2007), the research was designed to delve into the complexities of how language proficiency can serve as both a gateway and a barrier in different socio-economic contexts. This study is also anchored in Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical framework that posits language proficiency as a significant form of social capital in a globalized world. It explores the hypothesis, as articulated by Graddol (2007), that proficiency in a globally dominant language like English can potentially enhance a person's socio-economic opportunities, while a lack of proficiency can lead to inequality and marginalization. The dual role of English as both a facilitator of social mobility and a barrier contributing to social stratification is thus elucidated.

In our study, we apply postcolonial theory as the spread of the English language emerged due to the expansion of the British Empire and the appearance of the United States as a global actor in international relations thereafter. The theory benefits our study as it investigates how linguistic hierarchies created during colonial periods can contribute to current inequalities, as well as how English was used as an instrument of colonial control. In addition, the globalization theory of international relations is employed to show that English plays an important role in different nations. According to Kumaravadivelu (2008), globalization is the outcome of links and movements between countries, economies, and peoples, which has transformed modern social life in all of its aspects – economic, social, political, cultural, scientific, ecological, and human. There are three types of globalization, i.e., political, cultural, and economic. Kluver and Fu (2004) describe culture as a set of interpretations and worldviews, thus explaining cultural globalization as a transmission of various values across the world. In our article, globalization does not imply increasing migration flows from Ukraine. Rather, it demonstrates the widespread use of the English language across the countries and its impact on the migrants' lives, as a part of British and then American cultural expansion.

3. Methodology

Employing a cross-sectional survey methodology, as recommended by Creswell (2014), we targeted Ukrainians in Germany, Poland, Spain, Estonia, and within Ukraine. This geographical diversity, reflecting the approach suggested by Vertovec (2007), was chosen to encapsulate a wide spectrum of socio-economic and cultural environments, thereby providing a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study. In the design of this study, a deliberate selection of four countries was made to facilitate comparative analysis across diverse linguistic contexts. Specifically, Germany and Spain were selected as representative cases where Ukrainian migrants are less likely to share a common language with the local population, thereby necessitating reliance on English or the host country's language. Conversely, Poland and Estonia were selected due to availability of the Russian and Ukrainian languages, which are commonly understood or spoken by Ukrainian migrants, potentially reducing the reliance on English or the official language of the host state. Additionally, Ukraine itself was included as a focal group to provide insights into English language usage within the participants' native context. This inclusion offers a baseline against which the experiences of migrants in foreign linguistic landscapes can be compared.

Approximately 300 respondents from each country were surveyed, ensuring a substantial sample that allows for generalizable and reliable findings. The survey instrument, inspired by the work of Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001), was crafted to include a series of questions that would not only gauge the level of English proficiency among the participants but also probe into the perceived impacts of this proficiency on their career prospects and overall quality of life. To administer the survey, an online platform was utilized, leveraging the reach and accessibility of social networks. The participants' recruitment was conducted using the snowball sampling technique, a method well-suited for reaching specific population subsets, particularly in online environments. This approach facilitated a substantial and diverse set of responses, crucial for the robustness and validity of the study's findings.

In addition to quantitative data analysis, the study adopts a comparative framework, as suggested by Norris and Inglehart (2009), examining the variations in

the experiences of Ukrainian migrants across different countries. This comparative perspective is crucial for understanding how different socio-cultural and economic contexts, as discussed in the works of Piller (2016), influence the relationship between language proficiency and quality of life.

The limitation of our methodology arises from uneven age distribution of our respondents which is primarily due to the sampling method. It can be explained by the fact that social media networks are more popular among the younger generation so that is why most of our respondents are 18-50 years old.

4. Historical overview of the dominance of the English language

While there is a lot of literature on globalization and widespread use of the English language, there is a limited knowledge about why and when this language became so commonly used. A comprehensive understanding of the drawbacks and benefits of global predominance necessitates an analysis of its historical evolution. The historical aspect of this process roots in politics as the English language was imposed on the former colonies by the British Empire.

The British Empire included colonies in the Middle East, Africa, and the Pacific; the population of which was over 500 million people (Jackson, 2013). The British victory at Plassey in 1757 marked the beginning of the empire's ascent, which continued almost unabatedly in South Asia and the Pacific until the end of the Napoleonic Wars, regained momentum during the European scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century, and ultimately came to an end during and after World War II (Armitage, 2000). Starting from the end of the 16th century and until the empire ceased to exist in the second half of the 20th century, English was spreading around the world due to the empire's expansion, entailing land grabs, massacres, enslavement, starvation, subjection, looting, and exploitation (McKean, 2023). The British colonial expansion into Africa and Asia, its early industrialization process, and its system of migration-intensive colonization of North America all had a significant impact on the future of English (Hamel, 2005).

The popularity of the English language within the British Empire was achieved in different ways including political policies, migration, and cultural expansion. On this basis, in 1988, a British linguist Quirk divided the spread of English into three variables, namely *imperial, demographic, and ethnocultural*, where imperial means language policies within the British colonies, demographic variable stands up for intensive spread of English on the certain territories due to the mass population movement, and ethnocultural meant that through the English language, the colonizers shared and imposed their culture (Brut-Griffler, 2002). The imperial variable can be explained by the fact that the main language of education, administration, and documentation was English in all British colonies. But, in contrast, there are different views on English language policy in former British colonies in Africa: while one believes that under British rule the essence of other languages as "*the vernaculars*" (which were spoken by particular ethnic groups within the state) was possible (Hirch, 2020); others describe the colonial period as the time when the language of education was the language of the colonizer (Phillipson, 2012) and it made a lot of other languages extinct. This imperial variable influenced not only the decade of colonialism but future years as well. In addition, the British migration to New Zealand in the XIX century is a demographic variable, and in accordance with Gordon et al. (2004), this migration served as one of the possible reasons for the origin of so-called *"Austral English"*. And, lastly, the example of an ethnocultural variable of language spread in the British Isles is the

introduction of the Prayer Book and the insurrection that followed in 1549, when the English state attempted to repress non-English language speakers with the Book of Common Prayer (Prah, 2002).

With disastrous results, a monolingual philosophy was spread throughout the British Isles (Philipson, 2011). Alongside the annihilation of the native population, a monolingual ideology was introduced to settlement colonies in North America and Australasia (Philipson, 2011). Though there are examples in history, where English was enforced, there was also an issue of inequality, where people, who knew English, were considered better or cleverer. Block (2008) citing Bisong (1995) narrates the story where some African and Asian families were struggling for their kids to be able to learn English, though, on the other side, there were people, who tried to protect their native languages, which were about to become extinct. Unfortunately, not all states could develop and preserve their languages (which were spoken by a smaller percent of the population of the state), and many countries adopted English as their only or second official language.

Though the power of the British Empire weakened in the XX century, especially after World War II, and most of the former colonies are united through the Commonwealth, the globalization of the English language is still going on. Crystal (2003) explains that the United States becoming a global power in the international arena is the major reason why the English language is globalized nowadays. Moreover, the United States has strong international relations with many states, and its cultural and economic development affects the whole globe. American pop music, fast food chains, movies, and literature are worldwide known nowadays as well as have been playing a great role in boosting the importance of the English language for almost a century already.

5. Significance of English to the nations

While one would believe that language expansion is connected only with the cultural globalization of certain state (s), language policies may mold different economic situations within and outside the state. While Americans have no trouble launching businesses and receiving financial income from abroad, Estonians would spend years learning English in order to achieve the same results. Moreover, the knowledge of English may increase the level of inequality within the country as the person, who acquires a high level of English proficiency, would be more competitive in the job market. Thus, success in mastering the language may fetch dividents not only for a single person but for the whole country as well, and India, a former British colony, is a prominent example of it.

India is one of the most diverse linguistic societies, where, as of 1971, according to Meganathan (2011), the country had 1652 languages offspringing from different language families. This language variety made it very difficult for some children to study at school (especially if they spoke the language of a minority ethnic group). Therefore, to tackle this problem, the Indian government adopted the so-called Three Language Formula (TLF). As Devi (2017) states, the Three Language Formula requires learning of three languages and English is included into these three. However, the Three Language Formula and the compulsory learning of English not only solved the problem of multilingualism in India but also became the reason for the economic flourishing. For example, according to Azam et al. (2013), compared to males who do not speak English, men who speak it fluently earn 34% more of the average wage per hour and men who speak it somewhat earn 13% more of the average wage.

Around a billion people globally are studying English, the majority of them with the expectation that their linguistic abilities will increase their income or help them get a better position (Johnson, 2009, as cited in Zoranić & Fijuljanin, 2013). The countries are also aware of the benefits of having an English-speaking labor population for economic integration and increased global competitiveness (Johnson, 2009, as cited in Zoranić & Fijuljanin, 2013).

Earling & Seargeant (2013) also outlined the connection between English language proficiency and the economic boost of Singapore and Malaysia by saying that the countries could build strong infrastructures, businesses, and international trade networks due to the English language. Starting from this point, one should mention free trade, where knowledge of English helps a nation participating in a free trade market benefit its home economy. In turn, foreign capital flows into the home market as a result of international trade, which also speeds up money accumulation, encourages economic growth, and raises a nation's revenue (Bao, 2021).

6. Findings and Discussion

In this section of the article, the key findings from the surveys will be described. As we have mentioned before, the survey was conducted in Spain, Poland, Estonia, Germany, and Ukraine. Overall, approximately 300 responses from each state were received. The questions were aimed to examine the level of English, the interest in learning English, and the impact of English knowledge on the social and financial situation.

To analyze the first hypothesis, which shows that more social opportunities are given to those who know English, we correspondingly formulated inexorably intertwined questions, namely, what level of English a person possesses, if he/she faced inequality based on language knowledge and if yes, where this inequality happened (in Ukraine or abroad). The results of the survey show that Estonia has twice as many Ukrainian people with no or poor knowledge of English (39.4% respondents) in comparison to other states (18.5% in Ukraine; 18.2% in Spain; 15% in Poland; 10.3% in Germany) (see Figure 1). The percentage of respondents facing inequality is 19.5% for Germany, 25.3% for Poland, 27.1% for Spain, 30% for Ukraine. Estonia has the highest level of inequality related to possessing English language skills (47.8% of respondents) (see Figure 2), respectively. Moreover, 46.2% of respondents from Estonia indicated that they have faced this inequality in Estonia rather than in Ukraine and these inequalities were related to employment.
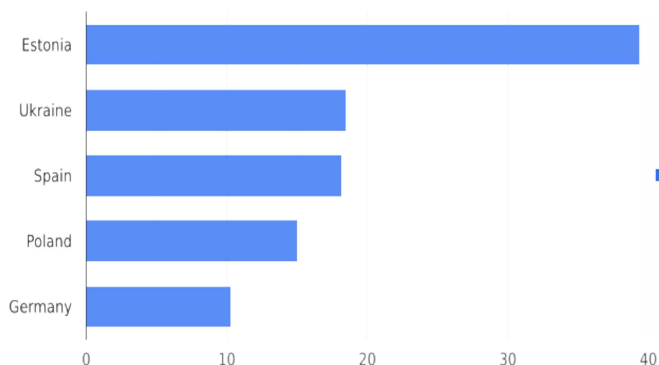

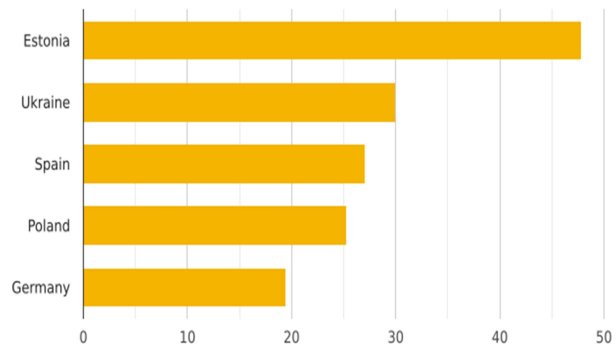Figure 1. The countries with poor or no English language knowledge

Figure 2. The percentage of respondents facing inequality

To assess the impact of English on the person's income, we asked our respondents whether they felt that higher English language proficiency would bring them higher salaries. Before addressing this issue, we must mention that when answering the question about the sphere where they experience inequality, Ukrainians in all the countries under research highlighted the problem of employment as the major issue, with the following results: Estonia – 31.7%, Poland – 20.9%, Spain – 20%, Ukraine – 15.4%, Germany – 12.3% (See Figure 3). In the survey, Ukrainian migrants in all the countries indicated that they believe that language proficiency has a direct impact on their income, although the percentage of respondents answering this question positively was the highest in Estonia and Poland. In our opinion, this is connected with the spread of Russian and Ukrainian languages in Poland and Estonia, which makes employment easier, while in Germany or Spain, the knowledge of these languages would not possibly benefit Ukrainian migrants.
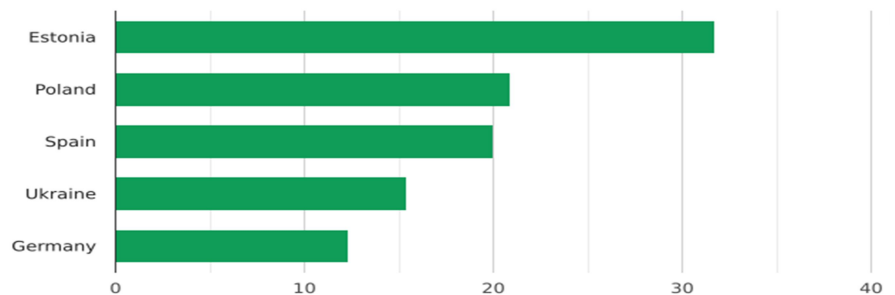
Figure 3. The problem of employment because of the lack
or poor knowledge of English

To examine the third hypothesis, which indicates that middle-age Ukrainian migrants are not as motivated to learn language as young people who reside in Ukraine, we asked Ukrainians whether they have learned English in the past two years and if yes, what was the main reason for that. The hypothesis can be explained

by two facts, i.e., (1) people abroad are forced to learn the language of the host country and apply it in their workplace, which results in the lack of time for learning English; (2) young people in Ukraine learn English as the core subject in universities, colleges, and other educational institutions. On the contrary, this hypothesis could be faulty because of the impact of knowing English on middle-aged Ukrainians' employment and the salary abroad, therefore, we assume that they experience a much higher need of English mastery than the young generation, who live in Ukraine. Interestingly, the results show that young people in Ukraine (75.2%) and Ukrainians in Poland (73.8%) are much more motivated to learn English than in Estonia (66.4%), Spain (64.5%) and Germany (57.4%) (See Figure 4). While people in Ukraine indicated that they learn English for education, Ukrainians in Poland, on the contrary, acquire English skills to be employed. This result can be explained by the age group representativity, which is represented as follows: 65.5% of the respondents from Ukraine are 18-25 years old, while in Poland the highest number of responses came from Ukrainians aged 26-35 (29.2%) and 36-50 (45.9%).
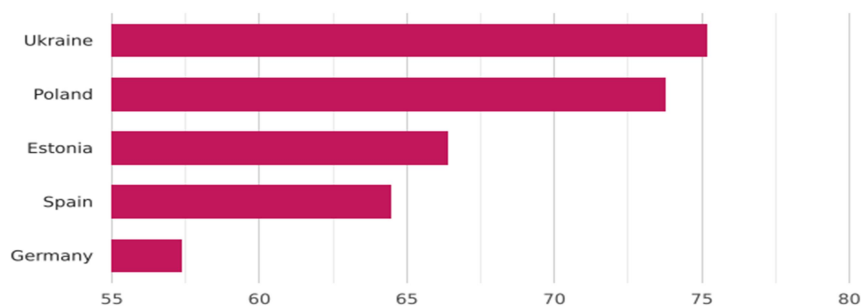

Figure 4. The percentage of respondents learning English

7. Future projections

English seems to have been developing and globalizing in the world for many centuries. The United States being a world leader in economy, culture and international affairs would boost the significance of English in the world, although there is also a question of whether the rise of China would change anything in terms of language usage. While Ding & Saunders (2006) raise the problem of the Chinese language being a lingua franca in the world economy, Prior (2023) states that by 2022, nearly 2 billion people worldwide – including those who speak English as a second language (ESL) – are expected to be proficient in the language and that represents more than 25% of the global population. There is also the fact that more and more people are interested in learning English as it increases the chances of getting high-paid jobs on the international market and that means that the number of English speakers will increase in the next decades. Also, although Chinese has the highest number of speakers (due to the population of China), according to Dyvik (2023), English is still considered to be the most spoken language in the globe (See Figure 5).
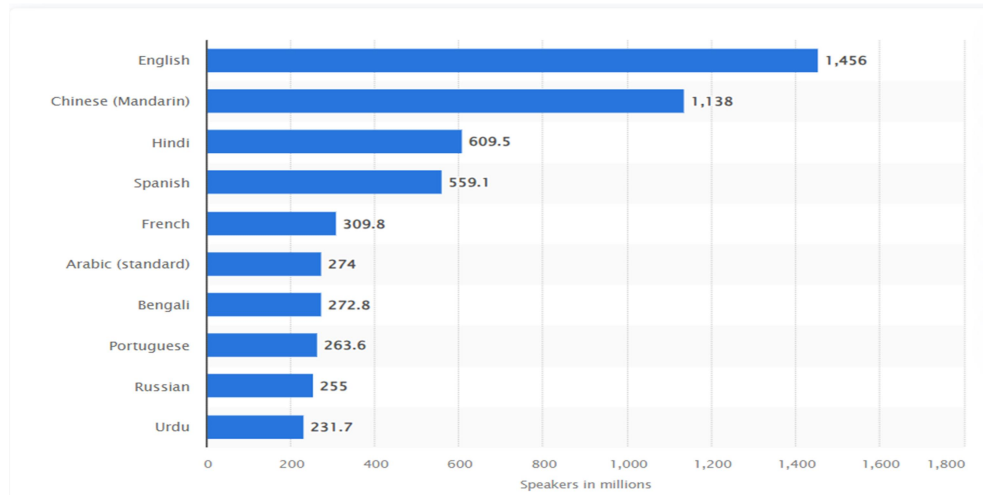
Figure 5. Speakers of languages in millions. Source: *Dyvik (2023)*

The English language is the leading language of the Internet. The *Historical trends in the usage statistics of content languages for websites* (2023) show that English is the most used language on the internet (please see the figure below) and in my opinion, this tendency will persist since the United States is one of the states leading in IT sphere. Moreover, as long as the Internet plays an important role in our lives, more and more people start working via the Internet and the IT industry so this fact can prove that the usage of English will be increasing with the rise of the importance of the Internet in daily life. The Internet connects users from different parts of the globe and English is and will remain the leading language in this sphere.
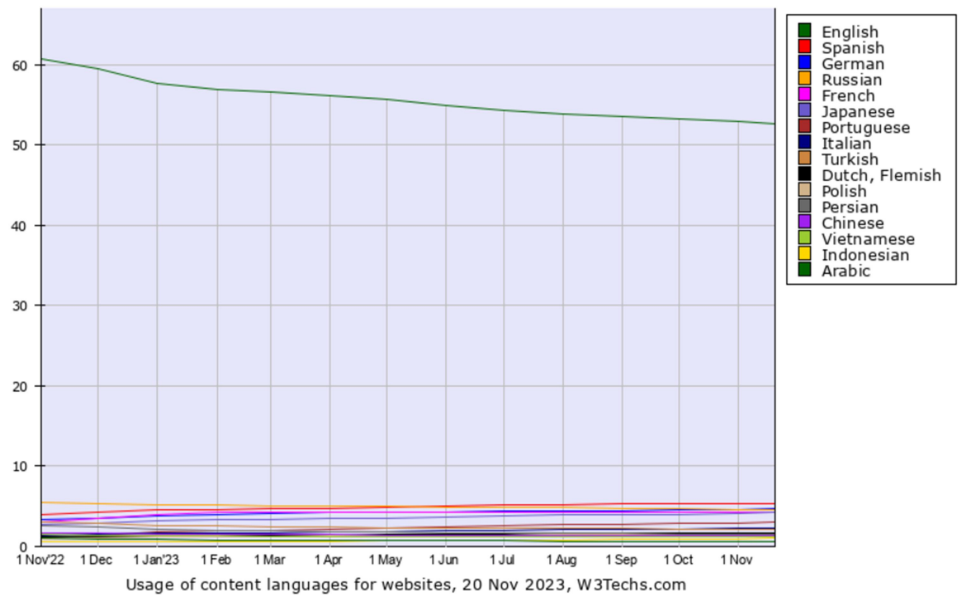

Figure 6. The top content languages for websites. Source: *W3Techs (2023)*

Finally, with a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 16.2%, the global market for English language learning, which was valued at US$21.3 billion in 2022, is expected to increase to a revised size of US$70.7 billion by 2030 (Research and Markets, 2023).

According to Global Market Insights (2022), the main reason for such rapid growth in learning English would be the effects of globalization, growing interest in multilingualism, popularity of e-learning as well as AR and VR technology in combination with language study platforms. It goes without saying that increasing the global market for learning English would also enlarge the number of English speakers as well as promote the status of the English language on a new global level.

8. Conclusions

The article examines the inequalities that arise due to the lack of or poor English language knowledge among Ukrainians who live abroad and in their home country. To answer the research question, the qualitative research method was used, i.e., an online survey, where Ukrainians in Estonia, Germany, Poland, Spain, and Ukraine indicated their level of English, the impact of English on their lives, and whether they undertake any measures in this regard. The historical overview of the English language expansion was explained with the help of linguistic and international relations theories, such as linguistic human capital theory, theory of cultural capital, postcolonial theory, and globalization.

English proficiency can serve as a political tool influencing the migrants trajectories. For migrants, the benefits of English proficiency are numerous. It enhances mobility, as English is useful in virtually any country, opening up a broader spectrum of job opportunities. Notably, the level of English proficiency can significantly impact salary, with higher mastery levels often correlating with increased earnings. Additionally, English proficiency provides access to educational opportunities and a wealth of information.

However, the inability to speak English can create substantial disadvantages for migrants. Limited English proficiency often results in restricted mobility and diminished employment prospects, reducing the range of available job types and potentially relegating individuals to lower-skilled positions, despite their qualifications in their native language. This linguistic barrier may also impede access to certain educational and informational resources.

Similarly, English proficiency can be both beneficial and disadvantageous for those residing in Ukraine. English speakers often have higher wages and wider job opportunities, particularly in international companies. They also benefit from easier access to global information and educational resources. Conversely, those lacking English proficiency in Ukraine may face lower salary prospects and limited access to some kind of information, potentially blocking their professional and personal development. This dichotomy highlights the profound impact of English language globalization on individual opportunities and societal dynamics.

The case study shows that Ukrainian migrants in Estonia and people in Ukraine do not possess a high level of English and, consequently, they more often experience inequality. The study has shown that most respondents believe that knowledge of English would benefit them in getting a better job or higher salary. This problem is most prominently highlighted in Spain and Germany and one of the reasons for that is the wide usage of Russian and Ukrainian languages in Poland and Estonia. Lastly, middle-aged Ukrainian migrants are not as driven to acquire the language as younger Ukrainian citizens. On the other hand, the motive to learn English in Ukraine is mostly education, while respondents from other states learn

English for employment. This can be explained by looking at the age group representation: in Poland, the largest percentage of responses came from those in the 26–35 (29.2%) and 36–50 (45.9%) age groups, whereas 65.5% of those surveyed from Ukraine are between the ages of 18 and 25.

The English language will continue being a global language as long as the global power of the United States in the international arena is rapidly increasing and that will influence directly people's lives. The data provided in the article proves that globalization of the English language will only flourish as it is widely used on the Internet and the number of English learners is expanding, which will motivate more Ukrainians to learn English.

Acknowledgments

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Резюме

Макаренко Марія, Сидоркіна Аріна, Шпак Олексій, Півненко Володимир

ПЕРЕВАГИ ТА НЕДОЛІКИ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ АНГЛІЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ

Постановка проблеми. Англійська мова стала лінгва франка в сучасному світі, оскільки вона є не лише офіційною мовою багатьох міжнародних організацій (наприклад, ООН, ВООЗ тощо), а й мовою міжнародної торгівлі та бізнесу. У багатьох країнах англійська мова стала провідною іноземною мовою в школах і навіть іноді замінює інші іноземні мови.

Мета. Беручи до уваги широке розповсюдження англійської мови у світі, ми намагаємося показати головні переваги та недоліки цієї ситуації для українців, що живуть в Україні та за кордоном.

Гіпотези. Г.1. Важливість знання англійської мови підкреслюється фактом, що надає більше соціальних можливостей надається людям, які знають англійську мову, особливо якщо вони є мігрантами. **Г.2.** Знання англійської мови безпосередньо впливає на дохід. **Г.3.** Молодь, що живе в Україні, відчуває більшу потребу вивчати англійську мову, ніж дорослі, які живуть за кордоном.

Методи. Ми спираємося на теорію постколоніалізму, теорію глобалізації, лінгвістичну теорію людського капіталу та теорію культурного капіталу. Застосовуючи методологію перехресного опитування, згідно з рекомендаціями Creswell (2014), ми провели опитування українців у Німеччині, Польщі, Іспанії, Естонії та в Україні. Набір учасників проводився за допомогою методу вибірки «сніжної кулі», методу, який добре підходить для охоплення певних груп населення, особливо в онлайн-середовищі. Окрім кількісного аналізу даних, у дослідженні застосована порівняльна система, запропонована Norris та Inglehart (2009) для встановлення відмінностей мовного досвіду українських мігрантів у різних країнах.

Результати. За допомогою теорії постколоніалізму і теорії глобалізації показано, що поширення англійської мови є результатом експансії Британської імперії та становлення Сполучених Штатів як глобального актора в міжнародних відносинах одразу після розпаду Британської імперії. За допомогою лінгвістичної теорії людського капіталу та теорії культурного капіталу доведено, що володіння мовою може бути як обмеженням так і перевагою в різних соціально-економічних ситуаціях. Результати опитування свідчать, що в Естонії вдвічі більше українців, які не володіють англійською мовою або знають її погано (39,4% респондентів), порівняно з іншими державами (Україна – 18,5%; Іспанія – 18,2%, Польща – 15%; Німеччина – 10,3%). Відсоток респондентів, які стикаються з нерівністю, наступний: Німеччина – 19,5%, Польща – 25,3%, Іспанія – 27,1%, Україна – 30%, і водночас Естонія має найвищий рівень нерівності через низьке володіння англійською мовою (47,8% респондентів). Українські мігранти в усіх державах зазначили, що вважають, що знання мови безпосередньо впливає на їхній дохід, хоча в Естонії та Польщі відсоток респондентів, які позитивно відповіли на це запитання, був найвищим. Результати показують, що жителі України (75,2%) та українці в Польщі (73,8%) набагато більше мотивовані вивчати англійську мову, ніж в Естонії (66,4%), Іспанії (64,5%) та Німеччині (57,4%).

Дискусія. На нашу думку такі результати пов'язані з поширенням російської та української мов у Польщі та Естонії, що полегшує процес працевлаштування, тоді як у Німеччині чи Іспанії українським мігрантам знання цих мов не принесе користь. Якщо в Україні респонденти вивчають англійську для навчання, то українці в Польщі, навпаки, вивчають англійську для роботи. Частково це можна пояснити диференціацією відповідей у вікових групах.

Ключові слова: англійська мова, лінгва франка, соціальна нерівність, лінгвістична теорія людського капіталу, теорія культурного капіталу, теорія постколоніалізму, глобалізація, українці, мігранти з України.

Abstract

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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF GLOBALIZATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Background. English has become the lingua franca in the modern world, since it is not only the official language of many international organizations (such as the UN, WHO, etc.), but also the language of international trade and business. In many countries, English has become the leading foreign language in schools and sometimes even replaces other foreign languages.

Purpose. Taking into account the wide spread of the English language in the world, this article shows what are the main advantages and disadvantages of English for Ukrainians living in Ukraine and abroad.

Hypotheses. H.1. The importance of possessing English language skills is highlighted by the fact that knowledge of English secures more social opportunities, especially in case of migrants. **H.2.** Knowledge of the English language has a direct influence on personal income. **H.3.** Young people, who live in Ukraine, feel more motivated to learn English in comparison to adults, who live abroad.

Methods. We draw on postcolonial theory, globalization theory, linguistic human capital theory, and cultural capital theory. Employing a cross-sectional survey methodology, as recommended by Creswell (2014), we targeted Ukrainians in Germany, Poland, Spain, Estonia, and within Ukraine. The participants' recruitment was conducted using the snowball sampling technique, a method well-suited for reaching specific population subsets, particularly in online environments. In addition to quantitative data analysis, the study adopts a comparative framework, as suggested by Norris and Inglehart (2009), examining the variations in the experiences of Ukrainian migrants across different countries.

Results. The theory of postcolonialism and the theory of globalization show that the spread of the English language is a result of the British Empire's expansion and the United States positioning as a global actor in international relations immediately after the collapse of the British Empire. With the help of the linguistic theory of human capital and the theory of cultural capital, we have demonstrated that language proficiency can be both a limitation and an advantage in various socio-economic situations. The results of the survey show that in Estonia there are twice as many Ukrainian people who do not speak English or know it poorly (39.4% of respondents) compared to other countries (Ukraine - 18.5%; Spain - 18.2%; Poland -

15%; Germany – 10.3%). The percentage of interviewees facing inequality 19.5% in Germany, 25.3% in Poland, 27.1% in Spain, 30% in Ukraine. At the same time, Estonia has the highest level of inequality due to low English proficiency (47,8% of respondents). In the survey, Ukrainian migrants in all countries indicated that they believe that language knowledge directly affects their income, although the percentage of respondents who answered positively to this question was the highest in Estonia and Poland. The results show that people in Ukraine (75.2%) and Ukrainians in Poland (73.8%) are much more motivated to learn English than in Estonia (66.4%), Spain (64.5%) and Germany (57.4%).

Discussion. In our opinion, the results are related to the spread of Russian and Ukrainian languages in Poland and Estonia, which facilitates employment, while in Germany or Spain, knowledge of these languages will not benefit Ukrainian migrants. If people in Ukraine indicated that they study English for education, Ukrainians in Poland, on the contrary, study English for work. The results may have been influenced by the age group representativity.

Key words: English language, lingua franca, social inequality, linguistic human capital theory, theory of cultural capital, postcolonial theory, globalization, Ukrainians, Ukrainian migrants.

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НАУКОВЕ ЖИТТЯ

Liudmyla Usyk

Y-JUSTLANG COST PROJECT –
A CHANCE FOR THE YOUNG
TO OVERCOME INVISIBLE DISADVANTAGE

COST Action «Justice to youth language needs: human rights undermined by an invisible disadvantage (Y-JustLang)» was launched in October, 2023 in Brussels (Belgium) by European Cooperation in Science and Technology, the organisation that funds research and innovation networks by connecting researchers and innovators across Europe and beyond to boost research, innovation and careers. This Action has united over forty practitioners and academics from over twenty countries in the pursuit of the policies that will enable young people to participate in justice proceedings effectively. Criminal justice proceedings are based on highly verbal processes that require a level of verbal ability that is rare – or totally unlikely – among young offenders. The empirical evidence suggests that there is a prevalence of language impairment among young offenders and, if undiagnosed and untreated, it increases the risk of re-offending. Secondly, some syntactic abilities are still under development during pre-puberty, and the abilities to connect language to context may be underdeveloped even after the age of eighteen. Finally, the ability to manage structurally complex language is low when academic attainment is low, which is also common among young offenders.

Therefore, the international team of the Action will attempt to assess the situation at European transnational level and to propose specific measures to identify language needs of children and young people from different education backgrounds, including those with disabilities, who are multilingual, or who are deaf or hearing impaired.

The kick-off meeting for the management committee members in Brussels launched the Action formally on October 23[d]. At the meeting, they were briefly introduced to the rules and the tasks of the project by Dr. Rossella Magli, Science Officer at COST Association, voted for the Action Chair Prof. Maria J Arche (University of Greenwich, London, UK) and the Action Vice Chair Prof. Josep Quer

(ICREA-Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain). Most importantly, the meeting attendees were introduced to each other and started to build the project's communication network since the success of any COST action, and this Action is no exception, strongly relies on teamworking and relationships between the project's actors.

Olena Pchelintseva, Doctor of Philology, Professor, Head of the Department of Ukrainian Language and General Linguistics, and Liudmyla Usyk, PhD of Philology, Associate Professor at the Department of Foreign Languages and International Communication, represent Cherkasy State Technological University in the Action. They both attended the kick-off meeting in Brussels, and both are members of the Management Committee.

Six working groups will approach the problem from different perspectives to offer a multi-faceted and exhaustive overview and, in the end, collectively propose effective solutions to ensure protection of human rights of this vulnerable population. Working group 1, chaired by Prof. Caterina Donati (Université de Paris Cité, Paris, France), will work on identification of linguistic phenomena key to youth justice. The second work group will attempt to work out and offer a blueprint of language screening tools for the youth justice system. the leader of this group is Prof. Karen Bryan (York St John University, UK). The third work group will devise an inventory of language abilities tests for youth offenders and will be led by Dr. Philippe Prevost (University of Tours, France). Workgroup 4, chaired by Dr. Ljiljana Jeličić (Research and development institute – Life activities advancement institute – Gospodar Jovanova, Belgrade, Serbia), will direct their efforts towards studying the epidemiology of youth offending. Workgroup 5 is to define the legal frameworks for the youth justice system and is led by Dr. Lana Peto Kujundžić (High Criminal Court in Republic Croatia, Zagreb, Croatia). The sixth workgroup, the leader of which is Dr. Alexandra Perovic, will be responsible for training and dissemination.

The Action has just taken off and will be gaining momentum in a couple of months. The greatest achievement that the Action has set as a goal, is not about the number of publications issued on the topic, is not about the number or level of the conferences and trainings organized, but mainly about improving young people's lives and giving a better chance to those whose rights have been compromised by global ignorance and unawareness.

Резюме

Усик Людмила

ПРОЕКТ Y-JUSTLANG COST – ШАНС ДЛЯ МОЛОДІ ПОДОЛАТИ НЕВИДИМУ ЗАВАДУ

У жовтні 2023 року в Брюсселі (Бельгія) організація European Cooperation in Science and Technology – Європейське співробітництво у сфері науки та технологій – розпочала проєкт COST *«Справедливість щодо мовних потреб молоді: як невидима завада порушує права людини* (Y-JustLang)»*. Судочинство базується на інтенсивних, складних для розуміння дітей та підлітків

мовленнєвих процесах, а недостатній рівень розвитку мовлення часто стає причиною порушення їх прав. Шість робочих груп лінгвістів, психологів, логопедів, юристів, медиків, педагогів досліджуватимуть проблему, щоб запропонувати багатогранний і вичерпний аналіз і, зрештою, колективно запропонувати ефективні рішення для забезпечення захисту прав цієї вразливої групи населення. Найбільше досягнення, яке поставлено за мету в цьому проєкті, полягає не в кількості виданих публікацій на цю тему, не в кількості чи рівні організованих конференцій і тренінгів, а в покращенні життя молоді та наданні шансів на розвиток тим, чиї права були скомпрометовані глобальним невіглаством і необізнаністю.

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ET CETERA (есеї, роздуми, враження)

Mariia Makarenko

ROLE OF SZKOŁA OTWARTEGO UMYSŁU IN SHAPING FUTURE POLITICIANS' AND LINGUISTS' MINDS

Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu is an international project where students from different countries can represent their research works and get published thereafter. The project events are usually held in Ukraine (in blended format) in spring, and in Kielce (Poland) in autumn. I have participated in the project for almost 4 years and this project has changed both my personal and professional worldview a lot.

I started participating in the project in 2020 when I was an undergraduate student in Applied Linguistics and at that time, my research interests were with psycholinguistics. Thanks to Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu, students acquire philosophical and critical thinking. The basic activity of the project is defending your research project. One careless thought or even word can bring about an endless arduous discussion between the student and the committee. On some instances, it took me two hours to defend two pages of my paper, and this feeling is unforgettable. You answer a lot of questions, accept criticism, and respond to comments, and you end up publishing quite a different paper from the one you have originally written.

My research papers in psycholinguistics were devoted to the bilingual situation in Ukraine and linguistic ritualization. Both papers I submitted received numerous comments and prolific feedback, which enriched my knowledge of qualitative research methodology and data analysis. After I changed my specialization and started studying International Relations, I was invited to represent scientific works on a political topic, namely the soft power of China and China-Taiwan relations. Both papers were very much debated over, and my thesis defense benefited greatly from the discussion.

Another important feature of Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu is the community of highly qualified and knowledgeable academics who are driven by self-development and strong commitment to their field of study. Scholars from various countries represent a range of specialisms, hence participation in the project enlarges the knowledge in your field as well as teaches you new skills from related – or even unrelated – disciplines. I learnt a lot about archeology, history, literature, mass media, cultural studies, etc. The connections established through the project grow into long-lasting friendships, and participants maintain relationships for years after their participation. Moreover, some students work on joint projects or coauthor the

articles even being located on different continents. Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu has a tradition for the participants to introduce themselves on the first night, and what is remarkable, the participants would say something like «It is my first day here, but I am already thinking how to come back here next year».

Cultural evenings and visiting museums are my favorite events of the project. Sometimes it is crucial to understand that we acquire new skills and knowledge not only through scientific activity or interpersonal interactions, but also through extracurricular activities. I guess Poland can be considered as a state, where I visited the biggest number of museums though I have lived in three other countries and have never been a resident of Poland. We visited a lot of museums, parks, forests, scientific centers, and cathedrals, and went hiking. During cultural evenings, each delegation should present their state and it is always full of dancing, singing, painting, playing games, tasting local specialties, and getting loads of the latest information. For my future as a politician, participation in the project is a brilliant opportunity to experience a culture I have never been exposed to before.

I have asked my friends to write 2-3 sentences about Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu and their responses are as follows:

«Це було просто неймовірно! Ми ніби побували у Хогвартсі!» – **Юлія Мойсеюк**, Національний університет «Чернігівський колегіум» і Волинський національний університет

«Школа відкритого розуму вщент зруйнувала мої уявлення щодо наукових конференцій. Школа допомогла мені поглянути на науку по-новому і розвивати свій потенціал» – **Костенко Анастасія**, Харківський національний університет імені Семена Кузнеця

«Можу сказати, що враження отримала неймовірні! По-перше, познайомилась з багатьма цікавими людьми. По-друге, відвідала чимало історичних місць та дізналася нову корисну й важливу інформацію. По-третє, поділилася своїм досвідом та знаннями» – **Ковальська Анастасія**, Кам'янець-Подільський національний університет імені Івана Огієнка

«Школа відкритого розуму – це однозначно дуже цікавий та корисний досвід. Саме на школі я дізналася багато нового від учасників конференції та професорів за відносно короткий проміжок часу» – **Рубан Дар'я**, Харківський національний економічний університет імені Семена Кузнеця

«Школа Відкритого Розуму активно сприяє глобальному взаєморозвитку та формуванню «інтелектуальної еліти»» – **Катерина Гуменна**, Тернопільський національний педагогічний університет імені Володимира Гнатюка

And finally,
«Szkoła Otwartego Umysłu is the process of rapid growth where you face your mistakes and then you learn to create a masterpiece out of these mistakes. And both things happen within a few hours of your performance» – **Mariia Makarenko,** Tallinn University.

Резюме

Макаренко Марія

РОЛЬ ШКОЛИ ВІДКРИТОГО РОЗУМУ
У ФОРМУВАННІ МИСЛЕННЯ МАЙБУТНІХ ПОЛІТИКІВ
І ЛІНГВІСТІВ

Стаття описує роль Школи Відкритого Розуму в формуванні мислення молодого покоління, а саме політиків і мовознавців. У статті зазначається, що особливістю школи є сам процес захисту наукових робіт, адже студент отримує безліч питань, які можуть виникнути як до конкретного слова або до певного речення. Школа Відкритого Розуму дає можливість не лише наукового зросту, а також сприяє культурному та персональному розвитку завдяки культурним вечорам, походам в музеї, тощо. У статті відображаються відгуки ШВР 2023.

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