ESP

Across Cultures
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ESP Across Cultures

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ESP Across Cultures is a double blind peer reviewed international journal that publishes theoretical, descriptive and applied studies on varieties of English pertaining to a wide range of specialized fields of knowledge, such as agriculture, art and humanities, commerce, economics, education and vocational training, environmental studies, finance, information technology, law, media studies, medicine, politics, religion, science, the social sciences, sports, technology and engineering, tourism, and transport. The journal addresses a readership composed of academics, professionals, and students interested in English for special purposes particularly from a cross-cultural perspective. The aim of the journal is to bring together scholars, practitioners, and young researchers working in different specialized language domains and in different disciplines with a view to developing an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approach to the study of ESP.

ESP Across Cultures is indexed in Scopus and is covered in *Linguistics & Language Behaviour Abstracts*, *MLA International Bibliography*, *Translation Studies Abstracts* and *Bibliography of Translation Studies*.

Foreword

Welcome to volume 19 of *ESP Across Cultures*, the ninth to be published in on-line format. There are six papers in the current issue, all focusing on particular aspects of English for Specific Purposes from a cross-cultural perspective.

In the opening paper, Tünde Bajzát examines the Hungarian context and describes the current state of teaching ESP in Hungarian higher education by means of an empirical study carried out among ESP teachers working at Hungarian higher education institutions across the country. The first part of the paper presents the theoretical background of the paper, while the second part describes the Hungarian higher educational context concerning foreign language requirements, accredited language examinations, and ESP teaching.

In her paper Marisa Della Gatta focuses on the strategic narratives of unsolved grievances in the Nagorno-Karabakh war, part of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. The author analyses the strategic narratives surrounding the very existence of the Republic of Artsakh, arguing that narratives in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh reflect and amplify polarized victims' dynamics. The first part of the paper explores strategic narratives applied to the Nagorno-Karabakh context, while the second part evaluates the main narratives emerging from both official statements, and traditional and social media where English is used as the means of communication.

Cecilia Lazzeretti and Maria Cristina Gatti examine the ways in which English is used in museum communication in multilingual South Tyrol, a northern Italian province with a large number of museums. The authors investigate multilingual practices in the computer-mediated communication of South Tyrolean museums by looking at which languages are used on websites and social network sites of South Tyrolean museums, and the role English plays in establishing relationships with multicultural audiences.

Sonia Maria Melchiorre looks at the innovative pedagogical use of TV dialogues in the teaching of English for Media and Communication from a gender-based perspective. The author observes that education through entertainment differs from formal education offered by schools and academic institutions and the use of entertainment modes helps create innovative content and practices. She outlines the concept of "eudaimonic entertainment" which she argues is key to understanding the pedagogical function of TV and also to challenging the idea that television as a domestic medium is associated with heteronormativity.

Franca Poppi analyses communication styles at work and how members of different national cultures deal with information requests and directives when writing emails. The author focuses on three corpora of 100 emails each, written in English by the Japanese, Chinese and Emirati employees of a multinational freight-forwarding company and compares the communication styles adopted when interacting with colleagues from a different country. The analysis explores the strategies deployed to tackle potentially face-threatening speech acts like information requests and directives.

In the final paper in this volume Giulia Rovelli reports on the construction and describes the main features of an Italian-English glossary of the most salient

technical terms and phrasal expressions typical of academic-administrative language (GATE, i.e. Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions) which was developed at the University of Insubria (Varese). It is hoped that the glossary may be a useful resource for all Italian research institutions wanting to internationalize their documents and aligning their policies to EU standards.

We hope you enjoy the current issue of this journal, and we encourage you to browse through any of the past issues, all available online.

<div align="right">

Christopher Williams
Denise Milizia

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THE CURRENT STATE OF TEACHING ESP IN HUNGARIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Tünde Bajzát

(University of Miskolc, Hungary)

Abstract

"English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is an approach to language teaching that targets the current and/or future academic or occupational needs of learners, focuses on the necessary language, genres, and skills to address these needs, and assists learners in meeting these needs through the use of general and/or discipline-specific teaching materials and methods" (Anthony 2018: 10-11). However, the regulations defining who can be an ESP teacher in higher education, and the expectations concerning the qualifications and experiences of ESP teachers may vary in different countries. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to explore the Hungarian context and describe the current state of the ESP teacher in Hungarian higher education. The empirical study reported in this paper was carried out among ESP teachers working at Hungarian higher education institutions across the country. The first part of the paper presents the theoretical background of the paper. The second part describes the Hungarian higher educational context concerning foreign language requirements, accredited language examinations, and ESP teaching. Finally, the findings of the research study are shown, which defines the current state of the ESP teacher in Hungarian higher education. The ESP teachers' qualifications, the specialized fields taught, the used teaching methods and materials, the forms of education, and the ESP teachers' experiences and opinions on teaching and researching ESP in tertiary education are described in detail. The uniqueness of the study lies in the fact that no such research has been conducted before in Hungary.

1. Introduction

Globalization, advances in communication technology, educational and labour mobility, and the internationalization of higher education require people all over the world to communicate across cultural borders; therefore, it is crucial to have a good command of foreign languages both in Hungary and worldwide. Foreign language skills are required for work in Hungary and abroad, in study abroad programs, or when earning a master's degree in a program where English is the medium of instruction, and students will also need their foreign language skills when socializing with international students on campus. "Educational programmes all over the world today should have an international focus. Future professionals, our present students in higher education are to

acquire international competence to prepare not only for the local but the global market as well. Communicative language competence is a prerequisite for successful communication among professionals for general and specific purposes" (Kurtán 2004: 9).

2. Theoretical background

In their seminal work, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) define ESP as an approach to language learning, based on learner's needs and directed by specific and apparent reasons for learning. They argue that the principles that underpin effective ESP methodology are the same as those that underpin effective ELT methodology in general. The classroom skills and techniques acquired in teaching General English can be employed in the ESP classroom. The basic principles of language learning are the following: it is a developmental, active process, and a decision-making process; it is not just a matter of linguistic knowledge; it is not the learners' first experience with language; it is an emotional experience, to a large extent incidental; and it is not systematic. They claim that the majority of ESP teachers have not been trained as experts of the specialized field and they have to teach texts whose contents they know little or nothing about, therefore, they need to adjust to a new environment. It is not necessary for ESP teachers to learn specialist subject knowledge; they do not need to become teachers of the subject matter. However, the ESP teacher should have an interest in the subject matter and a positive attitude towards the ESP content (*ibid.*).

In their seminal work Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) support Hutchinson and Waters' view that learner-centredness in ESP teaching is of crucial importance; however, they characterize it as a multidisciplinary approach, where the ESP teacher can draw on the insights of researchers in other disciplines and may also engage with researchers in other disciplines through teaching. They claim that there is just one difference between the methodology of teaching ESP and General English, which is that the teacher is not the 'primary knower' of the content of the material, because in many cases students know more about the content than the teacher; therefore, the teacher relies on the students' knowledge of the content in order to generate genuine communication in the classroom. Dudley-Evans and St John use the term 'practitioner' instead of 'teacher' to emphasize that ESP work requires more than teaching. According to them, the ESP practitioner has five key roles: teacher, course designer and materials provider, collaborator, researcher, and evaluator. Besides, ESP teachers have to be flexible, be willing to listen to learners, and take an interest in the disciplines or professional activities the students are involved in. Besides flexibility, taking risks are the key to be successful in ESP teaching (*ibid.*).

One of the most widely cited early studies of ESP is that of Strevens (1988), who focuses on the needs of ESP learners and defines ESP by making a distinction between its absolute and variable characteristics. According to Strevens (*ibid.*), the four absolute characteristics of ESP teaching are that:

1) it is designed to meet specified needs of the learner;

2) it is related in content (i.e. in its themes and topics) to particular disciplines, occupations and activities;

3) it is centred on the language appropriate to those activities in syntax, lexis, discourse, semantics, etc., and analysis of this discourse;
4) it stands in contrast with General English.

The two variable characteristics are that:
1) it is restricted as to the language skills to be learned (e.g. reading only);
2) it is not taught according to any pre-ordained methodology (*ibid*.).

Building on the work of Strevens, Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) created a more elaborate definition of ESP, which is still used by many researchers in the field today. Similarly to Strevens, they divided ESP into absolute and variable characteristics. The absolute characteristics are the following:
- ESP is defined to meet specific needs of the learners;
- ESP makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves;
- ESP is centred on the language (grammar, lexis, register), skills, discourse and genres appropriate to these activities.

The variable characteristics are the following:
- ESP may be related to or designed for specific disciplines;
- ESP may use, in specific teaching situations, a different methodology from that of General English;
- ESP is likely to be designed for adult learners, either at a tertiary-level institution or in a professional work situation. It could, however, be used for learners at the secondary school level;
- ESP is generally designed for intermediate or advanced students. Most ESP courses assume basic knowledge of the language systems, but it can be used with beginners (*ibid*.).

If we compare Strevens' definition with Dudley-Evans and St John's, we can notice that the first and third absolute characteristics are almost identical, although Dudley-Evans and St John have added 'genre'. In contrast, the second absolute characteristic is subtly different, because it has been transformed to highlight the connection between ESP methodology and the target disciplines it serves, rather than simply a content connection. Another difference is that Strevens' fourth absolute characteristic has been removed from Dudley-Evans and St John's definition. Even more striking differences can be found when we look at variable characteristics. Dudley-Evans and St John's have increased the number of characteristics, and they also differ in nature, while Strevens' definition limits the language skills to be taught and does not determine a definite methodology to be used. On the other hand, Dudley-Evans and St John's definition emphasizes the importance of discipline specificity; it declares that ESP teaching needs to use the methodologies and activities of the discipline it serves and that it might be different from that of General English; and it determines the age and proficiency level of learners and the setting where ESP is likely to be taught.

To summarize the above discussed definitions of ESP, we can state that ESP teaching has a learner-centred approach; it serves the specific needs of language learners; it

is focused on the language skills, discourse, and genres; its methodology is quite similar to the methodology of teaching General English. ESP teachers do not have to be trained in the specialized field they are teaching, but they should be interested in the field they are teaching, utilize the knowledge of academics in other disciplines, design the course, provide the materials, be flexible and take risks.

Among others, Kennedy and Bolitho (1991) observe that the main language skills are reading, writing, listening and speaking. In teaching ESP, they should not be taught separately: integrated skills activities should be employed to use all the skills. Integrated skills activities involve all four language skills to a varying degree, several activities are involved, and they can also aid the reproduction of problems and pressures of real-life situations. Examples of integrated skills activities that can be used in the ESP classroom include simulations, role-plays, games and project work (*ibid.*).

An ESP student needs to master several reading strategies, such as skimming and scanning for information, Furthermore, a good reader can pick up the signals that a writer transmits and use them to link ideas together and predict the form and content of the message, and correct prediction means successful comprehension. The use of graphs and diagrams can help students predict the content of a text (*ibid.*). Research has proved that background specialized information plays a crucial role in ESP reading (Kurtán 2003).

Similarly to reading, writing is also concerned with a written text, but students have to produce the text; therefore, they need to be aware of the structure of a certain type of writing before being able to produce it. At the same time, writing coherently and defining the purpose and readership of a particular piece of writing are of key importance (Kennedy and Bolitho 1991).

Listening skills are indispensable in several instances, such as in social situations with friends, colleagues and strangers (native and non-native speakers), in meetings, in telephone conversations, and in academic settings. Unlike a reader, a listener cannot control the flow of information and hence the processing of it. The lecturer's use of intonation, pausing, stress, signalling, repetition and rephrasing of what has been said, the use of diagrams and drawings, and gestures can all aid students' comprehension; therefore, they should be incorporated into a listening course (*ibid.*).

ESP students need to apply their speaking skills not only in academic settings, but also in social situations, such as finding accommodation, going shopping, travelling, or maintaining social relationships. Therefore, students should be trained to understand and reply appropriately in different situations, and they should learn and practise accurate utterances (*ibid.*).

3. The Hungarian higher educational context

At present 65 accredited higher education (HE) institutions operate in Hungary, the majority of which (39 institutions, 60%) are universities and less than half of which are colleges (26 institutions, 40%). Most of the colleges (20 institutions, 77%) are specialized institutions of theology and some of them are business schools (four institutions), one is a dancing school, and one is a teacher training college (Higher Education Information System). In the academic year of 2020/21 there were 205,000 students attending the different faculties of the Hungarian institutions (Central Statistics Office).

Hungarian HE students were required to pass at least one intermediate level (B2) general or specialized language examination in order to earn a degree. Higher education institutions had to provide services to develop students' language and specialized language skills both in Hungarian and in foreign languages (Act CXXXIX of 2005 on Higher Education). However, in December 2022 the Hungarian Government added a new amendment to the previous Acts (Act CXXXIX of 2005, Act CCIV of 2011 on Higher Education), according to which passing an intermediate level general or specialized language examination for earning a degree is not compulsory for Hungarian HE students. However, higher education institutions can define in their curriculum whether they require their students to obtain a state-accredited language certificate or whether their students should take other language proficiency tests. Furthermore, the amendment states that higher education institutions should ensure the teaching of professional foreign languages for the exercise of the professional qualification that can be obtained in the given major (Hungarian Official Register No 209). Moreover, students can receive extra points for having a language certificate at the entrance examinations and have a greater likelihood of being accepted to HE.

Therefore, Hungarian universities offer general and foreign languages for specific purposes (FLSP) courses to students to help them prepare for the language exams and for future work in the labour market, either as compulsory or elective courses free of charge. Hungarian students can choose from 45 different state-accredited language exams. There are 20 general language exams, and 25 specialized state-accredited language examinations available in the fields of administration, agricultural and environmental sciences, Biblical Hebrew, business, diplomacy, ecclesiastical studies, economics, international relations, language for services (an examination in English for Law Enforcement), legal, management, medical, military, technical, and tourism and catering. More than half the exams (26 exams, 58%) are monolingual and less than half of them (19 exams, 42%) are bilingual. The state-accredited language centres offer exams in 33 different languages, namely Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Esperanto, Finnish, French, German, ancient Greek and modern Greek, Romany, Hebrew, Hungarian as a foreign language, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Ukrainian (Office of Education, Language Accreditation Department). The accredited language examinations are designed to test students' reading, writing (written exam), speaking and listening skills (oral exam), and the bilingual exams also contain translation tasks as part of the written exam, testing the mediation skills of the applicants. There are a few (12 institutions, 18%) Hungarian HE institutions that also serve as language centres, where students can take their oral and written language examinations (Office of Education, Language Accreditation Department).

Foreign language teaching has always been important in higher education in Hungary. In addition to providing training for foreign language teachers, the majority of universities and colleges in Hungary have offered high-level foreign language instruction to their students, particularly in the fields of medicine, technology, law, business, economics, and social sciences (Havril 2009). By the 1960s, centres of teaching foreign languages for specific purposes had been established at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences (today: Corvinus University of Budapest), the Budapest University of

Technology (today: Budapest University of Technology and Economics) and the College of Commerce and Hospitality (today: Budapest Business School) in Hungary (Kurtán 2003). Ever since, besides educating students, these universities have played an important role in working out new curricula for ESP teaching, participating in research projects on LSP, establishing LSP examination centres, carrying out research in LSP, organizing scientific events and conferences, and launching academic journals (Kurtán 2003; Havril 2009). In 2003 the Hungarian Association of Teachers and Researchers of Languages for Specific Purposes (Hungarian abbreviation: SZOKOE) was founded, with the aims of helping the publication of research in language pedagogy and applied linguistics in the field of teaching and examining LSP and integrating the results into Hungarian language teaching, establishing the international compatibility of LSP skills, ensuring the flow of information on professional life in the field of LSP teaching and research, and representing the views of the language teaching profession at all levels of the preparation of language policy and language teaching decisions (SZOKOE).

According to Kurtán (2003), there are five types of instructors who teach LSP in Higher Education in Hungary. First of all, LSP can be taught by a teacher majoring in a foreign language and another subject, for example English and Chemistry. This means that the instructor has a thorough knowledge of both fields as well as pedagogical knowledge, skills and attitudes. Secondly, the most typical Hungarian ESP teacher is a graduate of a Faculty of Humanities majoring in a foreign language, who has received training in language pedagogy and language teaching methodology but lacks knowledge of the field of LSP. Thirdly, an LSP instructor may be a graduate of a Faculty of Humanities majoring in a foreign language and his or her university education included an LSP teacher training course. The fourth scenario is to employ a teacher trained in the pedagogy of a subject other than foreign languages, such as mathematics or biology, and at the same time speaking a foreign language. Finally, an LSP teacher can be a graduate of any field (except for foreign languages) without any training in pedagogy but speaking a foreign language and well-informed in the field of LSP communication (*ibid.*).

However, besides the teaching duties, LSP teachers in Hungarian higher education institutions have other tasks to perform, as well. The importance of attending workshops on LSP, holding PhD degrees and carrying out research in Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, and LSP, publishing scientific articles, participating in conferences on LSP, developing course materials are crucial for LSP teachers, because the gained knowledge and information can be utilized during LSP classes and thus develop the students' knowledge. Students need to employ their LSP knowledge during their internships, in student mobility programs abroad, and in their future jobs. Furthermore, carrying out research and publishing scientific articles are important for LSP teachers due to the internationalization of higher education and the evaluation of a university's and its departments' scientific research work (Ürmösné and Barnucz 2020).

Kurtán and Silye (2012) carried out a study at 23 higher education institutions in Hungary (15 state universities, two religious universities, six colleges) to find out the state of foreign language and LSP teaching at Hungarian higher education. The study revealed that the majority of LSP instructors have degrees in foreign language teaching, and some of them (16%) have earned a degree in the specialized field they are teaching. Although holding a doctoral degree or carrying out scientific research are

not requirements for LSP teachers – and these activities are valued differently at the various higher education institutions – still quite a few of them (18%) have a PhD, and in the past decade their numbers have dramatically increased. Besides teaching, the ESP instructors also write scientific articles, LSP dictionaries, and course materials; examine students at accredited language exams, carry out translation and interpreting activities (*ibid.*).

4. Methodology and the participants in the research

4.1. *Research questions*
The research questions that guided the present study were formulated as follows:
- What qualifications do ESP teachers have in Hungarian higher education?
- What teaching and research experiences do ESP teachers have?
- What kind of teaching materials, methods and forms do they apply in their teaching of ESP? What skills do they develop most frequently?
- How often do they attend conferences, trainings and workshops on teaching LSP?
- How important do they consider these activities?
- How frequently do they read specialized literature, carry out research and present at conferences on teaching LSP? How important do they consider these activities?
- What is their opinion about the significance of teaching foreign languages for specific purposes and for general purposes in higher education?

4.2. *Participants*
The majority of the Hungarian universities (28 universities, 72%) were involved in the study, where ESP teaching took place in 41 language teaching departments. The data collection was conducted in spring 2022. The questionnaire was sent out to 300 Hungarian instructors and a third of them (100 teachers, 34%) from 22 universities

	Number of instructors	Percentage
Gender	Female: 82	82%
	Male: 18	18%
Age	average age: 52.2 years	---
	33-40 years: 7	7%
	41-50 years: 36	36%
	51-60 years: 39	39%
	over 60: 18	18%
Qualification	MA: 69	69%
	PhD: 31	31%
Teaching other foreign languages for specific purposes	German: 8	54%
	Russian: 3	20%
	French: 2	13%
	Latin: 2	13%

Table 1. Background of the participants of the study (n=100)

(79%) answered the questions. The sample can be considered a representative sample, because over 30 percent of the survey sample and the majority of the universities were represented.

Table 1 reports further information on the participating Hungarian teachers. Most of the respondents (82%) are female; and less than a fifth of them are male instructors (18%). The table shows that the participants are middle-aged, their average age is 52.2 years, some of them (7%) are between 33 and 40 years of age, over one-third of them (36%) are between 41 and 50 years of age, nearly two-fifths (39%) are between 51 and 60 years of age, and less than a fifth of the respondents (18%) are above 60, the oldest participant is 75 years old. Most of the participants (69%) have a master's degree, and almost a third of them (31%) have received a doctoral degree. Besides teaching ESP, some of the instructors (15%) also teach other foreign languages for specific purposes. The table illustrates that more than half of the respondents (54%) also teach German, a fifth of them (20%) teach Russian, and a few of them (13%) teach French and Latin for specific purposes.

4.3. *Data collection instruments and procedures*

The empirical study used a quantitative data collection in order to gain insight into the ESP teachers' qualifications, experiences and opinions of teaching and researching ESP in Hungarian tertiary education. The instrument of data collection was a questionnaire in Hungarian. The questionnaire contained closed- and open-ended questions, and Likert (1932) scale items. Closed questions were used because they direct the respondents' thoughts, but at the same time they allow the researcher to compare the participants' answers and it is easy to process them. It is easier and quicker to answer closed questions. The disadvantages are the loss of spontaneity and expressiveness (Oppenheim 2005). The closed questions were concerned with the participants' demographic information, qualifications, teaching and research experiences of ESP, foreign languages taught for specific purposes, teaching material, methods and forms of ESP, and the importance of teaching foreign languages for specific purposes or for general purposes in HE.

Open-ended questions give freedom to the respondents, let their thoughts roam freely, and free-response questions are expressed spontaneously. They are easy to ask, but difficult to answer and even more difficult to analyse (Oppenheim 2005). The open-ended questions were used to supplement the answers given to closed questions, and they inquired about the importance of having a degree in the scientific field in which the participants teach a foreign language for specific purposes, the significance of carrying out research in the field, and about the relevance of teaching foreign languages for specific purposes in HE. The Likert scale items were developed to measure teachers' attitudes. The aim of Likert scale questions is to show a judgement of values and not a judgement of facts. The questionnaire contained ten Likert scale questions. The five-point Likert scale items of the first question aimed to measure the frequency of skills development in ESP courses. Two other five-point scale items quantified the prevalence of attending and presenting at conferences on teaching LSP. The fourth Likert scale question measured the frequency of attending further education trainings or workshops on LSP teaching and the fifth question quantified its importance. The sixth five-point scale measured the frequency of reading specialized literature in the related field. The next Likert question

quantified the significance of having a degree in the scientific field in which participants teach a foreign language for specific purposes and the eighth question measured the relevance of having a PhD in Linguistics/Applied Linguistics/Language Teaching. The following Likert question measured the importance of carrying out research in teaching LSP. The last five-point scale question quantified the significance of teaching LSP in higher education.

The questionnaire was developed for the present study, and it is partly based on the literature discussed in the theoretical section of the paper, partly on the Hungarian contextual features described earlier, and partly on the personal experiences of the researcher teaching ESP at Hungarian higher education for over 20 years. The questionnaire was piloted using a think aloud protocol with the help of potential participants (a Hungarian university's ESP teachers). After some adjustments (in question 5.2, some foreign languages were listed; in 6, other professional areas were added; questions 21 and 22 were separated), the instrument was finalized. A probability sampling method, namely systematic sampling, was used to recruit the participants of the study; the ESP teachers were selected teaching at the 28 Hungarian higher education institutions; other LSP teachers were not involved in the research. The administration of the questionnaire took place online. All participating teachers received an electronic letter describing the aim of the research, including the link of the Hungarian questionnaire, and requesting their cooperation. It was hoped that ESP teachers from various universities representing different fields of ESP would participate. As a survey method, the questionnaire was created on-line with Google Forms and was sent to the teachers to be completed. The respondents completed the questionnaire voluntarily and their anonymity was assured.

5. Results and discussion

In the following section, first the ESP teachers' further qualifications and experiences are described, followed by the teaching materials and methods applied by the participants, and finally, the instructors' opinions are presented.

5.1. *ESP teachers' further qualifications and experiences*

Table 2 shows the qualifications of the ESP teachers in detail. We can see that almost all the participants (98%) have graduated from a Faculty of Humanities majoring in a foreign language or foreign languages and earned a degree in English language teaching (ELT), received pedagogical and methodological training, and only two respondents (2%) lacked this type of qualification. The table illustrates that the majority of the instructors (80%) do not have a degree in the scientific field in which they teach ESP, only a fifth of the teachers (20%) have such a degree, and most of them (70%) have a degree in economics, some of them (15%) in law, two (10%) in foreign trade, and one person (5%) graduated as a member of the border police. However, more than half of the participants (64%) are accredited ESP language examiners, nearly a third of them (29%) examine applicants at oral ESP exams, and more than a third of them (35%) test students at both oral and written ESP exams, and a little more than a third of them (36%) are not accredited ESP examiners. Besides the previously mentioned qualifications, we can see that almost a third of the ESP instructors (30%) have a PhD

	Number of instructors	Percentage
Having a degree in ELT	YES: 98	98%
	NO: 2	2%
Having a degree in the scientific field in which they teach ESP	NO: 80	80%
	YES: 20	20%
	Economics: 14	70%
	Law: 3	15%
	Foreign trade: 2	10%
	Border policing: 1	5%
Accredited ESP examiner	YES, oral examiner: 29	29%
	YES, written examiner: 0	0%
	YES, both oral and written examiner: 35	35%
	NO: 36	36%
Having a PhD in Linguistics/Applied Linguistics/Language Teaching	YES: 30	30%
	NO: 70	69%
Having a PhD in the scientific field in which they teach ESP	YES: 1	1%
Having an ESP course during university studies	YES: 20	20%
	NO: 80	80%
Having an ESP course during PhD studies	YES: 15	50%
	NO: 15	50%

Table 2. The ESP teachers' qualifications (n=100)

in Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, or Language Teaching, but the majority of the respondents (69%) do not have a doctoral degree. There is one participant (1%) who has received a PhD in military sciences. In Table 2 we can also see that only a fifth of the instructors (20%) have had an ESP course while studying at the university to become EFL teachers, and the majority of the respondents (80%) have not had the opportunity to attend such a course, because it was not included in the curriculum of the Hungarian university where they graduated. Nevertheless, half of the instructors with PhD degrees (15 participants) attended an ESP course while studying for a doctoral degree.

Apart from teaching, nearly half of the respondents (40%) also carry out research in teaching LSP, which is only a requirement for teachers of Hungarian HE holding a doctoral degree. Table 3 illustrates the frequency of four activities concerning LSP research and preparation. The data show that the participants regularly read specialized literature on teaching LSP: 17 percent of them read scientific literature on LSP every month, and another 17 percent of them also carry out this activity quite regularly. The respondents' second most frequent task is attending further education trainings or

Activities	1 (never)	2	3	4	5 (every month)	average frequency
reading specialized literature	11	27	28	17	17	3.02
Activities	1 (never)	2	3	4	5 (more than once a year)	average frequency
attending trainings/ workshops	17	28	24	20	11	2.8
attending conferences	22	22	26	15	15	2.79
presenting at conferences	65	12	5	14	4	1.8

Table 3. The ESP teachers' other activities concerning LSP research and preparation (n=100)

workshops on teaching LSP: 11 percent of the teachers take part in such events more than once a year, and 20 percent of them at least once a year. The average frequency of attending conferences on teaching LSP is similar to the previous activity. However, slightly more instructors (15%) carry out this activity more than once a year. Nevertheless, presenting at conferences on teaching LSP is the least frequently performed activity among the four: only a few participants (4%) have conference presentations more than once a year.

5.2. *ESP teachers' teaching materials and methods*

Table 4 describes the specialized fields of ESP taught by the respondents. The table contains six subfields of ESP and 44 specializations. We can see that the most commonly taught specializations are English for economics, and tourism and catering. Teaching English for legal purposes and marketing studies are also significant. English for medical doctors, mechanical engineers, agriculture, and IT are also common among the participants. The less frequently taught specializations include English for border police, health visitors, nurses, physiotherapists, environmental management specialists, electrical engineers, pharmacists, materials engineers, and plant biologists. The least common specializations among the teachers are English for dentists, health organizers, radiologists, architects, Earth sciences engineers, law enforcement administration managers, food and animal science, public administration, business, dietitians, vets, military engineers, music, international relations, media studies, viticulture, special education, applied arts, chemical engineering, biology, forestry, wildlife management, herbs and spices, and horticulture.

The results of the study also show that over half of the respondents (55%) have experience in teaching one field, and more than half of them (53%, 29 teachers) have taught only one specialization of the six fields (economics (35%) is the most common). More than a third of the participants teaching only one field (38%, 21 teachers) have trained students in two specializations of the same field (economics, and tourism and catering (38%) and economics, and marketing (24%) are the most commonly taught specializations). There are three ESP teachers who have experience in teaching three specializations of the same field (two of them English for Business and Economics, and one teacher English for Technology). There is one respondent who has experience in

English for Business and Economics	English for Medical Studies	English for Technology
economics: 59	medical doctors: 14	mechanical engineering: 15
tourism and catering: 35	health visitors: 10	IT: 13
marketing: 22	nursing: 8	electrical engineering: 7
business: 1	physiotherapists: 8	materials engineering: 5
	pharmacists: 7	architects: 4
	dentists: 4	Earth sciences engineering: 4
	health organizers: 4	military engineering: 1
	radiology: 4	chemical engineering: 1
	dietitians: 2	
	veterinarians: 2	
English for Fine Arts	**English for Humanities**	**English for Science**
visual arts: 4	law: 24	agriculture: 12
music: 1	border police: 6	environmental management: 8
applied arts:1	law enforcement: 4	plant science: 5
	pedagogy: 3	food science: 3
	public administration: 3	animal science: 4
	international relations: 2	viticulture: 2
	media studies: 2	forestry: 1
	special education: 1	biology: 1
		horticulture: 1
		wildlife management: 1
		herbs and spices: 1

Table 4. The specialized fields of ESP taught by the participants (n=100)

teaching five and one participant teaching seven specializations of the same field (i.e. English for Medical Studies).

A quarter of the respondents (24%) have already taught two fields: the most common fields taught by the same teacher are English for Business and Economics and English for Humanities (eight teachers), English for Business and Economics and English for Science (six teachers), English for Business and Economics and English for Technology (four teachers), and English for Business and Economics and English for Medical Studies (four teachers). The least common combinations are English for Fine Arts and English for Medical Studies (one teacher), and English for Humanities and English for Technology (one teacher).

12 percent of the participants have trained students in three fields: the most frequently taught fields by the same teacher are English for Business and Economics, English for Medical Studies, and English for Technology (three teachers); English for Business and Economics, English for Science, and English for Technology (three teachers); English for Business and Economics, English for Humanities, and English for Technology (two teachers); English for Medical Studies, English for Humanities, and English for Technology (two teachers). The least common combinations are English for Business and Economics, English for Medical Studies, and English for Humanities (one

	number of instructors	percentage
YEARS OF TEACHING ESP	average years of experience: 16.7 years	---
	1-10 years: 34	34%
	11-20 years: 31	31%
	21-30 years: 26	26%
	above 30: 9	9%

Table 5. The participants' experience of teaching ESP (n=100)

Teaching material	Number of instructors	Percentage
online available articles	87	87
online available videos	85	85
newspaper articles	74	74
diagrams and charts	70	70
ESP textbooks/workbooks published abroad	65	65
self-made PPT slides	59	59
online available listening exercises	56	56
pictures	51	51
coursebooks published abroad	49	49
self-made and published lecture notes	48	48
ESP textbooks/workbooks published in Hungary	37	37
lecture notes written and published by other university teachers/colleagues	33	33
coursebooks published in Hungary	25	25
online blogs	16	16
PPT slides created by others	13	13

Table 6. The teaching material used by the participants in ESP courses (n=100)

teacher); English for Business and Economics, English for Science, and English for Fine Arts (one teacher).

Nine percent of the respondents have experience in teaching four fields: the most frequently taught fields by the same teacher are English for Business and Economics, English for Medical Studies, English for Humanities, and English for Technology (eight teachers). There is one participant who has already taught English for Business and Economics, English for Science, English for Technology, and English for Fine Arts.

Table 5 displays how long the participants have been teaching ESP. We can see that the instructors have been teaching for more than one and a half decades on average (16.7 years); their experience in teaching ESP is between one year and 40 years. A third of them (34%) have been teaching ESP between one and 10 years, nearly another third of them (31%) have taught ESP for between 11 and 20 years, more than a quarter of them (26%) have been ESP instructors for between 21 and 30 years, and nine percent of the respondents have been teaching ESP for more than 30 years.

The participants of the study have two to six ESP classes a week depending on the specialization. The respondents teaching English for technical and medical purposes

have two or three ESP classes a week; those who teach English for business and economics classes have four classes a week, and the respondents teaching English for military purposes have six classes a week.

The use of teaching materials is detailed in Table 6. As can be seen, the most widely used materials are authentic articles and videos available online that are used by most of the teachers (87% and 85% respectively). Furthermore, over two-thirds of the respondents use newspaper articles (74%), and diagrams and charts (70%) in teaching ESP. The table also illustrates that more than half the participants use ESP textbooks or workbooks that were published abroad (65%), PPT slides prepared by themselves (59%), and listening tasks available online (56%). Half of the teachers use pictures (51%), coursebooks that were published abroad (49%), and lecture notes that were both prepared and published by themselves (48%). However, ESP textbooks or workbooks that were published in Hungary, and lecture notes written and published by other university teachers or colleagues are only used by a third of the instructors (37% and 33% respectively). The data show that the least widely used materials include: coursebooks published in Hungary (25%), online blogs (16%), and PPT slides created by others (13%).

The pie chart in Figure 1 illustrates the teaching methods employed by the ESP instructors. As can be seen, the methods used by the majority of the respondents (98, 91, 91 answers respectively) include individual, pair, and group work. Role plays and simulation exercises are used by three-quarters of the participants (75 answers). However, only half the teachers (55, 50 answers respectively) use case studies and lectures in their ESP classes. Nearly half of the instructors (40 answers) ask their students to prepare and deliver presentations. Nevertheless, inviting an expert lecturer to give a speech and assigning students to carry out project work is a rare activity among the participating ESP teachers (12, 4 answers respectively).

Figure 2 displays the various ESP teaching forms of the respondents. The pie chart shows that holding seminars is the most common form of teaching, and it is employed by three-quarters of the teachers (76 answers). However, teaching ESP in the form of a lecture (usually lasting for 50 minutes) is rare (four answers). The data also show that
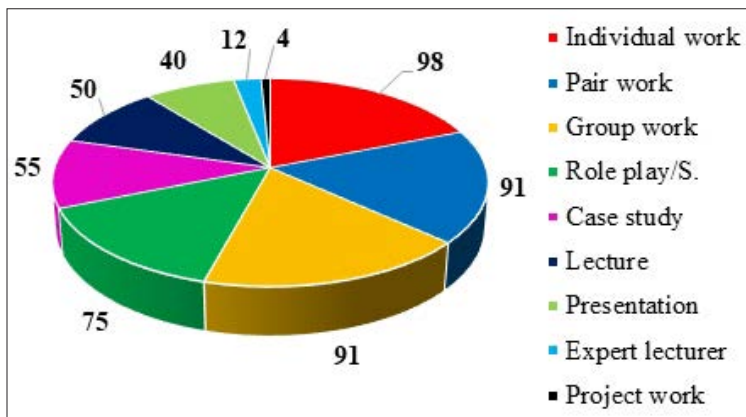

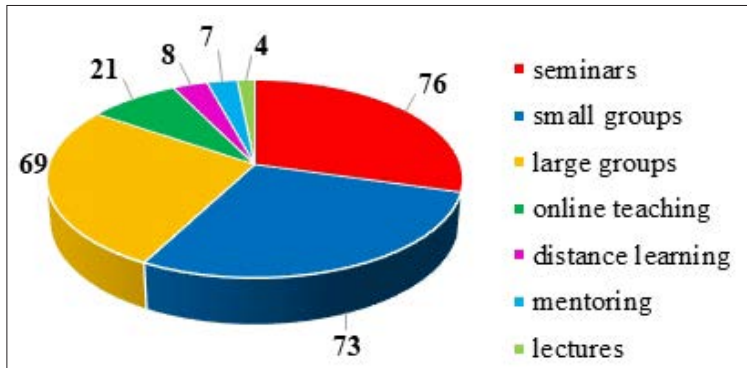*Figure 1.* Teaching methods employed by the ESP teachers (n=100)

Figure 2. The forms of teaching ESP (n=100)

skills	1 (never)	2	3	4	5 (every class)	average frequency
speaking	0	0	0	14	86	4.86
reading	0	2	13	34	51	4.34
listening	1	2	21	40	36	4.08
writing	1	16	49	24	10	3.26
translation	14	29	34	10	13	2.79
interpreting	64	24	5	3	4	1.59

Table 7. The frequency of skills development in ESP classes (n=100)

teaching ESP in Hungarian HE is most usually held in small groups (5-10 students) or in large groups (15-30 students) (73, 69 answers respectively), and mentoring one student is quite rare (seven answers). We can see that online and distance-learning are not very frequent (21 and eight answers respectively) in ESP education in the Hungarian context.

The frequency of skills development in ESP classes is given in Table 7. We can see that the most regularly developed skill is speaking, which is practised by the majority of instructors (86%) every class, and the remaining participants (14%) also teach it regularly. The second most developed skill in ESP classes is reading, which is taught by half the respondents (51%) every class, and a third of the participants (34%) teach it quite often. Developing listening skills is still considered to be an important skill, and it is practised during every class by more than a third of the teachers (36%), and almost half the respondents (40%) develop it regularly. However, writing skills are not regarded to be of utmost importance, and only ten percent of the instructors teach them during every class. As can be seen in the table, mediation skills are the least frequently developed skills in Hungarian higher education ESP classes; translation skills are taught during every class only by some of the teachers (13%) and regularly by ten percent of the participants. The least developed skill is interpreting, which is hardly ever practised during ESP classes; there are only a few teachers who spend time developing this skill every day (4%) or regularly (3%), and the majority of the respondents (64%) never practise this skill during ESP classes.

5.3. *ESP teachers' opinions*

In Table 8 the significance of further qualifications and trainings is illustrated. The data show that attending further education trainings or workshops on teaching LSP is considered to be very important for more than a third of the participants (35%), and another third of the respondents (35%) still view it as essential. However, having a degree in the scientific field in which they teach LSP is not thought to be as significant: only a few of the teachers (9%) have found it essential, and 17 percent of them considered it to be important. Carrying out scientific research in LSP is viewed to be very important only by a few instructors (6%) and significant only by 14 percent of the participants. Furthermore, holding a doctoral degree to be able to teach LSP is thought to be essential by only a few respondents (7%), and on the other hand, almost half of the ESP teachers (48%) consider it to be not at all important.

As has been seen previously, according to the participants, in order to be able to teach LSP, having a degree in the scientific field in which they teach it is not considered to be a significant factor by the majority. The answers to the open-ended question show that 25 percent of the respondents share this view, because they teach specialized vocabulary and language use, and develop students' language skills, and they do not teach a profession. 20 percent of the teachers share this opinion by arguing that teaching LSP essentially requires language teaching skills and the specialized vocabulary and background knowledge can be learnt autonomously and integrated into coursework. 19 percent of the instructors believe that having a degree in the scientific field can be useful or sometimes even an advantage, but it is not a requirement. Since ESP teachers in Hungarian HE teach various specializations, ten percent of the respondents think that it is impossible to earn a degree in every field they teach. On the other hand, only a few participants (10%) are of the opinion that without a degree the ESP instructor is less accurate and his or her work is of poorer quality. Some of the teachers (10%) argue that holding a degree in the specialized field greatly helps them in comprehending the specialized terms and texts, and they can more easily explain the terminology to their students than an enthusiastic language teacher without a degree in the specialized field. Furthermore, few respondents (6%) think that someone with a degree can gain a better understanding of the conceptual relations and contexts of the field.

Table 8 also illustrates that carrying out research in teaching LSP is considered to be even less important. The replies to the open-ended question reveal that 21 percent of

	1 **(not important)**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **(very important)**	**average** **frequency**
attending trainings or workshops on LSP	1	7	22	35	35	3.96
having a degree in the scientific field in which they teach LSP	17	27	30	17	9	2.74
carrying out scientific research in LSP	28	27	25	14	6	2.43
holding a PhD	48	22	13	10	7	2.06

Table 8. The importance of further qualifications and trainings (n=100)

the participants share this opinion, because doing research may be useful and it adds to their knowledge, but it is not necessary in LSP teaching. 20 percent of the instructors experience that teaching LSP requires a lot of preparation; they usually have 20-24 lessons a week; therefore, they do not have any time for research work. 15 percent of the teachers think that it would not make them become better or more efficient language teachers if they conducted scientific research. 14 percent of the respondents believe that for LSP teachers self-development, further training, being up-to-date getting to know the new trends, terminologies and results of research studies, and incorporating research findings into the curriculum are more important than doing research. According to ten percent of the participants, there is no correlation between the level of LSP teaching and the research work carried out in ESP. Nevertheless, some instructors (6%) think that conducting research in LSP provides additional knowledge and a broader perspective both in the methodology and in the teaching of LSP. Few teachers (4%) believe that LSP teaching cannot be effective without finding out the language needs, requirements, and mindsets of professionals. As was stated in the section on theoretical background, only a few other respondents (4%) consider it to be essential, because doing research can help bridge the gap between research and practice. Another four percent of participants share this view, because from their point of view conducting research ensures the quality of education. One instructor feels that education and research are inextricably linked: *"Teaching and research go hand in hand"*. Another respondent thinks that research places educational practice in a new light: *"Scientific research puts the practice of education in a different context; it enables a more sophisticated vision and more professional work"*.

The pie chart in Figure 3 shows the participants' opinions on the importance of ESP and General English in HE. More than half of the respondents (55%) think that the teaching of both ESP and General English are important in tertiary education. The instruction of ESP is considered to be crucial by almost half the teachers (40%), and only a few respondents (5%) think that teaching General English is essential in higher education.
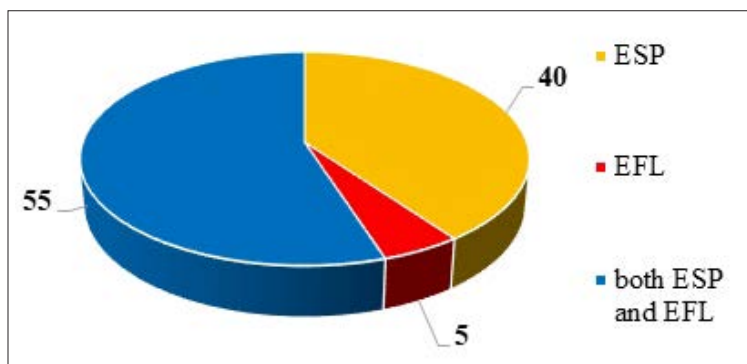

Figure 3. Teachers' views on the importance of ESP and General English in Higher Education (n=100)

	1 **(not important)**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **(very important)**	**average** **frequency**
Teaching LSP in HE	0	0	5	22	73	4.68

Table 9. The importance of teaching LSP in Higher Education (n=100)

The data in Table 9 support the significance of teaching LSP in tertiary education, because the majority of the participants (73%) consider it to be very important, and 22 percent of them still view it as essential.

Both Figure 3 and Table 9 illustrate the significance of LSP teaching in HE institutions in Hungary, and the answers given to the open-ended question also emphasize its importance. A quarter of the respondents (25%) consider it to be an advantage for the job market. Another quarter of the teachers (25%) think workplace communication is impossible without the knowledge of specialized vocabulary and language skills. 20 percent of the participants experience that more and more students study abroad, read specialized literature in English, participate in conferences abroad and deliver presentations in English, work or will work for multinational companies in Hungary or abroad or have foreign colleagues or subordinates, and all these factors require the knowledge of ESP. Another 20 percent of the instructors believe that a professional who can only speak Hungarian will have less access to information and will be able to build fewer professional relationships than a professional who has some knowledge of ESP. A few of the respondents (9%) find that studying ESP is more motivating for students than studying General English. A participant summarized her thoughts the following way:

> Language is not simply a means of expression, but a carrier of knowledge, and even more so. Expertise is the knowledge of the ways and narratives of communication about the profession (written or spoken) and the ability to apply them in practice (discourse expertise). The knowledge of English (or possibly of other foreign languages) is not just a matter of fashion, but a condition for engaging in the international circulation of technical progress.

On the basis of the findings of the study, Figure 4 shows the current state of the ESP teacher in Hungarian HE. It can be seen that a typical instructor has a degree in English language teaching, has experience in teaching English for Specific Purposes in one of the six subfields and some of the 38 specializations, is an accredited ESP examiner and regularly keeps his or her knowledge updated by reading specialized literature and attending further education trainings or workshops on teaching LSP.

The results show similarities and differences with those reported previously. In line with Hutchinson and Waters (1987), and Kurtán and Silye (2012), the majority of the participating ESP teachers are not trained in the specialized field they are teaching, but they are interested in the discipline. Similarly, the majority of ESP teachers belong to the second category described by Kurtán (2003), and Kurtán and Silye (2012) (i.e. graduating from a Faculty of Humanities and majoring in a foreign language), and there is a minority belonging to the third group described by Kurtán (i.e. attending an LSP teacher training course while studying at the university). Furthermore, the data indicated that the respondents play a multifaceted role, as was earlier described by

Figure 4. The current state of the ESP teacher in Hungarian higher education

Dudley-Evans and St John (1998), Kurtán and Silye (2012), and Ürmösné and Barnucz (2020), because apart from teaching, nearly half of the respondents also carry out research, and attend or present at conferences on teaching LSP. However, one striking difference can be seen in the significance of carrying out scientific research, and holding a doctoral degree. Ürmösné and Barnucz (*ibid.*) in their study argued for the importance of carrying out research, publishing scientific articles and holding PhD degrees due to the internationalization of higher education and the evaluation of a university's and its department's scientific research work, but the opinions of the teachers in the present study proved the opposite. Still, if we compare the rate of instructors holding a PhD in the study of Kurtán and Silye (2012), where it was 18%, and the present study's rate (31%), a significant increase can be seen. The explanation for the differences can lie in the various rates of internationalization among higher education institutions in Hungary and also in the differences of the evaluation systems of the universities and their departments, as was justified by Kurtán and Silye (*ibid.*). Dudley-Evans and St John (1998) stated that ESP teachers have to be flexible, which was justified in the present study by showing the six fields and their 44 different specializations that the participants have had to teach during their careers, and in some cases they have had to specialize in teaching three or four different fields of ESP.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to describe the current state of ESP teaching in Hungarian higher education. The results have pointed out that an English for Specific Purposes teacher holds a degree in ELT, has prior experience in teaching ESP in 44 various specializations, is a certified ESP examiner, and regularly acquires new knowledge by

reading specialized literature and attending further education trainings or workshops on teaching LSP. The outcomes have also shown that the instructors mainly use articles and videos available online, newspaper articles, diagrams and charts; they apply individual, pair, and group work; train students in seminars; and speaking and reading skills are the most commonly developed skills. The study demonstrated the significance of teaching ESP in higher education in Hungary.

Although the findings of the study answered the research questions, certain limitations should be taken into consideration regarding the present investigation. For example, although the sample of the study can be considered to be representative, not all the intended fields of ESP specializations were represented, such as theology, and only a third of the practising ESP teachers participated; therefore, generalizations should be handled carefully. However, the findings can still provide us with some insights and serve with useful information regarding the current state of ESP teachers' qualifications, experience, and multifaceted roles in Hungarian higher education. Consequently, more research involving a larger number of participants, including more institutions (namely, colleges), together with carrying out interviews with the ESP teachers would yield more reliable and consistent research results in the future. Further investigation among LSP teachers working at Hungarian higher education could provide us with greater insights into the topic. In addition, ESP is an eclectic approach that incorporates the most beneficial, effective, and legitimate ideas into a coherent whole from other theories and practices. It borrows ideas from Project-Based Learning (PBL), Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT), Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), and many other teaching philosophies (Anthony 2018); further research could be carried out incorporating these ideas. Moreover, it is also crucial, because in "many countries, experts in ESP can be the most highly regarded and sought-after members of staff, serving as coordinators for entire academic English programs and playing key roles in companies that are developing their international strategies" (*ibid.*: 9).

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APPENDIX
Questionnaire of the study

1. Gender: Male   Female
2. Age: _____
3. In which higher education do you teach?
4. Your highest level of qualification:
college/BA degree
university/Ma degree
PhD

5.1. Do you also teach LSP in other foreign languages?
No, I only teach ESP.
Yes, in addition to ESP, I also teach LSP in other foreign languages.

5.2. If you answered YES to the previous question, please indicate the foreign language(s) in which you teach LSP. (You can select more than one option.)
French, German, Italian, Latin, Russian, Spanish
Other: _____

6. In which professional areas do you teach or have you taught English in higher education? (You can select more than one option.)
agriculture, food science, animal science, plant science, environmental management, biology,
nursing, health informatics, health organizer, dentistry, pharmacy, physiotherapy, radiology, health visitor, medicine,
economics, business, marketing, tourism and catering,
mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, architectural engineering, IT, earth science, materials science,
law,
law enforcement,
music, visual arts,
pedagogy, theology,
Other: _____

7. How long have you been teaching ESP in higher education?
_____

8. How many hours a week do the students study ESP at your courses (e.g. legal English two hours a week)?
_____

9.1. What teaching materials do you use in your ESP classes? (You can select more than one option.)
coursebooks published abroad, ESP textbooks/workbooks published abroad, coursebooks published in Hungary, ESP textbooks/workbooks published in Hungary, self-made and published lecture notes, lecture notes written and published by other university teachers/ colleagues, newspaper articles, pictures, diagrams and charts, self-made PPT slides, PPT slides created by others, online blogs, online available videos, online available listening exercises, online available articles

9.2. Do you use OTHER teaching materials?
_____

10.1. What teaching methods do you use in your ESP classes? (You can select more than one option.)
lecture, presentation, role play/simulation, case study, project work, group work, pair work, individual work, expert lecturer

10.2. Do you use OTHER teaching methods?
_____

11.1. What forms of teaching do you employ in your ESP classes? (You can select more than one option.)
mentoring of one student, teaching a small group (5-10 students), teaching a large group (15-30 students), giving a lecture (50 minutes or longer), holding a seminar, distance learning (not during the COVID-19 pandemic), online teaching (not during the COVID-19 pandemic)

11.2. Do you teach in OTHER forms?

12. How often do you develop the following skills in your ESP classes?
writing skills, reading skills, speaking skills, listening skills, translation, interpretation
1 – never, 5 – every class

13. Are you an accredited ESP language examiner?

Yes, I am an accredited ESP language examiner of oral exams.
Yes, I am an accredited ESP language examiner of written exams.
Yes, I am an accredited ESP language examiner of both oral and written exams.
No, I am not an accredited ESP language examiner.

14. Do you have a degree in ELT?
YES   NO

15.1. Do you have a degree in the scientific field in which you teach ESP?
YES   NO

15.2. If you answered YES to the previous question, please describe the scientific field(s) in which you obtained your degree(s).
_____

16. Did you have an ESP course during your university/college studies?
YES   NO

17. Do you have a PhD in Linguistics/Applied Linguistics/Language Teaching?
YES   NO

18. If you answered YES to the previous question: Did you have an ESP course during your PhD studies?
YES   NO

19. Do you have a PhD in the scientific field in which you teach ESP?
YES   NO

20. Do you carry out research in teaching LSP?

21. How often do you attend LSP conferences?
1 – never, 5 – more than once a year

22. How often do you present at LSP conferences?
1 – never, 5 – more than once a year

23. How often do you read specialized literature of LSP teaching/research?
1 – never, 5 – every month

24. How often do you attend further education trainings/workshops on LSP teaching?
1 – never, 5 – more than once a year

25. In your opinion, how important is it to attend further education trainings/workshops on LSP?
1 – not important, 5 – very important

26. In your opinion, how important is it to have a degree in the scientific field in which you teach LSP?
1 – not important, 5 – very important

27. Please justify your previous answer.

_____

28. In your opinion, how important is it for an ESP teacher to have a PhD in General Linguistics/Applied Linguistics/Language Pedagogy?
1 – not important, 5 – very important

29. In your opinion, how important is it for an ESP teacher to carry out scientific research in LSP?
1 – not important, 5 – very important

30. Please justify your previous answer.

_____

31. In your opinion, how important is LSP teaching in higher education?
1 – not important, 5 – very important

32. Please justify your previous answer.

_____

33. In your opinion, which is more important in higher education?
I think LSP teaching is more important in higher education.
I think general foreign language teaching is more important in higher education.
I think both are equally important in higher education.
I think none of them is important in higher education.

34. Do you have any comments to add?

_____
_____
_____

HASHTAG "STOP THE AGGRESSION": STRATEGIC NARRATIVES OF UNSOLVED GRIEVANCES IN THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH WAR

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Abstract

The Nagorno-Karabakh war did not come to an end with the declaration of independence of the Republic of Artsakh in 1992. The Armenia-Azerbaijan war is a source of instability in the Caucasus. The Republic has never been recognized unanimously by the international community and remains a *de facto* state (Balayev 2013). This article looks at strategic narratives surrounding the very existence of the Republic of Artsakh. It argues that narratives in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh reflect and amplify polarized victims' dynamics.

After the six-year conflict that preceded independence (1992), many intermittent armed attacks took place with intervals of ceasefires and peace agreements (Voronkova 2013), the last one taking place in 2020. The situation fluctuates between periods of war and peace in Nagorno-Karabakh, making the Nagorno-Karabakh context an exemplary one to analyse how strategic narratives interplay vis-à-vis the 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric. In the first part, this article explores strategic narratives applied to the Nagorno-Karabakh context. The second part aims at evaluating the main narratives emerging from both official statements, and traditional and social media where English is used as the means of communication. An analytical section follows with a textual analysis of policy statements and their projection by the media and the general – including Armenian – diasporas across the US, Australia and Europe. Statements are narrativized, for they are structured in cause-and-effect sequences and produce crosscutting meanings with regard to an overall narrative. Both characterization and narrativization are linguistic strategies used for the legitimation of claims and actions (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin and Roselle 2013). The analysis of the narratives sheds light on the mutual suspicions and confrontations between the two actors in a region on the edge of Europe.

1. Introduction

The Caucasus is experiencing a phase of profound political and social change. In the post-Soviet world, attention is paid to the ethnic, ethno-national and cultural grievances generated by the disintegration of the Soviet Empire and the formation of nation states. Scholarly analysis on conflict in the Transcaucasus has focused on human rights violation, conflict resolution, and foreign intervention, mostly within a legal framework (Zargarian 1999). More recently, conflict resolution has been replaced by conflict transformation, given that the two countries of Armenia and Azerbaijan had adjusted to the conflict situation being less motivated to conflict resolution (Ayunts *et al*. 2016). Less

academic attention has been paid to the cross-cultural[1] and ethno-linguistic roots of the tensions. Armenia and Azerbaijan are two former Soviet Republics engaged in a prolonged intermittent conflict against one another on a contested territory since 1988. The controversy is over the *de facto* (Blakkisrud and Kolstø 2012) Republic of Artsakh, also called Nagorno-Karabakh[2] (N-K) as a territory. The area is considered an enclave state between Armenia and Azerbaijan that has not been recognized by the international community and has been a self-declared sovereign state since 1991 (*ibid.*: 145). The last armed confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh started in September 2020 and ended in November of the same year with a trilateral ceasefire agreement signed by Russia, Armenia and Azerbaijan[3]. The ceasefire saw the Republic of Armenia returning the Agdam District to the Republic of Azerbaijan and the deployment of Russian peace-keeping forces along the contact line[4].

The conflict has deep historical, ethnic and geopolitical roots (Hille 2010). The declaration of the Republic of Artsakh (1992) was not the final resolution of the conflict, which remains 'silent', and goes through phases of open hostilities and ceasefires. Nagorno-Karabakh is a theatre of "cold" and "hot" wars (Scheurman 2012) between two countries, Armenia and Azerbaijan, two cultures, pan-Turkish and pan-Armenian, and complex geopolitical schemes (Companjen *et al.* 2010). Is the cross-cultural antagonism instrumentalized linguistically in the narration of the conflict?

This article looks at narratives on the Nagorno-Karabakh war and aims at addressing the core research question: how are conflict-related grievances represented and maintained through linguistic strategies and strategic narratives? It is argued that in the Armenian-Azerbaijani war the question of belonging is sustained by narratives of ethnic injustice and prejudicial attitudes from both sides. Armenians react to Azerbaijani attacks as a continuation of the Genocide, while Azerbaijanis react to Armenian attacks as a legacy of the Soviet occupation. The problematic nature of community building in a contested territory is approached through a collection of narratives and ethnographic research conducted by the author in years before the last armed escalation (2015-2018) when the conflict was 'frozen'.

An approach combining the perspective of Strategic Narrative Analysis with quantitative Corpus Linguistics (CL from now on) and qualitative analysis is used for a self-compiled parallel corpus that features social media posts, commentaries, news articles, and policy statements. The benefits of using corpora for qualitative aims have been outlined by Baker (2006: 15) and consist of the representative functions of the analysed corpus. The same can be applied to the Strategic Narratives framework. The tools offered by *Sketch Engine* (i.e. keywords, single and multiword lists, and word frequency lists) are used for sorting words and their frequency. For one, the concord function is helpful for identifying the main actors and receivers.

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[1] https://www.jstor.org/stable/2784115?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

[2] The term Nagorno-Karabakh is problematic, since it has both Russian and Persian linguistic roots and is highly contested. Artsakh is preferred by Armenians to refer to the Republic. In this article, for the sake of clarity, Nagorno-Karabakh is used for the autonomous region and for the conflict while Artsakh is used to refer to the Republic or *de facto* state. On this, see also Suny (1993).

[3] On this see also Human Rights Watch: https://www.hrw.org/tag/nagorno-karabakh.

[4] For a full version of the agreement see: https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/990m.

Although narratives are more traditionally accepted for the study of history and literature, they have established themselves in social and political science research (Miskimmon *et al.* 2013). The power of "story telling" (Salmon 2010) is becoming more and more relevant as a communication tool in different fields including politics. The results of this study collecting voices on ethnic hate and conflict stories can foster understanding of how ethno-national grievances are constructed and sustained through linguistic narratives over time and across territories.

2. Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian community building and strategic narratives

2.1. *Identities in N-K*

In the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the existence of different and fluid imagined communities defined by territorial losses or gains sustains identity-driven elements that are typically ignored in the analysis of the war. As Gamaghelyan (2010: 35) maintains, the identity-conflict between Azerbaijanis and Armenians "manifests itself in deep mutual mistrust rooted in hostile historical memories". This article looks at the nexus between ethnic injustice and its reproduction through linguistic strategies and strategic narratives. These include hateful rhetoric, which is defined as a conscious and wilful public statement intended to denigrate a group or community of people (Delgado and Stefancic 1995). This also includes negative stereotyping that is socially accepted and therefore not identified as such (Fino 2020). During the last Nagorno-Karabakh war, Armenians were targets of negative stereotyping as a political community.

The year 2020 produced a new wave of hateful rhetoric surrounding the N-K war, mainly on ethnic terms that remained steady until the agreement continuing also after the peace agreement signed on 9 November by the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, the Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan and the President of Russia Vladimir Putin ending the hostilities in the region. The developers of stereotyping narratives are polarized groups from both the Azerbaijani and the Armenian sides. Most users seek to discredit those they view as enemies (Erjavec and Kovačič 2012). In both cases, the rhetoric was political in the sense that prejudicial ethnic attitudes are instrumental for political claims and are targeted at a specific political community.

A political community is defined by Brown (2013: 69) as "a combination of moral, cultural and institutional structures" and aims to "sustain a common political identity". Anderson (1991: 10) notably defines the nation as an "imagined political community". In the process of conceiving the national community, four factors are significant to build a national feeling of belonging: religious, linguistic, historical and political unification. These elements are extremely important in the identification of Armenia. Paul (2000: 26) identifies the elements of ethnic identity and, in some cases, political mobilization of the Armenian diaspora (in the US in this case) as "religion and traumatic historical memory". The first element of religion has to do with Armenia being the first empire to embrace Christianity (back in 301 AD) and, more recently, the 'last fortress' of Christianity surrounded by the Muslim neighbours of Turkey and Azerbaijan. As Kharatyan (2017: 80) claims, for Armenians Christianity was not only a religious option, but a cultural option. In the Armenian case, "Culture" as defined by Anderson (1991) has to do with the "distinctive character" of the population and "collective memory of the genocide" (Paul 2000: 27), which include common grief and collective piety. Lacroix

and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013: 685) define collective memories as "identity narratives that merge 'actual' and 'mythical' past events with the aim of inscribing the group in a historical and spatial trajectory". "When" and "where", related to diaspora, "are particularly salient" and "consolidated and reproduced over time and space" (*ibid.*).

Ethnicity alone is not sufficient for the formation of a diaspora political community and for explaining ethnic-based negative stereotyping in the Armenian case. Iconography, "shared history" and expressions of "common roots" (Brown 2013: 78) produce the potential for transnational and diaspora communities "to draw upon these memories to mobilise diasporas for financial, political and/or conflict-related ends" (Smith and Stares 2007: 18). As Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013: 693) observe, "memories of displacement are intrinsically, if often paradoxically, implicated in political processes across diverse public and private spheres". In the case of Armenians, the collective memory of the Genocide has a highly politicized nature in the eyes of diasporan Armenians and represents the main pole for their political mobilization on an ethnic basis (Minasyan 2010: 24). The non-recognition of the Genocide for Armenians sustains the continuation of their trauma (Suny 2015) leaving it as unfinished business.

The Genocide also influences the representations of Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh war as a ramification of the original source of violence and injustice. The support for Azerbaijan by the perpetrator, Turkey, reinforces this sentiment. While diasporic sensibility goes across generations (time) and boundaries (space), diaspora is always placed (Hall and Ghazoul 2012: 223) in the maintenance of forms of territoriality and extra-territoriality. The regeneration and reproduction of a common identity (Wodak *et al.* 1999/2009) can imply forms of cross-cultural activity, which depends on the degree of mobilization of the group. In the case of Armenians, the mobilization of the group is influenced by diaspora to a great extent. Diaspora belonging is defined as the political and economic support from overseas communities to the homeland, which is a symbolic and material/formal status (Cohen 2008: 13).

One of the most important factors of diasporic communities is to understand the means that movements, politicians and diasporans use to foster their narratives, the rhetoric they use, the way in which they put forward their representations. As Miskimmon *et al.* (2013: 2) argue, strategic narratives are important political tools to "construct a shared meaning of the past, present, and future of international politics to shape the behaviour of domestic and international actors". To understand linguistic devices that may influence power dynamics, textual analysis is helpful but insufficient because strategic narratives involve actors, receivers, messages, channels and interactions. These aspects will be considered all together in the linguistic analysis of strategic narratives in sections from 4.3.1 to 4.3.4.

2.2. *Strategic narratives in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations*

Although strategic narratives as such involve characters, a setting, a plot including a crisis developing to a desired ending (Burke 1966), strategic narratives are not simple stories. They are, rather, stories that are communicated, repeated and received publicly with the main aim of persuasion (Chaban *et al.* 2019). In political communication, strategic narratives can be categorized on three levels: system (1), identity (2) and issue (3) narratives. System (1) narratives deal with "the structure of international affairs," identity (2) narratives "are about the identities of actors in international affairs that

are in a process of constant negotiation and contestation," and issue (3) narratives "are strategic in the sense of seeking to shape the terrain on which policy discussions take place" (Miskimmon *et al.* 2013: 7). For the study of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in the N-K war, the focus of this article is on the second and third types: identity (2) and issue (3) narratives. System narratives have not been taken into consideration as the aim is to understand how identity is constructed through narratives of the conflict, rather than what the conflict reveals about the international system more broadly.

Under the umbrella of "identity" (2) in strategic narratives, Armenia-Azerbaijan relations are an exemplary case of contestation and negotiation. As de Waal (2021: 3) suggests, "emotions are still riding high. Horrific war videos of atrocities against captives, including decapitations, evoke revulsion and anger. Prisoners are still being held, and remains of dead bodies have not been returned". He adds: "In much of their rhetoric and actions, the two countries continue to act like they are still at war. Armenians appear traumatized by their sudden reversal of fortunes, and many voices, especially those in opposition to Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan, insist that the November agreement has no legal status and can be rejected" (*ibid.).* From Azerbaijan's perspective, the Karabakh conflict is now resolved and "in the past" (*ibid.).* Contested issues continue to affect negotiations from both sides: while Azerbaijan celebrates victory over the lost territories but aspires to gain more control, Armenia raises concerns about displaced Artsakh Armenians and about prisoners of war (POWs) still detained by Azerbaijani officials.

As far as issue (2) is concerned, Artskah communities are transnational also in the sense that political and cultural solidarity crosses the borders of the nation-state regardless of geographical proximity (Faist 2010). Armenian and Azerbaijani expat community groups (Cohen 2008: 15) participated in Artsakh political matters from abroad. In the case of Artsakh, the actors are engaged in contestation even after the ceasefire of November 2020 (de Waal 2021). Azerbaijan contests the *de facto* Armenian government still in place, the influence of Russia and visits of Armenian authorities in Artsakh. Armenia urges against Turkish support to Azerbaijan and violations of self-determination rights for Artsakh Armenians (*ibid.),* seen as co-ethnics. Transnational policies include the pan-Armenian discourse that sees the Armenian diaspora as a "continuation of the country" (Gasparyan 2016: 211). The same happened in Nagorno-Karabakh, where Armenians from Armenia or from elsewhere in the diaspora – most recently Syrian Armenians – were directed, particularly in the occupied territories with the purpose of populating them as a form of settlement (Della Gatta 2017: 352).

Ultimately, membership and participation in political activities have to do with an intervention at the individual and/or collective level into the country of origin's political sphere (Martiniello and Lafleur 2008: 653). Generally, "these practices involve interactions between emigrants and homeland political parties and interest groups" (Iheduru 2011: 190). Diaspora policies give shape to the cross-cultural bridge between Armenians in the homeland and diasporas all over the world with a peculiar form of "Armenianness". The pan-Armenian discourse contrasts with the pan-Turkish one by Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As the discussion below shows, direct confrontation and indirect confrontation is linguistically executed through strategies of inclusivity and exclusivity (Filimonova 2005). It is crucial to understand how discursive resources deeply rooted in history and geography come together.

3. Methodology: CL for the study of strategic narratives and power in Artsakh

3.1. *Data collection*

The self-compiled corpus comprises articles, commentaries, posts and policy statements published by international and local media outlets, including Armenian media, in English. Armenia has been committed to international broadcasting for 50 years through a series of independent, state-owned and diaspora media outlets. Armenpress, founded in 1918, is the only state-owned news agency. There are private agencies such as Shant, Noyan Tapan, Arminfo, Arka, Mediamax, PanArmenian, News-Armenia and Photolur. Other outlets include Armradio, news.am, and 1in.am. Diasporan news coverage is delivered mostly by Azatutyun; 168.am and Civil Net are starting to become more popular too. The selection process of the entries in the corpus includes text spans associated with the N-K war, over a timespan from 27 September 2020 to April 2021 in Armenian and international news outlets, given that the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh war lasted from the 27 September to 10 November.

The study on the news of the N-K war was developed using the systematized literature review methodology (Grant and Booth 2009). The search was carried out using *Sketch Engine*. An initial search of texts looked for the following terms corresponding to the identifying characteristics of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations:

> ARTZAKH
> NAGORNO-KARABAKH
> N-K WAR
> CONFLICT
> ARMENIA
> AZERBAIJAN

After the search and retrieval process, the evaluation phase consisted of discarding documents that were not relevant. The relevant data were then analysed for their content, with each document considered a unit of analysis. The data were used to determine the characteristics of strategic narratives, actor, issue and identity, in particular, which were critically analysed focusing on the discursive strategies.

A critical analysis was also carried out to identify the aspects that were the focus of the research. A Twitter corpus named "N-KTwee" was collected using the platform *Kaggle*. In the corpus available on *Kaggle* the word "Artsakh" had no frequency (keyword search: zero). As a result, the corpus compiled with the tweets available on *Kaggle* was of limited use, representing a one-sided view of the conflict. For this reason, a parallel manual search was undertaken for the Twitter collection with the keyword "Artsakh", non-existent in the corpus compiled through *Kaggle*. The corpus containing all the tweets from the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides was then renamed "KarTwee". A preliminary insight into the corpus indicated that the term "Artsakh" reflects more the stance of pro-Armenia groups, while "Karabakh" reflects that of pro-Azerbaijan groups.

In total, approximately 400 texts, including tweets, blog and news commentaries, articles and policy statements have been collected corresponding to the criteria by using *Sketch Engine* in three main subcorpora: "N-KWar" for media outlets, "N-KPolSta" for foreign policy statements, and "KarTwee" for Twitter posts.

3.2. *Framework: language and power*

The collection is investigated through the lens of "the study of language in use" (Gee 2011: 3). This involves paying attention to the "details of language" (*ibid.*: 4) such as grammar structures and vocabulary choice. Gee (*ibid.*: 11) points out that there are various approaches of discourse analysis, none valid *per se,* but according to the specific purpose of each approach. Given that discourse is a source for narratives, the perspective of this article considers discourse analysis as a way to critically understand N-K strategic narratives and the events related to them through the analysis of language used to represent ethnic and social antagonism. The details of language not only produce meaning, but also social power. For this reason, this approach is particularly relevant for the study of strategic narratives. The analysis of the nexus between language and power (Fairclough 2001) moves across the fields of international relations and international communication.

Less attention is paid to how such capabilities could create influence or impact on the recipients of such messages. In the case of Armenian diasporan mobilization, Koinova (2011: 341) claims that Armenian groups "*reacted* to secessionism" rather than initiating it. Some individual diaspora members forged connections with local secessionists prior to the 1991 declarations of independence, but large-scale diaspora mobilization took place only in their aftermath (Suny 1993). Power depends on the use of words and strategic narratives in a much more extensive way. Lorusso (2016: 1) stresses the importance of words in Nagorno-Karabakh in terms of what can be ascribed as power tools, which play a crucial role in the development of the conflict.

Narrativization refers to the process of transforming events into stories, usually with a beginning, middle body or development and ending (Roselle 2011: 35). In the case of the N-K conflict, like other conflicts in history, the happy ending is embraced by the winning party, Azerbaijan. Temporality becomes exceptionally important and problematic in the narration of the N-K war, given that it remains an unfinished business in the eyes of both the winning and the defeated parties. The narratives under scrutiny lie within a bipolar structure of conventional authority (Thies 2012) where the sides are portrayed through rigid stereotyping schemes.

Language and power is an approach used in this study of strategic narratives by looking for stereotype-generating processes. Self-categorization links the self or the individual with the personification in the group, which is always the product of a social and personal choice of the individual to categorize himself or herself with the values of the group or community. The conception of "me" as part of a social "us" is the result of the process of self-identification. In hateful rhetoric, by creating "us" it reinforces the dichotomy "us" versus "them", as outlined by Herriot (2007) as regards the need to oppose an "enemy" to enhance the identification process. This, in Herriot's (*ibid.*: 39) view, "accentuates the differences between the groups". According to the principle of meta-contrast, strategies optimally minimize inter-group differences and maximize the extra-group differences (Terry and Hogg 1996: 779).

3.3. *Narratives and strategies*

As regards linguistic strategies, one instance studied in narratives is the conversion of institutional concepts into "personal thoughts" in a style used in interpersonal communication, with the intent of "narrowing a gap" between institutions and people

Parameter	Narratives
1. Clusivity	Exclusiveness/inclusiveness
2. Strategies	Active, passive, long-term vision
3. Simplification means	Cliches, metaphors
4. Communicative functions	Temporal frames

Table 1. Parameters of language and power in a narrative

(Fowler 1991: 20). This practice creates a sense of "reciprocity" between the source and the receiver, although they have extremely different roles in the reception of the text. Other power strategies have to do with the fixation of the "normal style" in order to create consensus in the public (*ibid.*: 33). This is one media strategy to influence the perception of the public towards the represented events.

Theoretical tools and power strategies are used in the strategic narratives endorsing the Nagorno-Karabakh hostilities. Power is expressed through media releases, social media and blog commentaries, news and articles, as well as policy statements and testimonials of direct activism. Table 1 shows four parameters for power and language, each with its own entries.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1. *Keywords*

In the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, hateful rhetoric and strategic narratives mutually sustain each other. The discussion of the extracts below includes only a sample of the texts actually selected and analysed for this study. The selection process has been facilitated and concordance, frequency and keyword functions have been evaluated using *Sketch Engine*. As a preliminary function, the initial extended corpora have been reduced to one main corpus called "N-K" (containing news articles, statements, and comments) and two subcorpora, called "N-KSta" and "KarTwee" comprising respectively official statements and tweets. The keyword function for the corpora taken together is shown in Figures 1-3.

Word		Word	
1	armenian diaspora	26	armenian counterpart
2	psychological support	27	effective homeland
3	armenian government	28	effective homeland engagement
4	certain psychological support	29	effective implementation
5	causing tension	30	elimination of racial discrimination
6	armenian genocide	31	political upheaval
7	anonymisierter form gesammelt und gespeichert	32	emotional disappointment
8	armenian military equipment	33	emotional patriotism
9	armenian passport	34	encouraging everyone
10	armenian army	35	enhanced sense

Figure 1. Multi keyword list in the N-K Corpus

Word		Word		Word	
1	azr	18	karabakh	35	boycottturkey
2	stoparmenianaggression	19	stepanakert	36	dontbeblind
3	karabakhisazerbaijan	20	ghting	37	macron
4	stoparmenianterrorism	21	stopaliyev	38	realdonaldtrump
5	barda	22	stoperdogan	39	en
6	artsakh	23	warcrimes	40	azerbaijani
7	recognizeartsakh	24	armenians	41	erent
8	stoparmenianoccupation	25	peaceforarmenians	42	erdogan
9	westandwithaliyev	26	supportaliyev	43	ilham
10	dontbelievearmenia	27	arzujaeed	44	armenian
11	prayforbarda	28	sanctionazerbaijan	45	aliyev
12	bardacity	29	smerch	46	nikolpashinyan
13	stopazerbaijaniaggression	30	ffi	47	qarabağ
14	fi	31	nι	48	azərbaycan
15	armeniakillscivilians	32	ff	49	warcrime
16	azerbaijan	33	und	50	joebiden
17	sanctionturkey	34	armenia		

Figure 2. Multi keyword list from Sketch Engine in "N-KSta"

Word		Word		Word	
1	azr	18	karabakh	35	boycottturkey
2	stoparmenianaggression	19	stepanakert	36	dontbeblind
3	karabakhisazerbaijan	20	ghting	37	macron
4	stoparmenianterrorism	21	stopaliyev	38	realdonaldtrump
5	barda	22	stoperdogan	39	en
6	artsakh	23	warcrimes	40	azerbaijani
7	recognizeartsakh	24	armenians	41	erent
8	stoparmenianoccupation	25	peaceforarmenians	42	erdogan
9	westandwithaliyev	26	supportaliyev	43	ilham
10	dontbelievearmenia	27	arzujaeed	44	armenian
11	prayforbarda	28	sanctionazerbaijan	45	aliyev
12	bardacity	29	smerch	46	nikolpashinyan
13	stopazerbaijaniaggression	30	ffi	47	qarabağ
14	fi	31	nι	48	azərbaycan
15	armeniakillscivilians	32	ff	49	warcrime
16	azerbaijan	33	und	50	joebiden
17	sanctionturkey	34	armenia		

Figure 3. Multi keyword list from Sketch Engine in "KarTwee"

Aliyev, Azerbaijan's Prime Minister, and Pashinyan, Armenia's Prime Minister, are both in a high position of frequency in "N-K". In the main corpus, Aliyev collocates with "to respond to" in the left content and "statements" in the right. This means that the Armenian Prime Minister has often spoken in response to his adversary Aliyev.

Notably, while in the N-K corpus "homeland" and "diaspora" show different results in terms of word frequency with a predominance of diaspora, in the official statements ("N-KSta Corpus") diaspora does not emerge as a keyword concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, while it has a high frequency in the Twitter corpus. This could

suggest that Armenian authorities did not encourage the involvement of diaspora groups in the conflict, considering it a matter of national security. Diasporans indirectly participated in the conflict with charity activities and protests, as reported in the corpus: "With the existence of the Armenian Nation at stake the Armenian American community 🇺🇸 A M Diaspora living in New Jersey and New York have taken to the streets to raise awareness of the war and humanitarian crisis in Artsakh #NagornoArtsakh" (KarTwee, 26 October 2021). Another post refers to Armenians of Syria marching in Aleppo: "This was Aleppo Syria today Armenians marching in the streets and demanding the recognition of Artsakh and protesting Turkish and Azerbaijani. It's a shame that people can't even stay home and stay safe #RecognizeArtsakh #PeaceForArmenians ✊ A M ✊ A M ✊ A M " (KarTwee, 26 October 2021).

A dichotomy between reporting and official statements emerges in the Armenian diaspora. Armenian authorities tend to avoid citing diaspora groups in their statements. The stances of diaspora groups are more radical than those of Armenian politicians on the issue. In the commentaries they use more loaded terms such as "invasion", "outrage", "jeopardize". On the other hand, most keywords in the "N-K" corpus deal with diaspora defining it as both "psychological" or "emotional" and "financial" or "effective" support.

4.2. *Strategies*

The presence of the adjective 'armenophobic' in the list of key words indicates the emergence of the hate rhetoric towards Armenians. The following masking devices for "clusivity" (exclusivity associated with inclusivity in personal pronouns) are used more frequently, listed in order of frequency:

1. Generalization. An exemplary case is in the Armenian PM's response to the creation of Azerbaijan's Park of Triumph in Baku celebrating victory in the 2020 Karabakh war: "And I think we should feel compassion for such people, rather than aggression and revenge" (NKSta, 14 April 2021). In the statement, the use of "such people" to refer to the adversary is an evident use of a generalized term, in conjunction with the collective "we". The Armenian Prime Minister also quotes a poem by Armenian poet Ignat Mamyan, beginning with "I do not hate you, I feel sorry for you". In that context, "you" is referred to both the Azerbaijani PM Aliyev and to a wider counterpart, the general enemy. From the Azerbaijani side, a similar use of the "us versus you" rhetoric can be found in the collected tweets. For instance, in the following ones: "Dear POTUS realDonaldTrump SecPompeo as Azerbaijani I assert that Turkish and Azerbaijani people are the best friends for your country, we have same enemy. Unfortunately Russia and China by their allies are leading evil policy against USA #DontBelieveArmenia" (KarTwee, 25 October 2021). This is even more marked is another post also aimed at the US authorities: "Excuse me Yes Yes Yes We don't have a huge diaspora because we have history culture land and STATE. You simply keep on living as nomads FactsAboutAzerbaijan @JoeBiden US should do research about sides of the NagornoKarabakh conflict. Do not neglect Azerbaijan side of story let's give everyone equal right to speak up" (KarTwee, 27 October 2021).

2. Reproduction. Grievances against the enemy are in a climax of identity-loaded words. Azerbaijani PM Aliyev, in a reported statement, said: "If there is even a small threat to the state security of Azerbaijan, the enemy will be destroyed immediately and on the spot" (Aliyev 24 December 2021). *Threat, security, destroyed, immediately, on the spot* permutate and create anxiety against the enemy. "Immediately and on the spot" is a recurrent phrase in Aliyev's statements.

3. Discourse marker. This is mostly used to stress ethnic injustice and lack of involvement of the international community. In particular, the conjunction "but" is placed in a primary position in sentences containing the following items: "emotional attachments, ethnic Armenians, international relations". One interesting example in the KarTweet corpus is the following: "These are war crimes against Armenia #StopAzerbaijaniAggression #WarCrimes #StopAliyev #BoycottTurquie #BoycottTurkey. But Armenians are white they don't have struggles or persecution" (KarTwee, 25 October 2021). "But" is used to counter the tweet on Azerbaijani aggression, explicitly referring to the race factor: given that "Armenians are white" they cannot claim that they are victims of persecution. This would also imply that only people who are not white are persecuted. Another example from the Armenian Foreign Ministers corpus is directed towards Armenians living abroad: "Emotional attachment *but* reserved engagement. Since 2017, the Armenian government has appealed to skilled Armenians living abroad to relocate to the homeland and help with the country's reforms and economic development. *However*, a lack of trust towards pro-Russian Armenia, with its widespread corruption and unequal society, means that second and later generations of Armenians in the West prefer soft engagement and distanced support over repatriation" (Panarmenian.net, 2 June 2021).

4.3. *Main narratives*

First and foremost, there is an identity-based emotional response to messages of "injustice", framed by local and diaspora activisms. Gamaghelyan (2010: 34) speaks of "the identity-conflict between Azerbaijanis and Armenians that manifests itself in deep mutual mistrust rooted in hostile historical memories". On the one hand, Armenians perceive the territory as the "last stronghold" of Armenian identity and resistance to non-assimilation. On the other hand, the enemy, Azerbaijan, rather than being considered as a separate ethnic group, is automatically associated with the hostile Turks, the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide (*ibid*.: 3). The legacy of the Genocide is often mentioned in policy statements, especially in those by the current Armenian foreign affairs Minister Armen Martirosyan.

In one statement, he said: "Through the Genocide leading up till now, it's something we had a feeling that it might come, and we had a feeling it would come through Erdogan's regime" (Martirosyan 2021)[5]. Turkey's support for Azerbaijan in the last conflict reinforces the idea of a perpetual form of genocide against Armenian by Turkey and its allies. The metaphor *"old wounds"* emerges in the news reports on the Nagorno-Karabakh war. From the analysis of the corpora, three broad narratives emerged. The

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[5] The full blog around this statement is available at: https://outlooknewspapers.com/blog/2020/10/10/glendale-armenians-inspired-by-other-peoples-sacrifices/.

following three sections deal with the three main narratives: the experience of another cultural disaster related to the Armenian side, the illegal aggression and occupation from both sides, and the triumph narrative from the Azerbaijani side.

4.3.1. *Experiencing another cultural disaster*

This narrative relates to but it is not limited to the "second genocide" narrative. In fact, it is used by both sides. As Figure 4 below shows, the adjective "cultural" has one of the highest frequencies in the corpus and collocates with nouns referring to disaster, trauma, genocide, memory and heritage. Armenian diasporas, especially in France and in the US, engaged in news commentaries and posts on this issue (Figure 4).

1 cultural genocide	18 extended meeting	35 last pace plenary
2 religious heritage	19 provision of humanitarian assistance	36 large-scale cultural massacre
3 international humanitarian law	20 bilateral agenda	37 first year of fully-fledged membership
4 humanitarian law	21 humanitarian ceasefire	38 european democratic security
5 trilateral statement	22 global ceasefire	39 horrifying example of cultural genocide
6 humanitarian assistance	23 exhibition opening	40 state of democratic security
7 democratic security	24 complete destruction	41 armenian cultural memory
8 cultural heritage	25 joint statement	42 trilateral ceasefire statement
9 armenian population	26 direct involvement	43 importance of consolidating peace
10 armenian genocide	27 implementation process	44 one-time humanitarian assistance
11 regional peace	28 ensuring democratic security	45 armenian cultural presence
12 peace process	29 year of fully-fledged membership	46 area of interstate cooperation
13 historical-cultural heritage	30 context of european democratic security	47 pace plenary
14 francophone family	31 wide cross-regional support	48 lack of strong response
15 exhibition opening ceremony	32 broad foreign policy coordination	49 unpunished genocide
16 safe repatriation	33 important area of interstate cooperation	50 including national hero
17 armenian identity	34 destruction of armenian cultural memory	

Figure 4. Multi-word collocations

In the corpus, the narrativized nature of the statements emerges, especially when the genocide issue is raised. In one statement in particular, the use of verb tenses and the reiterated initialization of expressions of temporality creates the effect of a narration, which is normally absent in policy statements (Hite *et al.* 1988: 772).

> **In 1915,** the deliberate, pre-planned massacres and deportations of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire marked the beginning of the cultural genocide, which lasted for decades
> **Nowadays,** Azerbaijan continued the traditions of Turkey in the territories forcibly evicted from Armenians. […]
> **In 2020, 105 years after** the Armenian Genocide, we **once again** faced a disaster planned and carried out by the same logic and methods. […][6]

The repetition of the past simple tense associated with recent and present events in the very beginning of each paragraph is at odds with grammatical correctness and works by stressing the storytelling nature of the communicative moment in this statement.

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[6] A full version of the statement is available at: https://www.mfa.am/en/speeches/2021/04/24/genocide_exhibition_aivazian/10909.

Another storytelling device is the use of the phrase "once upon a time" associated with the repetition of the sentence "Azerbaijan took away", followed by a coordinating conjunction like "then" or "but". Examples include: "**Once upon a time**, my home was a safe place for me, **then** Azerbaijanis took away my house"; and "My friends and I **used to** play in the fields **but** Azerbaijanis took away everything" (KarTwee, 28 September 2021).

From its side, Azerbaijan embraces the pan-Turkish ideology, stressing an affinity with the Turks and perceiving Armenians as "destructors" of the Turkish dream of re-union, according to Gamaghelyan (2010: 35) who affirms: "In the last two decades, since the onset of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in 1988, the Azerbaijani and Armenian historical narratives have grown increasingly hostile, each portraying its own group as indigenous and peaceful". These narratives reflect pragmatic and strategic functions.

4.3.2. *This is an aggression, an illegal occupation and a prolonged threat*

Reciprocity, dominant in "another cultural disaster" narrative, applies to the second narrative at stake: "prolonged aggression and occupation". Looking at recent data, the entry "aggression", which was reported as reoccurring in the Azerbaijani media as "*Armenian aggression*" before the second Karabakh war, now has, on the contrary, a high frequency in Armenian outlets.

"Stop Armenian aggression" and "stop Armenian occupation" are equivalents and are used frequently together. The term aggression is used by both sides in the same timeframe.

ump & @JoeBiden why the US response to Baku's	**aggression**	has been so weak? 96 1320431417906647040 2
because they've turned a blind eye to Azerbaijan's	**aggression**	for decades. https://t.co/T0DehGrMMC 104 1320
s, FM @ZMnatsakanyan stressed that #Azerbaijani	**aggression**	is threat to existential physical sec of #Artsakh po
d territory of Azerbaijan r yet another act of military	**aggression**	#StopArmenianAggression 192 1320431567660
Artsakh - only way to stop Azerbaijan and Turkey's	**aggression**	and pan-Turkic ideals. 🇦🇲 🇦🇲 #RecognizeArtsakh
because they've turned a blind eye to Azerbaijan's	**aggression**	for decades. https://t.co/T0DehGrMMC 553 1320
FM @ZMnatsakanyan stressed that #Azerbaijan's	**aggression**	is existential threat to sec of #Artsakh peaceful p

In the Armenian tweets, the combination "Azerbaijan and Turkey" is recurrent and appears also with "pan-Turkish". The reference to past historical moments is associated with both the keywords "aggression" and "genocide":

and the current targeting of civilians in #Artsakh,	**Genocide**	Watch considers #Azerbaijan to be at Stage 9:
THING is not enough, people are dying, another	**genocide**	is taking place!!! #StopAliyev #StopErdogan #F
else tired of this rhetoric of a second attempt of	**Genocide**	being straightened out and taken care of "soon
t they started in 1915, referring to the Armenian	**Genocide**	. </s><s> This is a war by Turkey to massacre

The five-word phrase "turn a blind eye to" emerges in association with different actors, such as the US, the UN, the International Community and "the media" themselves and concurrences that include: war crimes, destruction, terrorism, terrorists, gross atrocities, and "another genocide".

For instance, in the account "#Karabakhnow" the syntagm *'Azerbaijani aggression'* is repeated on its own or in association with "Turkish". Here is an example, "[The] Pontifex who condemned *Azerbaijan's military aggression* against Armenia, the same Pope to recognize the #ArmenianGenocide *you* deny, and the same Pope that on Easter called on #Azerbaijan to #FreeArmenianPows [Prisoners of War]"[7]. This post is highly interlocutory, using the pronoun *'you'* referring to Azerbaijan and Turkey as deniers of the Genocide. This represents an exemplary use of identity-switching highlighting the distance and the accusation against *'you'* with the meaning of 'the deniers'. The combination of Azerbaijan with Turkey is recurrent in the corpus, e.g. in this extract:

> In a reply to the Armenian Caucus today, the State Department managed to completely sidestep concerns raised by over 100 Congress members about the status of POWs [Prisoners of War], enforcement of S. 907, the immediate need for aid to Armenia & the *enduring* threat of *Turkish-Azerbaijani aggression*[8].

This is a combination that is often repeated and aims at highlighting the alliance between the two countries in the Nagorno-Karabakh war. On the other hand, the "Armenian aggression" entry is still an existing and active one in the corpus. The presence of verbs and adverbs of continuity conveys the unfinished nature of the events. In one article we read: "Azerbaijan *took back* its lands from Armenian *occupation*, *but Armenian aggression is not over*! Azerbaijani servicemen and civilians die almost *every day*, because Armenia refuses to give us maps of minefields!". Another example is taken from the official statements of the Los Angeles General Consulate of Azerbaijan: "*Since* over 20 years, Armenia *has continued to illegally occupy* around 20% of Azerbaijan's internationally recognized territory including the region of Nagorno-Karabakh and seven surrounding districts"[9]. Temporal frames are particularly evident in this narrative. A form of grammatical permutation of temporal frames for expressing a persisting threat can be observed.

The coincidence of *aggression*, *occupation* and *illegally controlled* is perfectly mirrored in the Armenian version of "Azerbaijan's or Azerbaijani's aggression in the Consulate General of Armenia in Los Angeles: "Los Angeles declares Nov. 9 Commemoration Day for victims of Azerbaijan's aggression on Artsakh. LA City Council *continues to* support the people of #Artsakh & temporarily suspend the LA-#Shushi Friendship City agreement "*for as long as it is illegally controlled by* #Azerbaijan". It has many variants summed up very well by the following permutation combined with a generalization:

> One can call it *encroachment, aggression, penetration, provocation, etc.* In an extremely worrying development the sovereignty of #Armenia has clearly been violated by #Azerbaijan & status quo must be restored asap! @UN @CSTO_ODKB @OSCE @eu_eeas @coe @NATO[10].

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[7] https://t.co/XD6230zuRf; https://twitter.com/chriskhach/status/1378965414198214659?s=27.

[8] https://twitter.com/algalitsky/status/1392285481912602624?s=27,.

[9] The full text is available at: https://www.azconsulatela.org/Azerbaijan/Karabakh-Occupation-Ethnic-Cleansing/Overview.

[10] https://twitter.com/tmkrtchyan/status/1392729655212482561?s=27.

The opposite entry to *'aggression'* and occupation in the hate speech glossary is *liberated territories*.

In reference to *Armenianhood*, the involvement of diaspora is highlighted through linguistic strategies. In one passage, we read:

> The violence has prompted mass mobilisation across Armenia and seen its vast global diaspora spring into action. Armenians across the world have lobbied their governments for stronger support for Armenia in the conflict, while others have donated time and money to support the ethnic Armenian soldiers fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh[11].

Reportedly, fighters of Armenian descent, mostly from Syria and Lebanon, were appointed in the ranks (Kalegy 2020: 7). In more recent years surrounding the end of the armed conflict, diasporan mobilization has been in direct contrast with the statements of the Azeri President Ilham Aliyev.

4.3.3. *The triumph narrative and its reception*

The narrative of triumph emerged from Aliyev's speeches, as in the passage: "*From now* on the state of Azerbaijan will develop as a *victorious nation*. The Azerbaijani people will live with a sense of *pride* for *being triumphant*". The celebration of the war culture and of the triumph goes hand in hand with the annihilation of the Armenian counterpart. In a speech, Aliyev stated that: "If someone wants to give the Armenians living in *our* territory a status, I don't mind that, but let *them* choose a good place for that in *their own* country". In this extract, the "us vs them" narrative is particularly evident and has the aim of differentiating between ethnic and geographical (territory-related) belonging. The use of the expression 'I don't mind' conveys the idea of ignoring the fact that most inhabitants in the territory over which Azerbaijan has regained control after the ceasefire are Armenian.

Triumph has not received a universal positive reception from all Azerbaijani actors. Dissent produced in Azerbaijan through activist and opposition leaders started to contest the authoritarian nature of Baku's government after the victory. An instance of dissent occurred during the ongoing celebrations in Baku for the 2020 ceasefire that returned to Azerbaijan territories occupied by Armenia after the end of the first Nagorno-Karabakh war (1994). Twitter accounts openly opposing the regime have been created.

4.3.4. *Mirrored reactions from the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides*

As far as the Armenian reaction is concerned, the last ceasefire agreement (2020) was not perceived as a step for peace by Armenians but rather as a loss. Pashinyan himself called the deal, forcing Armenian withdrawal from the territories gained in 1994, "incredibly painful both for me and both for our people" (Pashinyan 5 December 2020). The conflict directly or indirectly affects the lives and the wellbeing of diaspora communities across the world that share ethnic ties with the people living in the warzone

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[11] Gabrielle Tétrault-Farber, "Armenian diaspora rushes to Nagorno-Karabakh to back troops", Reuters, October 9, 2020.

(Shain 2002). The second Nagorno-Karabakh war in September–November 2020 mobilized Armenians to making worldwide public protests[12].

From the analysis of the corpora containing policy statements and tweets from diaspora activists, three different objectives emerge from the Armenian side:

1. the intention of reaching a more definite agreement with Azerbaijan, expressed by the Armenian Prime Minister;

2. independence and self-determination by Artsakh officials;

3. the dream of an "Armenian Artsakh" by diaspora groups.

Tweets by diasporan activists manifest the willingness to continue fighting for an annexation of Artsakh to Armenia, by advocating the risk of the opposite scenario, that is, annexation to the "enemy" Azerbaijan.

From the analysis of the hashtags in the Twitter corpus, accusations are similar and mutually directed towards Armenia or Azerbaijan as nouns or adjectives within the same word groups. As shown in Table 2, tweets can be easily mirrored.

Both sides attack not only their direct opponents but also their allies, particularly Russia and Turkey. Both use #warcrimes and #facism as explanations of the brutality of the enemy.

A notable example is represented by this post by the Azerbaijani side: "Fascism is not in our book: #Erdogan Fascism not in our book, it's in yours" (Kartwee, 25 October 2020); and "#KarabakhisAzerbaijanStopArmenianAggressionStopArmenianTerrorismDontBelieveArmenia. The deep historical roots of Armenian fascism became apparent to the 🌍 by exposing their unhealthy attitude and terror acts NikolPashinyan A M who is proud of his grandfathers fighting experience alongside with the German Nazis pursues fascism policy at the state level" (Kartwee, 28 October 2020). The co-existence of fascism and war crimes in the same posts is recurrent in Armenian tweets, as in: "EUCommission vonderleyen Maternity hospital in Stepanakert bombed by Azeri aviation. This is the 21st century fascism as it is. The perpetrators need to be brought to the War Crime Tribunal Stop Azerbaijani Aggression" (Kartwee, 29 October 2020).

In Azerbaijan, the narrative of triumph prevails, without having developed into real annexation claims. Twitter posts are in most cases simple, impulsive and aggressive. In one post, a user wrote: "We are restoring historical justice on the battle

Armenian tweets	Azerbaijani tweets
#StopAliyev	#StopArmenianTerror
#StopErdogan	#Russia
#StopAzeriAggression#StopTurkeyAggression	#StopArmenianAggression
#BoycottTurkey	#DontBelieveArmenia
#RecognizeArtsakh	#KarabakhisAzerbaijan
#PeaceforArmenians	#WeStandWithAliyev
#ArtsakhStrong	#FactAboutAzerbaijan

Table 2. Parameters of language and power in a narrative

[12] https://en.zois-berlin.de/publications/patriotism-in-the-armenian-diaspora-after-the-nagorno-karabakh-war.

#ArmeniaKillsCivilians" *(ibid.).* Antagonistic and negative feelings are articulated in terms of "complex identities" that refer not only to religion but also to ethnicity and politics, and exclusionary rhetoric is frequent in both Armenian and Azerbaijani comments. Users' comments tended to become increasingly inflammatory in the days surrounding the open hostilities (September-November 2020). Armenophobia was particularly felt in that period. One post is explanatory of a pervasive feeling: "This is how far the Turks and Azeris are willing to go. Hate speech and Armenophobia are so common that they are taking it to the streets. Stop this madding crowd! #BoycottTurkey #stoperdogan" (Kartwee, 29 October 2020).

The Azerbaijani comments describe the war as a finished chapter of their history. A twitter account posted: "@disneyplus you can make new movies based on real stories of Karabakh War. Azerbaijan writes new history of military strategy. In fact writing war stories /tactics has been the job of Turkic nations throughout the civilisation. #WeStandWithAliyev #KarabakhisAzerbaijan" (*ibid.*). Another post that represents the war as finished business as a matter of superiority is the following: "If Armenia doesnt surrender then come spring Azerbaijan will simple walk in and take over. THIS WAR IS OVER The only remaining question is how many Armenians Armenia will sacrifice for nothing before it surrenders" (*ibid.,* their emphasis).

From the Armenian side, the feeling of injustice is prevalent. The grievance is conveyed in posts like this one: "Hate just spills out of their blood! This is what will always separate us from them. We ask for peace, they ask for war & destruction. They are forever stuck in Stone Age #AzeriWarCrimes #RecognizeArtsakh" (*ibid.*). As a whole, the posts describe still existing animosities between Azerbaijani and Armenians as peoples in the Caucasus with different claims and similar accusations in a heavily militarized region. The end is not a happy one for either side that feels that the very existence of the area is at risk.

5. Conclusion

The common ground in the three mainstream narratives analysed above lies in the recognition of ethnic injustice and historic adversity towards the common enemy. The perpetuation of grievances is consistent with the theoretical framework stressing the need for shared antagonism in order to sustain a common identity. Instances of pronominal shift in the corpus have a narrative function, for they are strategically used to make the sequence of traumatic events culturally significant.

The results of the textual and narrative analysis show that political actors and activists use rhetorical devices to either attack or respond to mutual mirrored accusations. A hate speech vocabulary that includes: "hate" itself as a verb; "child murder"; "*Azeri Propaganda Machine*", "*Azerbaijan's vandalism*"; "*vandals and Pashinyans terrorists*", "*anti-Armenian*" associated with state policy and lifestyle, "bitter" as an adjective in "*bitter end*", "*bitter scenes*", "*bitter enemy*"; and high-frequency words such as "*encroachment, aggression, penetration, provocation*", "*immediately and on the spot*". Expressions of prolonged fighting are particularly evident in the narrativization of the event through the repeated use of syntagms like "*to turn a blind eye*", "*is not over*", "*once again*", "*continue*", "*continued confrontation*", and expressions of temporality "*in [date]*". This is juxtaposed by the phrase "*the war is over*" in Azerbaijani rhetoric.

The hostilities are, ultimately, inextricably embedded in two-way narratives of loss and victory, injustice, and revenge. These are subjective and yet collective narratives, which have a particular relevance to cross-cultural identity formation. Grievances are sustained by narratives of repeated trauma, revenge, destruction, and aggression. In general, the representation of speech seems entrusted mainly to narrativized features of communication that in most cases contrast with lexical-grammatical conventions. The corpus has a level of grammatical unpredictability that is not due to translation from Armenian to English, but rather depends on the violent conflict rhetoric deploying non-conventional and aggressive communicative functions.

In the unfinished Nagorno-Karabakh war, many issues of ethnic and territorial claims remain unsolved making the pathway to negotiation, dialogue and reconciliation between Armenia and Azerbaijan problematic. The prominence of violent or aggressive language in prolonged conflicts can be explained by reference to the intensity of the conflict. Ethnic security is dominant in the examined narratives. As is common in all ethnic conflicts, this defines the nation, emphasizing distinct cultural and historical traditions, and/or language. Since the dominant narrative is decisive in determining tensions of victory and loss, we may ask why Armenians and Azerbaijanis – unlike groups involved in other conflicts – were so receptive to a radical ethno-nationalist rhetoric. As has been argued, due to widespread perceptions of internal threats, Armenian and Azerbaijani people are particularly attached to the ethnic framework of communicating an ethnically exclusive national identity.

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ENGLISH IN MUSEUM COMMUNICATION: THE CASE OF MULTILINGUAL SOUTH TYROL

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Abstract

Professionals tend to consider English as the lingua franca of museum communication; likewise, linguists have mostly explored museum discourse from an English, monolingual perspective. Yet few studies have questioned whether contents in English can actually engage linguistically diverse groups in inclusive ways. The issue is particularly relevant in the multilingual environment of South Tyrol, a northern Italian province with a large number of museums. Drawing on frameworks for the analysis of multilingual texts, this paper investigates multilingual practices in the computer-mediated communication (CMC) of South Tyrolean museums. The following research questions are asked: which languages are used on websites and social network sites (SNS) of South Tyrolean museums? What role does English play in establishing relationships with multicultural audiences? Multilingual practices in the CMC of South Tyrolean museums are quite diversified in terms of mode and arrangement of content. One in three museum websites do not have an English version, whereas less than half of the SNS in use feature content in English. The quality of web translations and the use of code-switching highlight the shortcomings of English compared to local languages, especially when it comes to expressing culture-bound concepts, whereas in SNS English content is often reduced to an eye-grabbing device. These results invite further investigation from an ethnographic perspective in order to clarify whether ideological reasons, as well as technical constraints, may hinder the use of English in the CMC of South-Tyrolean museums.

1. Introduction

As an important component of the strategies adopted to engage culturally diverse audiences, multilingual practices are at the core of the broad spectrum of actions that underpin museum communication. The definition itself of museum communication as an "articulation of understandings" (Nielsen 2017: 4) implies the relevance of multilingualism within the complex creative process undertaken by museums to communicate

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with their audiences, ranging from the formulation of content (meaning making) to its transmission to the audience (meaning sharing).

Acknowledging the inherence of multilingualism in museum communication implies recognizing the social, as well as the cultural, role played by museums. These are expected to ensure equal access in the community (Rentschler 2004: 140-141) and should engage all members of society "regardless of class, gender, age, race/ethnicity, or *even linguistic background*" (Garibay and Yalowitz 2015: 2, emphasis added). In this regard, multilingual practices are generally acknowledged as a means for increasing inclusivity. According to Liao (2018: 56), "culture-sensitive" translations "reduce the distance between the institution and the visitors caused by language barriers". Likewise, Brito (2018: 187) argues for cultural institutions fluent in the various languages of their community, as "having a multilingual space is a way of telling the visitors that we welcome and value them".

Furthermore, in the eye of professionals, providing multilingual contents can improve museum communication at an overall level. Champ (2016: 43) claims that translating a museum text into a second language is a "multistep process" requiring professionals to focus on the "key messages" to be conveyed: this often results in improved text quality and content clarification in both languages. The overall visiting experience can benefit from museum translation: presenting the results of a survey conducted around the Frida Kahlo exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in 2019, Devine (2019) reported that the majority of visitors felt that the Spanish materials, offered alongside those in English, contributed positively to their experience whether they used them or not.

Despite the observation that multilingual practices can enrich museum communication, these are still under-researched, both in museum studies and linguistics. Museum professionals admit to having been "slower to identify strategies for including multilingual audiences" (Garibay and Yalowitz 2015: 2-3), often limiting attention to technical aspects:

> Do we need to translate everything in an exhibit? What is the best way to translate text? What are best practices for translation or for bilingual label development? Can including other languages increase attendance? How do you decide which languages to translate?

Focusing on Europe and Italy in particular, Manfredi (2021) notes that museum translation is apparently disregarded in key documents issued by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the main international non-governmental organization representing museums. As a matter of fact, the word 'multilingualism' does not feature in the recent ICOM Report on the essential keywords to define a museum (ICOM 2021), although these include strictly related concepts, such as 'accessibility' and 'diversity'. Furthermore, browsing the ICOM website, few references to multilingualism can be found: a training programme on 'how to develop and deliver a multilingual narrative' was carried out in 2018, while guidelines on how to communicate on SNS refer to multilingual communication only in passing. This seems to confirm Liao's (2018) view that the increase in translation work carried out by museums in recent years has not been matched by theoretical reflection.

Another reason behind the lack of interest towards multilingual strategies is that professionals tend to consider English as the "default lingua franca" (Petry 2017: 443).

This is not surprising, considering that the world of arts and culture, to which museums belong, is globalized (Mosquera 2010). Research on museum communication seems to reflect this trend by adopting an Anglocentric perspective: most of the studies in the field, from Hooper-Greenhill (1999, 2000) to Simon (2010) and Kidd (2016), are rooted in the analysis of Anglo-American museum practices. This is also true of most studies focusing on museum discourse (Ravelli 2006) and museum textual genres (Bondi 2009; Serrell 1996; Lazzeretti 2016).

Some scholars have questioned the effectiveness of this monolingual perspective. Using an example from the Chinese-English translation of an antique object exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Liao (2018: 55-56) highlighted the inadequacy of translation in conveying the authentic cultural references inherent in that object, stressing that the lexical choices behind translation are "ideological". Similarly, Guillot (2014: 90) questions whether English translations can accommodate the diverse needs of a multicultural audience and highlights that museum translations reflect "pragmatic and contextual differences in audience expectations": in her study, she noted that exhibition texts in French, by comparison with their English counterparts, were more engaging and able to "trigger an evaluative response that makes the text intensely interactive" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, she reported that museum texts in English were deemed as "excessively simple" by native French- and Spanish-speaking students, while those in French and Spanish appeared "formal, specialised and distant" to native English-speaking students (*ibid.*: 74). Shelley (2015: 20) goes even further: in her view, making available contents in different languages provides "little more than a translation facility". Drawing on performance studies, she hence argues for a polyglot museum, able to communicate beyond the barriers of conventional languages and adopt "multiple registers" of communication (*ibid.*: 24), such as visual storytelling, theatre, puppetry, and dance.

Shelley's (*ibid.*) perspective originates from multilingual Belgium, where education, culture, and welfare need to align to the needs of the French-speaking and Dutch-speaking communities. Her point of view is particularly interesting for the present paper, which aims to explore practices of multilingualism in museums operating in a similar environment: the northern Italian province of South Tyrol, which shares its borders with Austria and Switzerland and has three official languages (German, Italian, Ladin). Despite a plethora of studies on multilingualism in this particular area (see Franceschini 2011, 2013), the multilingual context of South Tyrolean museums needs to be examined in more detail. It remains unclear, in particular, how the institutions differentiate the working languages in use in South Tyrol (German and Italian) across the different media and what role is ascribed to English as an international language for communication.

Recently, the pandemic has marked a significant shift for museums towards digital communication (Noehrer *et al.* 2021), which imposes a focus on multimodal genres. The analysis carried out in this study will address multilingual practices in museum websites and social network sites (SNS). The following research questions are asked: which languages are used by South Tyrolean museums for digital communication? and what role does English play in establishing relation with a multicultural audience?

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of multilingualism in South Tyrol, taking into account the historical background to language use in the region. Against this backdrop, the peculiar concentration of museums which characterizes

South Tyrol is interpreted as a reflection of a multicultural heritage. Then, in Section 3, the materials used for the study, as well as the methodology adopted, are presented. The analysis, conveyed in Section 4, will first deal with the languages in use in South Tyrolean museum websites and SNS, and the possible combinations and arrangement of information in different languages, to move on to the observation of a sample of cases where the choice of using – or not using – English can influence the effectiveness of communication.

2. Multilingualism and museums in South Tyrol

As one of the five autonomous regions in Italy at the border with Austria and Switzerland, South Tyrol is characterized by a multicultural identity. According to the last census (ASTAT 2012), German speakers constitute 69.4% of the total population, while the rest of the inhabitants are Italian (26.1%) and Ladin speakers (4.5%). There are historical reasons for the co-existence of these groups, who have lived side by side for centuries, with sporadic contact between them and limited cases of individual bilingualism, due to the "predominantly rural way of life", especially in the Alpine valleys (Eichinger 2002: 137). Ethnic and linguistic diversity was a distinctive trait of many areas of the Habsburg empire, to which South Tyrol belonged for a long time, from the 14th to the 20th century. After the First World War, South Tyrol was ceded to Italy through the Treaty of Saint-Germaine; in the years of Fascism, between 1922 and 1943, the government tried to Italianize the territory with severe forms of cultural repression, while during the German occupation (1943-45), the power relationships were reversed. At the end of the Second World War, Austria and Italy agreed on the self-government for South Tyrol in order to protect the German-speaking (and Ladin-speaking) population (Kourtis-Kazoullis *et al.* 2019). Eventually, the 1972 Statute of Autonomy granted rights and freedoms to the province of South Tyrol, allowing it to protect its linguistic minorities (Wisthaler 2016). Today, the coexistence of German, Italian and Ladin speakers is assessed positively by all language groups. According to recent statistics (ASTAT 2015), 80% see the linguistic plurality of their territory as an asset rather than a problem. However, Italian-speaking South Tyroleans and, to a lesser extent, Ladins feel more often disadvantaged than German-speaking South Tyroleans, especially in the work sector.

The multiple identities of South Tyrol are reflected in the richness of its cultural heritage, which, combined with the existing landscape potential, has been the basis for successful tourism development. Germany and Italy, followed by Austria, Switzerland, Benelux, the Czech Republic and Poland are the main tourist markets (ASTAT 2021). The Province of Bolzano-Bozen officially lists 155 museums in its website[1], i.e. one for every 3,400 inhabitants[2]. This ratio is four times the number of museums per capita in Italy, where, according to ISTAT (2017)[3], the cultural heritage boasts 4,889 museums and similar institutions, public and private, open to the public: approximately one every 12,000 inhabitants.

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[1] http://www.provincia.bz.it/arte-cultura/musei/musei-in-alto-adige.asp.

[2] According to the last ISTAT survey (2019), South Tyrol has 532,644 inhabitants.

[3] https://www.istat.it/it/files//2019/01/Report-Musei_2017_con_loghi.pdf.

Most South-Tyrolean museums are small[4] to midsize institutions, with some exceptions, such as the South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology, which hosts the world's best-known and best preserved human mummy, Ötzi the Iceman, and is considered a major attraction for South Tyrolean tourism (Brida *et al*. 2012). Moreover, in the past two decades, a number of larger institutions have opened, such as the Museion, a modern and contemporary art museum located in Bolzano, and the Messner Mountain Museum, consisting of a series of venues based at six different locations in the Alps.

3. Materials and methods

The analysis carried out in this study is based on the examination of the 155 museums listed by the Province of Bolzano-Bozen in the webpage 'Museums in South Tyrol'[5], observed between October 2021 and April 2022. Once the museums' actual presence on the web and social media was assessed, the analysis focused on websites and SNS where English is in use, i.e. on 58 websites and 50 SNS. A number of examples of digitally mediated communication produced by museums and addressed in the analysis were then chosen and stored in a spreadsheet. The selection was made taking into account the theoretical sampling principles of Glaser and Strauss (2006: 45), according to which "the process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory".

For the purpose of the study, the museums featuring in the official list provided in the Province of Bozen's website[6] were categorized on the basis of their topic. The most significant cluster is that of museums specializing in nature, which represent 18% of the total. This confirms that the South Tyrolean landscape is the main tourist-cultural asset also with regard to the thematic distribution of museums. The second most prominent cluster is that of local culture and history (17%), followed, on equal terms, by sacred art and ethnography, each accounting for 15%, then by contemporary art (14%) and technology (12%). At the bottom of the list are archaeology (6%) and architecture (3%).

The results of the thematic clustering of museums are summarized in the graph below (Figure 1).

A manual content analysis approach was adopted to assess the characteristics of digital communication of South Tyrolean museums from a multilingual perspective. The theoretical notion addressed here is that of "multilingualism online", qualified by Lee (2016: 119) as "the coexistence of two or more languages, or 'codes'" within the specific environment of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC). According to Lee (*ibid*.), studies in this field have pursued two main aims: 1) the quantification of linguistic diversity in CMC through the aid of statistical surveys; 2) the qualitative observation and explanation of multilingual practices in CMC, such as language choice and code-switching practices. This study aims to combine these two perspectives by

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[4] According to the definition of the American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), small museums have an annual budget of less than $250,000, have a low average number of employees and massively rely on volunteers to carry out the different museum activities - https://aaslh.org/communities/smallmuseums/.

[5] http://www.provincia.bz.it/arte-cultura/musei/musei-in-alto-adige.asp.

[6] http://www.provincia.bz.it/arte-cultura/musei/musei-in-alto-adige.asp.
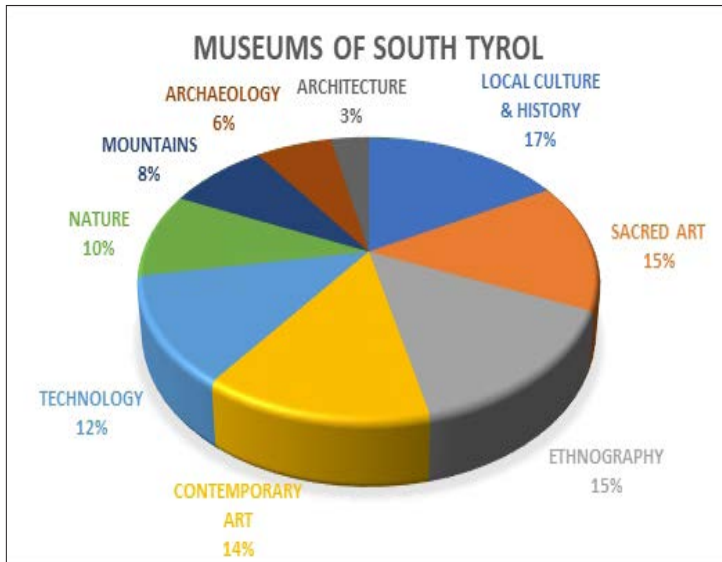
Figure 1. Thematic clustering of museums of South Tyrol

collecting quantitative data on the languages in use in the CMC of South Tyrolean museums, and, as a further step, by describing and interpreting examples of multilingual practices.

For each museum on the list, online activity was manually assessed by taking into consideration the following aspects: 1) the presence of a dedicated website; 2) active presence on SNS. As a second step, the languages in use in digital media (German, Italian, English, or others) were identified; furthermore, the arrangement of languages and information was examined, with a view to provide a coherent classification of the relevant combinations in use. To that end, the framework developed by Sebba (2013) for the analysis of multilingual texts was taken into account. Sebba's model distinguishes between three types of combinations of languages and information: (1) equivalent texts, characterized by the same or similar content in the different languages, (2) disjoint texts, characterized by different content in the different languages, and (3) overlapping texts, where some of the content is repeated in different languages, and some is not. The last two types require readers to be competent in all the languages in use to fully grasp the meaning conveyed by texts.

We hypothesize that multilingual texts to be found in the CMC of South Tyrolean museums may reflect different origins: while those in German and Italian are supposedly produced in a native speaker environment, where both languages are spoken as L1 and/or L2, those in English might reflect a lingua-franca scenario, where English is used by non-native speakers to address an international audience (see Palumbo 2013). As such, these texts may result from a process of mediation ranging from mere verbatim translation to a more complex work of 'transcreation', a term introduced by Rike (2013) to highlight the translator's active and creative contribution in producing a new version of the original text, particularly effective in communicative terms. To suggest the potential of transcreation, Rike (*ibid.*) gives the example of Norwegian websites

where the English version was shown to be more efficient in communicative terms, as the content was qualitatively and quantitatively richer than in the Norwegian counterpart and more coherent with the images shown on the web pages.

The qualitative analysis of South Tyrolean museum websites and SNS focused on the fundamental aspects of language choice and code-switching. Language choice online deals with the codes and linguistics resources made available to web users, as well as with the reasons behind this choice and related aspects of negotiation (Lee 2016). For instance, the choice of English is often motivated by its perceived status as a lingua franca in online communication. The notion of code-switching, originally defined as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982: 5), needs to be refined in the context of CMC (Lee 2016): it is not simply the coexistence of multiple languages on the same webpage, or social media post, but a meaningful contrastive language choice intrinsically determined by the discourse structure of CMC and "dialogically interrelated" with the versions produced in the other languages (Androutsopolous 2013: 673).

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1. *Museum websites*

When assessing the online presence of South Tyrolean museums, the first important aspect to bear in mind is that only 60% of the institutions have a dedicated website. The remaining 40% prefer to outsource this function (Hajduk 2016), relying on external websites. These include tourism promotion sites for South Tyrol, which contain pages dedicated to the various cultural and artistic heritage sites, such as *www.suedtirolerland.it* or *www.altoadigepertutti.it*, or municipal administration websites, which promote specific assets of their areas, such as *www.comune.bolzano.it*. This finding does not match with recent statistics on the use of digital technologies by Italian museums: according to the *Osservatorio Innovazione Digitale nei Beni e Attività Culturali* (2021), 95% of Italian museums have a website and 83% have an official account on social networks. The scenario of South Tyrolean museums is closer to that described by Leoni and Cristofaro (2021) in their survey on small museums in Italy, reporting that less than 50% have a museum website and a social media account. Yet, data collected for this survey date back to 2019, before the pandemic; the situation might have evolved in the meantime, in light of the increasing digitalization of museums sparked by lockdowns worldwide (ICOM 2021).

Considering the possible combinations of languages displayed in websites, the trilingual option, providing content in German, Italian, and English, was found to be the dominant one, accounting for 62% of the websites overall. In only 6% of the cases is content in a fourth language offered, namely, in Ladin or French. 27% provide only a double version of content, in German and Italian, a further 4% are monolingual (German only), while only 1% of the total have chosen to rely on German, Italian and a third language different from English (see Figure 2). The choice to provide additional versions in further foreign languages seems to be influenced by the topic dealt with by museums: Ladin, for instance, was chosen by those museums reflecting the Ladin cultural heritage, such as the Museum Gherdëina, while Russian was required in the case of the Nadezhda Ivanovna Borodina private collection.
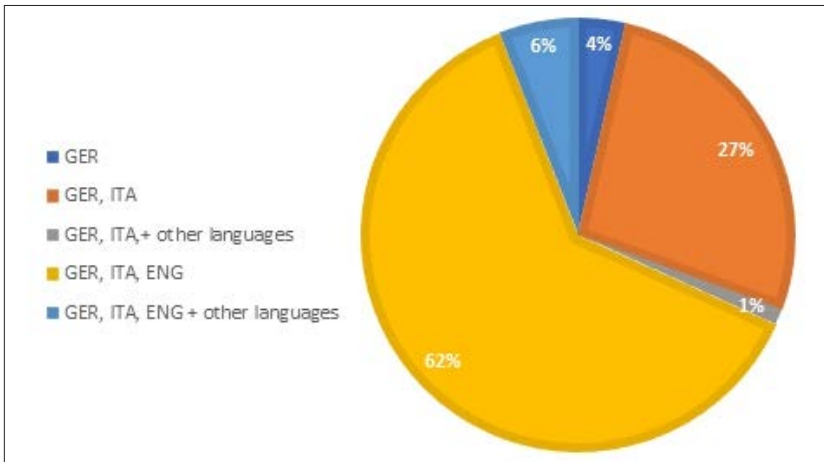
Figure 2. Multilingualism in museum websites: languages and combinations

Remarkably, when adding up all the percentages of non-English-speaking museum websites, it turns out that almost one in three refrain from using English. This outcome seems to be in line with previous research on the relative availability of English versions in Italian museum websites (Turnbull 2018), although it constitutes an improved scenario compared with that described by Bartolini (2020) in her survey on university museum websites, which showed that less than half provide an English version. While it is not surprising that the languages of the South Tyrolean territory – German and Italian – are fully represented, the absence of an English version in 32% of the observed museum websites lends itself to various interpretations: English could be regarded as not relevant, or useful as regards the communicative needs of the museum, which might not be interested in reaching out to a community wider than the local one. From a more radical perspective, English might be considered a 'foreign' language, inappropriate, as such, in terms of reflecting the cultural identity of the museum. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that German- and Italian-speaking tourists represent a significant component for the region. A more restricted use of English could therefore indicate that museums prefer to opt for a conservative choice, rather than for a lingua franca, which can accommodate the needs of a wider range of visitors.

With regard to the arrangement of multilingual contents within the websites, the manual analysis showed that the general tendency of South Tyrolean museums is to provide an English version parallel to the Italian and German ones, according to the modality described by Sebba (2013) as "equivalent", i.e. where the same text is presented in both languages. Exceptions are some museums that opt for an "overlapping" modality (*ibid.*), thus offering only a reduced section in English compared to the overall content available in the other languages.

Given the predominance of an equivalent dimension between the German, Italian and English versions, South Tyrolean museum websites appear to be articulated into separated parts that do not mix together: that seems to confirm Androutsopoulos' (2013: 672) view, when he pointed out that "the units that make up multilingual web surfaces are often monolingual in themselves". Yet, on closer observation, the equivalence

of translations is relative and units may differ substantially, both quantitatively and qualitatively. If one looks at the English version of the web texts, in particular, an ambivalent tendency can be noted, whereby the text is either impoverished or enriched compared to the versions in the two main languages.

For example, in the description of the rooms inside Trostburg Castle, seat of the Museum of South Tyrolean Castles, the content provided in English is significantly reduced compared to that offered in the German and Italian versions (see examples 1a-1c below):

1a) *Besonders hervorhebenswert sind aus jener Zeit **die dreifach gewölbte gotische Stube** (um1400/1480), die beiden um 1514 errichteten und ausgemalten Säle des Hans von Wolkenstein und einer der schönsten Renaissancesäle des Landes (um 1607/18) sowie die reiche Ausstattung der Kapelle und die freskierte Loggia.*

1b) *Notevoli sono **la Stube Gotica con la sua volta trilobata**, gli affreschi tardogotici, le decorazioni della cappella e quella che può considerarsi una delle più belle sale rinascimentali della regione (del 1607).*

1c) *Of special beauty is **a triple-domed Gothic room**. The chapel and the various entertainment rooms are also attractions.*

In the example presented above, the English translation has not only lost in quantity, but also in semantic quality: the word 'Stube', whose meaning is intrinsically linked to German culture and is associated with a warm and welcoming environment, at the centre of family and convivial life, fades into a generic 'room', while it is kept in the Italian version. 'Stube' is indeed a local word, which however enjoys international currency – it is present in the BNC – and would have been intelligible in English. In this case, the translator has synthesized and simplified the original content, going in the opposite direction to that envisaged by a process of transcreation (Rike 2013).

In the next example (2 a-c), taken from the website of the South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology, the situation is reversed: the English version is more detailed than the Italian and German versions.

2a) *Esperti ed esperte di tutto il mondo sono impegnati nell'indagine dei diversi aspetti della vita di Ötzi. Esaminando alcune radiografie, nel 2001 hanno scoperto la causa della morte: **egli morì per una ferita inferta da una freccia alla spalla sinistra. Ötzi fu dunque senza dubbio assassinato.***

2b) *Weltweit waren und sind Expertinnen und Experten mit der Erforschung verschiedener Details aus Ötzis Leben beschäftigt. Auf Röntgenbildern entdeckten sie 2001 die Todesursache: **Der Mann aus dem Eis starb an einer Pfeilschussverletzung. Es war Mord.***

2c) *Experts were and still are researching various details of Ötzi's life. In 2001, X-rays revealed the cause of death: **The Iceman died from an injury caused by an arrow in his left shoulder. The arrowhead hit a main artery, so that he probably bled to death within a matter of minutes. There can be no doubt that Ötzi was murdered.***

In text 2c) a precise link between the manner of Ötzi's death and the deduction that he had been killed by someone behind his back is established ("There can be no doubt that Ötzi was murdered"). The deduction that Ötzi was murdered is made explicit also in the Italian and German versions of the text, yet, in the English version, readers are presented with a lively image of a chase ending in bloodshed, probably to make the story sound more compelling and memorable.

Also in the following example (3 a-c), taken from the Al Plan Dolomites Hotel Museum, the English version shows an attempt of transcreation (Rike 2013).

3a) *Concedetevi una vacanza in Vespa, con tutta* **la leggerezza e il senso di libertà** *che solo una Vespa può regalare!*

3b) *Genießen Sie Urlaub mit der Vespa, genießen Sie* **dolce vita, Freiheit und italienischen Lifestyle***!*

3c) *Enjoy holidays with a Vespa in South Tyrol; enjoy* **dolce far niente, the art of doing nothing, freedom and the Italian lifestyle!**

In describing the experience of a holiday on a Vespa, the basic concepts of lightness and freedom, expressed in the Italian version of the text, are enriched in German by the additional expressions 'dolce vita' (kept in Italian in the text) and 'Italian lifestyle', and then expanded in English in an even broader interpretation: from 'dolce vita' to 'dolce far niente'. This latter expression, which is an addition with respect to the other versions, is kept in Italian, but explained by means of a code gloss ('the art of doing nothing'), reflecting a concern for accommodating the reader.

As in example (2 a-c), the German translation plays here an intermediate role between Italian and English, adding elements that are then further developed in English. Furthermore, this enrichment seems to reflect a communicative strategy aimed at improving effectiveness and memorability. Through the use of the expressions 'dolce far niente' and 'Italian lifestyle', the English version of the text evokes a series of mental associations that are particularly useful – albeit stereotypical – in depicting a pleasant holiday. Such additions would probably appear redundant or tautological in the Italian text; yet the impression remains that the English text is more compelling.

Also with regard to cases of code-switching, web texts in English show an ambivalent attitude towards the reader. The use of not commonly known German terms within English texts is frequent, but not always accompanied by adaptation strategies, such as the inclusion of translations, code-glosses, and exemplifications, or by contextual information. In the following example (4 a-b), for instance, readers are not given any clues as to the meaning of German words which have been kept in the English version of the text.

4a) *Nell'***Aureola** *– la nuova stanza è stata chiamata così per le decorazioni del soffitto – ci sono vari presepi di legno antichi e originali, per i quali vale la pena visitare il Maranatha anche per chi già lo conosce. Qui si può ammirare il* **presepe annuale** *dell'***Associazione presepi** *di Cadipietra. Quest'opera unica è stata costruita da* **molte persone assidue di Steinhaus,** *che lavorano in collaborazione con Erich Treyer „ Wiesen".*

4b) *In the **Gloriole**, given its name due to the ceiling decoration, many original, old nativity-scenes are exhibited, well worth a visit even for visitors who already know the Maranatha. The unique „**Jahreskrippe**" from the „**Krippenverein Steinhaus**," was built by many diligent villagers, run by Erich Treyer „Wiesen".*

German words are put in double quotes, as if a translation for them was not available, yet the Italian version shows an attempt in this regard, translating the term 'Jahreskrippe' into 'presepe annuale', roughly explaining what a 'Krippenverein' is and alternatively adopting the German and the Italian toponym for Steinhaus/Cadipietra. Steinhaus and Cadipietra, whose English translation might be 'Stonehouse', are in fact equivalent, 'Ca' being a truncated form of 'casa' ('house').

The use of codeswitching and the need to keep expressions in the original language is even more pronounced when it comes to expressing concepts strongly rooted in the local culture or history: the following examples (5 and 6), however, show an effort to accommodate the needs of the international reader, enabling understanding of foreign words and related shades of meaning through contextual information or code glosses.

5) *"**Heimat**" to let (1955-1965)*
*Thanks to the private car, tourists can reach even the remote Alpine valleys. Many farmers seize the opportunity and offer holiday accommodation. The friendly hospitality of the small family enterprises is popular, but it often means the sacrifice of **the family's own private life**.*
6) *What happened during the period of **"die Option", the South Tyrol Option Agreement**? What does autonomy mean for South Tyrol and how did this shape its political path? If you want to find out more about the history of South Tyrol in the 20th century then you should look at the impressive presentation in the Keep!*

In German, the term 'Heimat' strictly means 'home' in the sense of one's native place or own country, not a house, or an apartment. Therefore, the idea of letting one's 'Heimat' is presented in the text as a sacrifice. Similarly, 'die Option' is another culture-bound word: in 1939 every South Tyrolean had to decide whether to stay and retain Italian citizenship or to leave and sell their material goods to Italy. The full meaning of these culturally dense expressions is only partially clarified in the English text.

4.2. *Museum SNS*
One out of two South Tyrolean museums rely on SNS for external communication, Facebook being the most used platform (50%), followed by Instagram (38%), YouTube (17%), Twitter (7%) and others (7%).

With regard to the use of languages, the overview of museum SNS is particularly varied. Within the different platforms in use (mainly Facebook, Instagram and, to a lesser extent, Twitter), it was possible to identify monolingual posts (written in GER, or ITA, or ENG), as well as bilingual (GER/ITA, or GER/ENG, or ITA/ENG), trilingual (GER/ITA/ENG, or GER/ITA/LAD), or even quadrilingual posts (GER/ITA/ENG/LAD). The predominant combination is that of bilingual posts in German and Italian, both in Facebook (40%), and Instagram (36%); the combinations GER/ENG and ITA/ENG are far less common, both in Facebook and Instagram, and do not feature at all in Twitter.
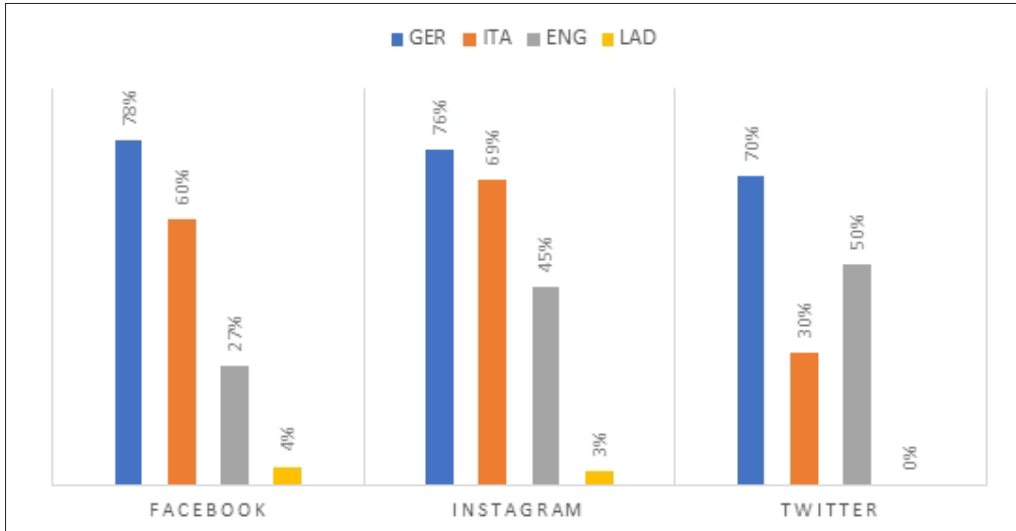
Figure 3. Use of languages in FB, IG, and TW

Trilingual posts (GER/ITA/ENG) represent the second most frequent option, and feature mostly in Instagram (30%). Monolingual posts were mainly identified in Facebook (29%), and, to a lesser extent, in Instagram (22%). The presence of quadrilingual posts, in which Ladin is added, is very limited, as it was observed in only five social accounts (three Facebook and two Instagram profiles).

If we look at the use of languages in the different platforms (see Figure 3), the presence of German is between 70% and 78% of the total SNS, that of Italian between 30% and 69%, that of English between 27% and 50%. Twitter is the only SNS where English is more represented than Italian, which is not surprising, bearing in mind that this microblogging service mostly addresses an American audience[7]; yet, if one considers that less than 10% of South Tyrolean museums use Twitter, this figure does not appear relevant.

While the presence of German is, in quantitative terms, greater than that of the other languages in all platforms, it should be noted that English gains ground in Instagram, where it rises to 45%, compared to 27% on Facebook. This suggests that Facebook is perceived by South Tyrolean museums as a more localized space, addressing a smaller community, while Instagram is considered as an international communication tool, capable of reaching a wider and globalized audience and requiring more inclusive multilingual strategies.

To conclude the overview of languages used in South Tyrolean museum SNS, it is worth noting that Ladin is very little used on Facebook and Instagram (between 3% and 4%), while it does not feature at all in Twitter.

As for the arrangement of multilingual content in SNS, the main categories identified at the beginning of this section – monolingual, bilingual, and trilingual posts – may

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[7] https://www.statista.com/statistics/242606/number-of-active-twitter-users-in-selected-countries.

Type	Mode	Relation	Content	Example
1a	Monolingual		single post (L1)	Starting from today, 6th of August 2021, the entry to the Messner Mountain Museum will be possible only with the "Green Pass" (EU Digital Covid Certificate)!
1b	Monolingual	Equivalent	doubled post (L1, L2)	Prime impressioni dal nostro festival archeologico "Ritorno alla preistoria" in occasione del 30° anniversario di Ötzi! 😄
				Erste Eindrücke von unserem Archäologie-Festival „Zurück in die Steinzeit" zu Ötzis 30. Jahrestag! 🎉
1c	Monolingual	Equivalent	tripled post (L1, L2, L3)	..3 ...2 ..1! Das Museum ist wieder geöffnet und ab heute kann die neue Sonderausstellung „STONE AGE CONNECTIONS. Mobilität zu Ötzis Zeit" besichtigt werden!
				..3 ...2 ...1! A partire da oggi il museo riapre con la nuova mostra temporanea "STONE AGE CONNECTIONS. Mobilità ai tempi di Ötzi"!
				... and WRAP! The new special exhibition "STONE AGE CONNECTIONS. Mobility at Ötzi›s time" is open to visitors!

Table 1. Monolingual posts

give rise to different combinations, depending on the relation existing between multi-lingual contents (equivalent, disjoint, or overlapping). An attempt was made to classify the typologies in use, summarized in the following Tables (Tables 1, 2 and 3). Examples for each typology of posts are provided on the right-hand side of the Tables.

As Table 1 shows, when relying on monolingual posts, three possible choices open up for writers: either publish one single post, without replicating its content later in the other languages (type 1a), or publish multiple versions of the same post in different languages, doubling it (type 1b) or tripling it (type 1c). Indeed, type 1a is the least in-clusive modality, as it does not offer users alternatives other than the chosen language, which, in most of the cases, is German; yet this typology was identified in about 20% of the Facebook and 12% of the Instagram accounts. This implies that some museums are not interested in reaching a non-German-speaking audience through social media profiles and aim to address first and foremost the local community. The percentage of museums relying on monolingual posts in Italian, or English only, is limited to a few cases. Interestingly, those opting for monolingual posts in English are museums of contemporary art, such as the LUMEN Museum, Fondazione Antonio Dalle Nogare, or ar/ge Kunst Galerie Bozen. This can be explained by the hegemony of English in the globalized world of contemporary art (Mosquera 2010), which requires museums all

Type	Mode	Relation	Content	Example
2a	Bilingual	equivalent	single post (L1=L2)	🏛️🖼️ Die Sonderausstellung HANS EBENSPERGER ist bis zum 30. Januar 2022 wieder geöffnet. Die Öffnungszeiten sind: vom Dienstag bis Sonntag von 10:00 bis 18:00 Uhr.
				🏛️🖼️ La mostra temporanea HANS EBENSPERGER è nuovamente aperta fino al 30 gennaio 2022. Gli orari di apertura sono da martedì a domenica dalle ore 10:00 alle ore 18:00.
2b	Bilingual	disjoint	single post (L1≠L2)	Heute veröffentlicht, aus dem Mesolithikum: La più antica sepoltura di una bambina in Europa 🌸
2c	Bilingual	overlapping	single post (L1>L2)	Nächsten zwei Wochen bleibt die Galerie wegen Inventur geschlossen. Ab Montag, 3. Februar, wieder geöffnet.
				Chiudiamo la galleria per inventario per due settimane.

Table 2. Bilingual posts

over the world to align themselves with this trend in order to assert their belonging to an international circuit.

In the case of bilingual posts, as illustrated by Table 2, writers rely on the space of one single post to deliver their message. Content can either be equally and sequentially displayed in the two languages, according to the equivalent mode, as in type 2a, or differentiated. In the latter case, contents may be disjoint, as in type 2b, or partially overlapping, as in type 2c. Apparently, these typologies (2 a-c) would seem more effective from a communication point of view, as they allow for concentration of content in one single post, instead of doubling or tripling it among several posts. However, this policy is not without disadvantages: the need to sequentially display multilingual content makes the post inevitably longer, which may affect readability (Gligorić *et al*. 2019).

The organization described below becomes even more chaotic in the case of trilingual posts, where possible developments are shown in Table 3.

Writers can sequentially provide equivalent (type 3a), disjoint (type 3b), or partially overlapping (type 3c) multilingual content within the same post. Despite the effort to maintain a symmetry between the text components and graphically delimit multilingual contents, by means of metatextual elements (e.g. the use of the abbreviations "IT ////", "DE ////", "ENG ////",) or iconic forms of paralinguistic emphasis (e.g. repeated emoji, see example in Table 3 for type 3a), the trilingual post may look confusing. This might

Type	Mode	Relation	Content	Example
3a	trilingual	equivalent	single post (L1=L2=L3)	🌴THE POETRY OF TRANSLATION is coming to Meran!
				🌴THE POETRY OF TRANSLATION sta arrivando a Merano!
				🌴THE POETRY OF TRANSLATION kommt nach Meran!
3b	trilingual	disjoint	single post (L1=L2≠L3)	SAVE THE DATE
				MUSEION INK ist nächsten Donnerstag wieder da! Ein kreatives Schreib-Workshop in den Ausstellungsräumen der Museion: Donnerstag, den 10. Februar um 17 Uhr
				MUSEION INK ist nächsten Donnerstag wieder da! Ein kreatives Schreib-Workshop in den Ausstellungsräumen der Museion: Donnerstag, den 10. Februar um 17 Uhr
3c	trilingual	overlapping	single post (L1> L2>L3)	Lavori in corso: wir arbeiten gerade an unserer neuen Sonder- und Dauerausstellung. Ötzi the Iceman is following the remodeling of the exhibitions around his protected reconstruction 😄

Table 3. Trilingual posts

explain why writers tend to adopt monolingual or bilingual solutions in SNS, suggesting that the English version can be sacrificed for the sake of readability.

On close observation, monolingual posts written in English are characterized by brevity: they mostly consist of one-sentence texts, enriched by elements of non-standard language (emoji and hashtags), and their main communicative function is to provide a caption, or an ironic comment, to the image embedded in the post (see Figure 4). The understanding of these short posts is immediate and does not require in-depth linguistic competence on the part of the user, who can infer the meaning through the combined effect of the visual and textual components. As these short English-language posts tend to draw attention to the image, they do not have an informative content, but rather an evocative one. When it is necessary to communicate specific or detailed information, German and/or Italian are preferred. This applies, for example, to posts
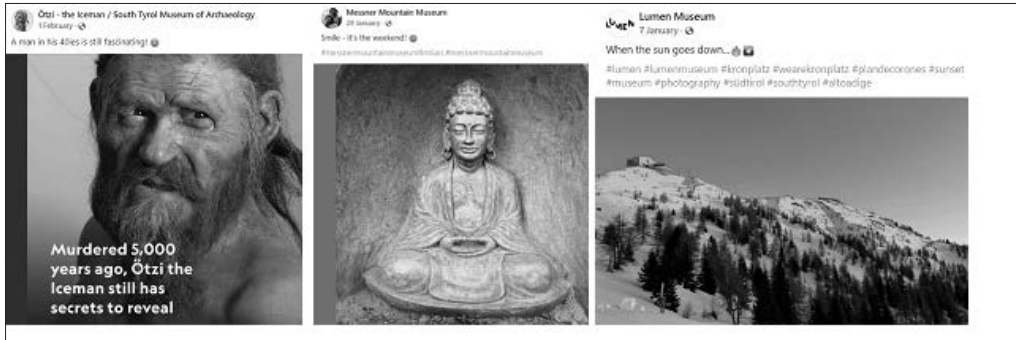
Figure 4. Monolingual posts in English

about the restrictions imposed by the Covid-2019 pandemic or the security measures introduced thereafter.

Furthermore, in bi- or trilingual posts, English text is reduced to an introductory fragment, setting the tone of communication: an emotional trigger, or a 'hook' (Luttrell and Capizzo 2019), useful to catch the attention of readers (see examples 7-10).

7) ***New!!!*** *Wir sind Die und Don von 10-12 and 15-18 Uhr geöffnet; Sam von 10-12. Siamo aperti mar e gio dalle ore 10-12 and 15-18; sab ore 10-12.*

8) *FRIEDRICH PLAHL **coming soon!***
Eröffnung: Freitag 11.02.2022, 19 Uhr Stadtmuseum Bruneck
Inaugurazione: venerdì 11.02.2022, ore 10 Museo Civico di Brunico

9) ***Sold out** für die heutige Kuratorinführung mit Sara Alberti in der Sonderausstellung "Paul Flora und die satirische Kunst in der Sammlung Eccel Kreuzer"!*

10) ***!! REMINDER !!***
DE BUCHVORSTELLUNG
Samstag, 16.10.2021 | 11:30 Uhr | Hofburg Brixen

These examples could hardly be classified as cases of codeswitching in Androutsopoulos' (2013) terms, but would rather identify a sort of "emblematic bilingualism" (*ibid.*: 672), which does not challenge the dominant language in terms of informational content, but contributes to defining the identity of the communicator. Indeed, the use of English in the examples above seems to emphasize the need to adopt an informal and lively tone, as required by social media, rather than the authentic aim to include an international audience. The impression is that museums are trying to convey their 'coolness' through the use of global English, considering it a strategy to appeal to a younger audience, probably in light of the "global fetish of visual English" (Kelly-Holmes 2014), by which the connotational values of English are commodified.

5. Conclusions

The study set out to explore language choice in the CMC of South Tyrolean museums, focusing in particular on websites and SNS. Special emphasis was placed on the

role played by English as an international language for communication, and therefore as a key resource to establish relationships with multicultural visitors.

Results show that practices of digital communication and multilingualism of South Tyrolean museums are quite diversified. The first relevant aspect is that only 60% of the museums rely on dedicated websites and about 50% on SNS, which is considerably lower than the national level (Osservatorio Innovazione Digitale nei Beni e Attività Culturali 2021), but aligns with surveys conducted on small museums (Leoni and Cristofaro 2021). To investigate why the use of digital media in South Tyrolean museums is below the national average is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that online multilingualism presupposes the widespread and skilful use of digital media. South Tyrolean museums are probably still in an experimental phase, leading to a generalized and more effective use of such tools.

When considering language choice in museum websites, the most frequent combination, accounting for more than 60% of the overall cases, is the trilingual mode GER/ITA/ENG, where multilingual content is mainly displayed according to an equivalent arrangement. More than half of the museum websites under scrutiny have therefore an English version, which seems in line with previous research on the presence of English in Italian museum websites (Turnbull 2018; Bartolini 2020). Yet a closer look at the quality of the English texts in museum websites reveals considerable discrepancies compared to the German and Italian versions. In some cases, the English version seems inadequate to convey the shades of meaning inherent in specific German expressions or terms (see, in particular, socio-culturally loaded terms, such as *Stube, Krippe, Heimat*); the translation appears to be impoverished, or is avoided in the face of forms of code-switching not always accompanied by compensatory strategies that would enable comprehension by non-German speakers. By contrast, those museums that master the English translation, relying on forms of enrichment and transcreation, can skilfully exploit the potential that this language offers in terms of more effective communication.

As for SNS, the most frequent combination between languages, accounting for the majority of the overall cases, is the bilingual mode GER/ITA. While German is, on the whole, the most represented language, featuring in at least 70% of the SNS, English is rarely used, apart from Instagram and Twitter, where it reaches peaks of 45% and 50%. Moreover, the analysis shows a variety of combinations, depending on the chosen mode (mono-, bi-, or trilingual) and content arrangement (equivalent, disjoint, overlapping). This could point to an ongoing experimentation that characterizes multilingual practices in SNS, or reflect the difficulty of identifying a convincing structure. Indeed, readability is very much part of the picture, and the decision to leave out English could be due to technical reasons: namely, the urge to reduce the length of posts, which, in the case of South Tyrolean SNS, need to be written in German and Italian, and are therefore twice as long as conventional monolingual posts.

Apart from the technical difficulties involved in using three languages in digital communication, this study raises the question of whether there might be ideological reasons behind the decision not to use English. There seems to be the need for a closer investigation of multilingual practices, which might reflect the intention of South Tyrolean museums to focus exclusively on the local community, or, perhaps, a mistrust of the English language, not perceived as reflective of the South Tyrolean museums' identity. In this regard, the pandemic might have revived a spirit of localism in museums,

with greater pride in local communities and less openness to the globalized world, a tendency which has already been highlighted by scholars in the field of cultural heritage (Silberman 2021). A limitation of this study, is, indeed, that of providing a snapshot of multilingual practices in the post-pandemic period (2021-2022), without taking into consideration any possible development or change that has occurred over the years. An ethnographic investigation, carried out inside the museums, in close contact with professionals, could shed further light on the peculiar settings of South Tyrolean cultural institutions and explain the reasons behind their choices of communication.

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IT AIN'T COME IN STRAIGHT LINES.
TV SERIES DIALOGUE AND LGBT+ VOCABULARY IN THE ENGLISH FOR MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION CLASSROOM

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Abstract

The main aim of this contribution is to demonstrate the innovative pedagogical use of TV dialogues in the teaching of English for Media and Communication from a gender-b(i)ased perspective.

Education through entertainment is very different from formal education offered by schools and academic institutions and the use of entertainment modes helps create innovative content and practices (McKee 2016). In this contribution the concept of eudaimonic entertainment is key to understanding the pedagogical function of TV, on the one hand (e.g. Roth *et al.* 2014), and, on the other, to challenging the idea that television as a domestic medium is associated with heteronormativity (Davis and Needham 2008; Parsemain 2019).

Television is one of the "agents of communication" (Lippi-Green 2012) and recent studies on TV dialogue demonstrate that it is an important source of information about language and society (Bednarek 2018; Coupland 2007). When consumed in the original version, TV dialogue, not television as media production as a whole, represents "a key way in which learners encounter English-language conversations, and it may constitute an influential model" (Mittmann 2006: 575).

> *The only bad people to have in your life are teachers.*
> *I trust assassins over teachers.*
> (Eli Gold, *The Good Wife,* "The Trial" S06E10)

1. Introduction

This contribution proposes a transdisciplinary approach to dialogue in TV series [1], and briefly sketches how the innovative pedagogical use of television with its "focus on emotionality and entertainment" (Bednarek 2018: 23) may represent an appropriate

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[1] For a recent definition of TV series see Bednarek (2018: 7): "The label covers both scripted narrative series that are produced by television networks and those that are produced by companies such as Amazon and Netflix".

way to engage students in a lively English Language for Media and Communication class.

For reasons of brevity, the selection of dialogues under scrutiny is necessarily reduced to a very small corpus taken from three American TV series, all featuring LGBT+ characters who speak (American) English: *The Good Wife* (CBS 2009-2016, 156 episodes), *Supergirl* (CW 2015-2021, 126 episodes), and *The Fosters* (ABC Family 2013-2018, 104 episodes).

It is also worth noting that the present paper mostly focuses on the linguistic features of LGBT+ characters, and that the media studies referred to in the text are only instrumental to illustrate the main point: the analysis of scripted English in TV dialogues. An in-depth analysis from a media studies perspective is therefore beyond the scope of this contribution, and besides just representing teachable moments, TV productions (Mittel 2016) are presented and analysed in their scripted form.

To pursue such a goal, this research study draws on several linguistic methodologies including applied linguistics in language learning pedagogy; media linguistics, with its focus on the relationships between TV series, non-standard language and language variation and innovation; sociocultural linguistics, investigating the ongoing relationship between language and contemporary society; and pragmatics, the basis for all language interactions and contact. In addition, a more specific approach, borrowing from the most recent theories proposed in gender and LGBT+ studies, will also prove useful in the analysis of the vocabulary/jargon under scrutiny.

2. How do queer viewers/learners engage with heteronormative televisual texts?

Television has generally been thought of, and referred to, as a domestic medium associated with home and family offering entertainment as a 'neutral' experience. Some scholars, though, have pointed out that television productions are inextricably linked to the idea of heteronormativity (Davis and Needham 2009) and that "[t]he world of popular series is […] the world of the dominant ideology and its hegemonic project aiming to organize consensus around […] dominant ideological conceptions" (Thornham and Purvis 2005: 80). Furthermore, an empirical survey conducted in 2017 by GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Against Defamation) has demonstrated the unprecedented popularity of television which "has the unparalleled opportunity to connect with people in their living rooms" (Ellis 2017: 3).

More recently Paresmain (2019: 13) has proposed an innovative, and more positive gender-b(i)ased approach to TV entertainment which, in her opinion, can foster a more ethical engagement with difference in a way that "acknowledges and celebrates difference instead of erasing it, downplaying it, exaggerating it or demonising it". Parsemain's research draws on an important study (Hartley 1999), a key contribution to thinking of pedagogies of entertainment in which the author presented a new approach to television production and fruition suggesting that television should not be understood just as "a teacher of ideology, false consciousness and bad habits", but rather as "a 'teacher' in the best sense" (*ibid.*: 32). Television, in Hartley's opinion, should not be seen as "a corrupt teacher or a failed educator", as it could help "increase knowledge and foster ethics by representing a range of identities [and teaching] public virtues by

means of dramatic entertainment" (*ibid.*: 32, 44). Most importantly, Hartley underlined that, through its engagement with difference, television could help promote respect and cultural neighbourliness (*ibid.*: 172) and influence the formation of ethics and cultural citizenship, fundamental in establishing our connection with the "Other" (Hartley 1999; Hawkins 2001; Miller 2007; Silverstone 2007). In this respect, the language used in media productions becomes the main vehicle for creating new options for non-heteronormative audiences.

3. Eudemonic (eudaimonic) vs. hedonic (hedonistic) learning

Following in Hartley's footsteps, other contemporary scholars supporting eudemonic entertainment have convincingly stated that "[t]he relationship between entertainment and education is currently a vital one for academic researchers" (McKee 2019: v). The very nature of this entertainment has in fact become the focus of investigations on "eudemonic entertainment" (Vorderer *et al.* 2004), identified as "an experiential response [which] involves enjoyment and manifests itself through pleasurable feelings" (Parsemain 2019: 4) which is contrasted with "hedonistic entertainment", only centred on fun, escapism and rarely leading to learning (Bartsch and Schneider 2014; Mattheiß *et al.* 2013; Oliver and Raney 2014; Roth *et al.* 2014).

In an interesting study published in 2016, McKee (2016: 767) proposes a "broadly tripartite taxonomy" of educational models of culture: the "MUST consume" model, that is the model of culture where students are forced to consume texts or otherwise fail their courses; the arts model of culture, where students are strongly recommended to consume texts because they are good for them (the "SHOULD consume" model) and, finally, the entertainment model of culture where teachers ask their students what kind of texts they are more willing or prefer to use in order to achieve their objectives in their courses (the "WOULD LIKE to consume" model) (*ibid.*: 33).

Aligning with McKee's (*ibid.*: 212) observation that "academic pleasures remain a minority practice", the present contribution will try to demonstrate how the model of entertainment (see for example Dewaele 2015) can be used by English language teachers dealing with media and communication and choosing LGBT+ people as their ideal audience. Since neither parents nor schools have been providing substantive education for kids about sensitive issues such as gender and sexuality, and especially those growing up queer, it is undeniable that "the entertainment media have consistently offered more varied and more positive representations of sexuality and relationship possibilities" (McKee 2019: vii, viii).

As McKee (*ibid.*: viii) clearly states "there are challenges in thinking of entertainment as education" and "the more that entertainment engages young people by letting them make up their own minds, the less likely it is to have a single clear didactic 'message' that all viewers will agree on."

In this perspective, Parsemain's (2019) work seems particularly relevant when compared with most of the existing scholarship focusing on the contents of education, for example what television teaches about sexual and gender identity, "this book primarily explores its pedagogy, or how it teaches!" (see McKee 2019: ix and Buckingham and Bragg 2004: 168).

4. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and eudemonic entertainment

According to Larson and Hall (2008), Foreign Language (FL) classrooms represent the minimum input environments where students can receive only a few hours of instruction per week, which are not matched by the necessary opportunities to practise the target language in the outside world. In addition, as highlighted by Dewaele (2005, 2011, 2015, 2017, 2021), Foreign Language classes are too often emotionally uninteresting or emotion-free, resulting in a lack of engagement on the part of students. Most of the hours are spent teaching the grammar, that is the bone structure of the classes, to the detriment of entertainment. In order to prevent such an occurrence, several scholars have started arguing in favour of a more central role of positive emotions within the process of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Dewaele and Macintyre 2014; Macintyre *et al.* 2016).

The so-called L2 Motivational Self System has been gaining momentum in recent years, becoming one of the main theoretical frameworks in Second Language Acquisition, and proposing a more in-depth analysis of the motivational dispositions of L2 learners in FL classrooms. A recent empirical survey has also demonstrated that positive emotions not only enhance learners' communication skills within their learning environment, but also encourage them to develop an interest for social activities at large. (Li *et al.* 2020). "A basic hypothesis is that if proficiency in the target language is part and parcel of one's ideal or ought-to self, this will serve as a powerful motivator to learn the language because of our psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between our current and possible future selves" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009: 4).

Another interesting aspect emerging from this new trend in scholarly research is that good pedagogical practices become central in SLA, and teachers are identified as a statistically relevant "variable" which can significantly impact on the predisposition of their students with regard to emotion and motivation (de Dios Martinez Agudo 2018; Mercer and Kostoulas 2018; Moscowitz and Dewaele 2019; Dewaele 2021). Teachers, it is emphasized, do have a key role in boosting FLE (Dewaele 2018) "facilitating learning, making learners more relaxed and receptive to learn new things" (Moscowitz and Dewaele 2019: 4).

As Macintyre *et al.* (2016: 156) observe:

> Many language educators are aware of the importance of improving individual learners' experiences of language learning by helping them to develop and maintain their motivation perseverance, and resiliency, as well as positive emotions necessary for the long-term undertaking of learning a foreign language. In addition, teachers also widely recognize the vital role played by positive classroom dynamics amongst learners and teachers, especially in settings in which communication and personally meaningful interactions are foregrounded.

I am therefore persuaded that the teaching of English, as a second language, and "the" language of the most popular TV series across the world, can represent the opportunity to start a discussion on relevant issues such as diversity and the use of respectful language, topics at the core of most contemporary discussions on hate speech in new and traditional media (Skutnabb-Kangas 2015; Simpson and Dewaele 2019).

5. TV series: "emotional segregation" and linguistic worth

As a Foreign Language teacher, I find myself in agreement with Bednarek (2018: 29) who has noticed that no room has been offered so far for a more in-depth analysis of dialogue in TV series to deal with "emotional segregation", a topic almost exclusively discussed and understood in all its relevance within the field of ethnic-racial studies. Conversely, this aspect is considered, among others, to be fundamental in the present research study to question the institutionalized process whereby some viewers, namely queer students, are unable to see themselves as emotional equals, or as capable of sharing the same human emotions and experiences as the rest of the class.

For too long, television series have been neglected and "deemed unworthy of linguistic study" (*ibid*.: 18), but in the situation of SLA learning, television is now recognized as one of the "agents of socialization" (Lippi-Green 2012: 101) able to significantly shape our "sociolinguistic environment" (Coupland 2007: 185) and to construct images of social groups and non-standard varieties in the eyes of those viewers who may be unfamiliar with these groups or varieties (Bell 2016: 254). As suggested by some scholars, TV series – such as *Bad Girls* (ITV 1999-2006), and *Orange is the New Black* (2013-) in the UK and the US, respectively – have put such varieties on display infusing them with value (Thøgersen *et al.* 2016: 36), helping media present, promote, and raise awareness, among other things, on linguistic diversity (*ibid*.: 37).

A privileged analysis of scripted texts over moving images stems from ideas and suggestions in a ground-breaking study published more than two decades ago. In her research study on film dialogue Kozloff (2000) identified two important characteristics of scripted dialogue suggesting that "[o]f all the components of a film, dialogue is the most portable, the easiest for a viewer to extract and make [their] own" and she underlined the role of dialogue in "language dispersal" (*ibid*.: 27). A few years later, Mittmann (2006: 575) would also observe that "[w]hen consumed in the original (rather than dubbed) version, television dialogue can be a key way in which learners encounter English-language conversations, and it may constitute an influential model for such viewers". It is in these scholarly studies, which originally understood the potential of such materials in their written and spoken form, that the present investigation finds its roots.

Television series distributed around the world are mostly produced in the United States and this has represented a major influence on the use of English (Bednarek 2018: xi), and TV dialogue can be used as a surrogate or model of spoken English, being similar to unscripted language, or at least presenting some lexico-grammatical similarities. TV series are generally considered as helpful for being more colloquial/naturalistic than textbooks and useful for areas such as vocabulary acquisition, cultural proficiency, listening comprehension, and fluency (*ibid*.: 244). Teachers, however, must acknowledge that television dialogue is just an example of "screen-to-face discourse" (Bubel 2006: 46), hence more similar to other types of fictional and mediated discourse. Bednarek (2018: xi) describes TV dialogue as "an important part of a carefully crafted artefact designed to inform, entertain, and influence", and as such it should be carefully managed by the educators resorting to it in their teaching activities.

Finally, and of major importance for the language perspective adopted in this paper, TV dialogue used as a pedagogical tool also offers the teacher the opportunity of

"cultural anchoring", thus becoming a virtual space where learners encounter multiple and varied references to culture-specific phenomena which should represent the most vital part of the FL classroom.

According to Dewaele (2004: 220):

> TV series are useful […] because they feature many examples of use and variation in different kinds of words and phraseologies, which could constitute a starting point for teaching students about swear/taboo words, their emotional force, their functions, and contexts of appropriate and inappropriate use.

As I will try to point out, the LGBT+ terminology provided in the case studies presented in this paper "has the potential to push the user to consciously or unconsciously re-adjust, re-calibrate the meaning, reconsider the capacity to offend and, at some future point, decide to mimic (or not) the use by L1 users" (Dewaele 2016: 125).

6. Language variation, expressive character identity and characters' linguistic thumbprint

For language variation studies a salient element is represented by the fact that such language – in TV dialogue in our case – is present or absent, frequent or rare, and if present, it is necessary to understand how it is used to construct/deconstruct and reflect/reject linguistic stereotypes, language ideologies, negative images. The role of narrative mass media is central in establishing, reflecting and changing language ideologies and attitudes, and sociocultural values and norms as they offer the possibility to construct new social identities.

Bednarek (2010: 118) uses the term "expressive character identity" to refer to "a kind of scripted identity that is related to the emotionality and the attitudes/values/ideologies of characters in fictional television genres". This expressive character identity helps pinpoint the linguistic features that can indicate a variety of individual aspects, such as degrees of emotionality, attitudes and values (*ibid*.: 121).

According to Bednarek (*ibid*.: 125), expressive features such as emotive interjections ('Oh my goodness!'), evaluative statements ('that was amazing') and announcements of ideological beliefs ('I don't get why .../how…'), or other "expressive sequences", both positive (joking, humour) and negative (apology, breaking up), and blame (evaluation), help construe expressive character identity. Consequently, the more a linguistic behaviour is repeated across dialogues the more likely it seems to represent a stable entity.

Moreover, as suggested by Livingstone (1998: 119), fictional characters and their stories help mediate a range of television effects, through the process of imitation, identification, role modelling and parasocial interaction. Seriality allows viewers/L2 learners to become familiar and emotionally involved with fictional entities directly enhancing the level of engagement with those fictional characters considered as "stable entities" of the narrative. With such individuals, viewers/learners end up developing a parasocial relationship, that is, they start caring about them as if they were actual human beings (*ibid*.: 119; Bednarek 2018).

According to the Functional Approach to TV Series (FATS) proposed by Bednarek (*ibid*.), who borrows directly from Kozloff (2000) and Richardson (2010), dialogue can

provide both linguistic and cultural information about individuals and communities. One of the key functions of dialogue in TV series obviously remains the revelation of character (Bednarek 2010: 97), but the enactment of narrative events through verbalization can also include speech acts such as the confession, the disclosure of a secret – in the case study of *Supergirl*, for example, the *coming out* scenes – a declaration of love, all considered particularly salient speech acts. Additionally, in terms of values, attitudes and beliefs (*ibid*.: 180), the dialogue in TV series can help represent a certain mind-style shared by social agents or social groups in relation to controversial subjects – see for example the trial case study in *The Good Wife* and Cole's speech in *The Fosters* (case studies one and three, respectively).

As for the reception of such information, it is worth noticing that the way we form impressions of characters in our mind is "transubstantiated"[2] in the text by the particular linguistic choices attributed to characters. Accordingly, Culpeper (2001: 163) defines as "textual cues" those elements in the text telling the audience about characters and their identity, which he divides into "explicit cues", when characters provide explicit info about themselves or someone else via self-presentation (*ibid*.: 167) – for example, "I'm gay" – or presentation by others – for example "she's gay" – and "implicit cues", derived by inference (*ibid*.: 172), that is, via conversation structure (e.g. turn-taking, topic shift, hesitation, etc.), lexis (lexical richness, terms of address, etc.), syntactic structure, accent and/or dialect, via paralinguistic structures (voice quality, tone, pitch, tempo, etc.), or (im)politeness strategies and humour, as we will see in the case studies presented below. The peculiar idiolect and individual style resulting from the linguistic choices made by characters represents what Culpeper (2001: 166) has defined as "individual linguistic thumbprint". It is this linguistic thumbprint that allows the viewers/learners to identify the characters throughout the narrative and in the scripted text.

7. Case studies

The three TV series considered in the present paper, *The Good Wife*, *Supergirl* and *The Fosters* – 156, 126, 104 episodes respectively – have been selected from a number of media products in English which brilliantly deal with LGBT+ issues. The pre-selection process included a corpus of dialogues from *ER* (1994-2009), *Bad Girls* (1999-2006), the *L Word* (2004-2009) and *Orange is the New Black* (2013-2019), plus other TV series focusing on the characters of female investigators (Melchiorre 2018). The selection of dialogues presented in this paper, which might appear disappointingly tiny to most readers, is just instrumental in illustrating the main point of this work, that is, that scripted dialogues can prove useful, on the one hand, in Second Language Acquisition and, on the other, as innovative pedagogical use of media content to bring attention to gender issues in language.

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[2] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/transubstantiation. The term is used by Roman Catholics to refer to the transformation of bread and wine into the body and flesh of Christ. It is used here to parodically refer to the transformation of bodies and characters on screen into scripted dialogue.

7.1. *The Good Wife (CBS 2009-2016)*[3]: *primetime, mainstream TV series and LGBT+ representations*

Even though the approach proposed mostly focuses on linguistic features in media production – i.e. TV scripted dialogues – a multimodal approach would certainly be advisable for a better contextualization of language use in televisual dialogues. I will therefore concentrate on the way the characters' expressive identity is construed via language, and how emotional states are sustained by the grammatical choices the characters make in their interactions.

In Table 1 I have tried to map out the occurrences of the words *gay* and *lesbian* across the seven seasons of the TV series *The Good Wife*, also providing the collocation of the terms. Unfortunately, lack of space here precludes a detailed description of the language complexity of the interactions, but the summary provided below is certainly useful to illustrate the point, that is, the extensive use of the word "gay", and the more limited use of the word "lesbian", in *The Good Wife* (156 episodes), as explicit sexual identity labels which allow such identities to gain more visibility, beside also familiarizing the audience with a specific jargon in English. Their occurrences across the episodes are also instrumental, firstly to expose the ideological nature of representation in a TV series, and secondly to better explain what I have defined as the "spare me the word strategy", which will be dealt with in the *Supergirl* case study.

Snippet One: "Don't Haze Me Bro" (The Good Wife S04E04, 2013) [4]

S04E04 is particularly interesting, from a linguistic perspective, as it offers L2 learners the opportunity to familiarize with the available LGBT+ vocabulary and introduce them to a more respect-oriented, or at least non-derogatory, use of English language [5].

The context is a trial for a murder, probably a hate crime against a gay man. The following multiparty verbal exchange between a (male) plaintiff and a (male) witness shows an interesting chain of lexical items referring to male homosexuality. The defendants are two women and the judge, a 'swishy' man:

1. Plaintiff: You said that, uh, Tre had *"no game" when it came to women*
2. What did you mean by that?
3. Witness: He … *he wasn't exactly a man's man.*
4. Plaintiff: Meaning *he was effeminate*?
5. Witness: You would say that.
[…]
6. Plaintiff: […] Did you ever see Wayne mock Tre for being *girlish*?
7. Witness: Yes, but Wayne was *just busting balls*, you know?

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[3] CBS also produced *Cold Case, Criminal Minds, CSI and NCIS* among other series; ABC produced *Lost, Desperate Housewives, Grey's Anatomy* – ABC Family, its cable channel (2001-2016) which produced *The Fosters* is now Freeform. Finally, CW has produced, along with *Supergirl*, other successful superhero TV series such as *Smallville* and *The 100*. This latter production is discussed in Melchiorre (2019).

[4] Video and subtitles are provided on: https://ww2.series9.ac.

[5] The expression "respect-oriented" has been preferred to "inclusive" as the latter term appears too imbricated with power ideology.

OCCURRENCES OF THE WORD GAY			
No.	Season/Ep.	Collocation	Context
01	S01E22	"Are you GAY?"	At the bar. Alicia asks Kalinda. She answers "I'm private"
02	S02E03	"GAY money"	Eli Gold
03	S02E06	"GAY workers"	Blake vs. Kalinda about workers at L&G
04	S02E10	GAY	-
05	S02E14	GAYs and religion	-
06	S03E03		GAY kiss Owen
07	S03E14	GLAC Gay and Lesbian rights	Eli
08	S03E17	GAY sex	-
09	S04E02	"I'm not GAY"	Maddie to Alicia
10	S04E04	"Mary" = GAY	Trial for hate crime
11	S04E08	"I don't like GAY people"	Nick vs. Cary
12	S04E09	GAY marriage (spousal shield)	Trial for GAY rights
13	S05E04	GAY fashion designer	Diane vs. a harassed woman
14	S05E08	LGBT	-
15	S06E04	GAY porn	-
16	S06E05	"I told my mum I am gay"	Lana to Kalinda
17	S06E13	a) GAY marriage and homophobia b) "I don't like fags" c) "Fag. Big fag."	a) Trial for GAY rights b) Mr. Redmayne Alicia's sexist stakeholder c) Mr. Redmayne Alicia's sexist stakeholder
18	S06E15	"I'm not GAY"	Alicia's opponent. He confesses he is a Jesuit
19	S06E17	"I'm not GAY"	David Lee. Alicia's co-Associate at L&G
20	S06E18	GAY marriage	Trial. The Regulation. Diane vs. Republican politicians
21	S07E02	"I'm not GAY"	Cary approached by a junior male associate
22	S07E04	GAY marriage	Diane vs. Republican politicians

OCCURRENCES OF THE WORD LESBIAN			
No.	Season/Ep.	Collocation	Context
01	S01E11	Closeted LESBIAN	TV anchorman ref. Diane
02	S03E08	"I'm not a LESBIAN"	Dana to Cary about her attraction for Kalinda
03	S03E15	LESBIAN activist	Syrian war. Pink Damascus.
04	S04E03	DYKE	Nick to Kalinda
05	S04E05	LESBIAN friend	Nick about Lana to Kalinda
06	S05E08	"I don't think she's a LESBIAN"	Kalinda referring to a harassed woman

KALINDA'S QUEERNESS			
No.	Season/Ep.	Collocation	Context
01	S01E22	"I'm private"	At the bar. Alicia has asked her "Are you gay"?
02	S02E06	"What if I'm multitasking"	Kalinda to Donna
03	S02E14	"I don't distinguish"	Kalinda to Lana
04	S02E16	"I like normal"	Kalinda to Cary
05	S03E22	"I'm not gay. I'm flexible."	At the bar. Kalinda to Alicia

Table 1. Occurrences

Line 1 and 3: "*'no game' when it came to women*", "*he wasn't exactly a man's man*" are idiomatic derogatory expressions presenting the man as incapable of having sexual intercourse, thus alluding to a disability on the part of the man. The alluded disability is homosexuality, which is in fact no disability at all.

Line 4 and 6: "*he was effeminate*?", "*girlish*". Using these sexist and derogatory expressions the speakers clearly show their ignorance, misunderstanding gender identity/performance and sexual orientation/preferences.

Line 7: "Wayne was *just busting balls*, you know". The function of the final idiomatic expression presented in this dialogue is twofold: on the one hand, it reveals the attempt of the speaker to sound more manly, on the other, via the final lexical bundle "you know", he is hoping to elicit a positive response on the part of the plaintiff, because he is a man and 'should' understand what he means.

Snippet Two: "Don't Haze Me Bro" (The Good Wife S04E04, 2013)
The following interaction takes place during a brief interruption of the trial. The judge and the defendants are trying to understand the point of the plaintiff's objections:

> Defendant: But you keep changing the nature of the hate. First, it was a hate crime against a *gay* man, and now it's a hate crime against men who are … I shouldn't put words in your mouth, Mr. Andrews. How would you put it?
> Plaintiff: *Swishy.* [non-derogatory slang]
> Defendant: Ah. So now it's a hate crime against *"swishy" people who are not gay*
> Plaintiff: I'm alluding to *effeminate mannerism*, which the jury is entitled to conclude are a *proxy for homosexuality*.
> Defendant: Your honor, a *mannerism* is not a protected class. There are *effeminate heterosexuals*, and *effeminate homosexuals* which is why the essence of *gayness* is an actual sexual act.
> Plaintiff: So, there's no such thing as an *abstinent gay man*? Or a *gay* man who marries a woman?
> Defendant: If an *effeminate man* marries a woman and doesn't sleep with men, then yes, that man is *not gay*.
> […]
> Defendant [to the other defendant]: So … *"swishiness"*.

This interaction proves to be particularly effective for two reasons: first, it allows learners to acquire/expand their vocabulary in relation to LGBT+ issues, second, it offers a palette of non-derogatory terms useful for clarifying the difference between gender identity and sexual orientation.

7.2. *Supergirl* (CW 2015-2021): prime time, mainstream TV series and the "spare me the word" strategy
What I define as the "spare me the word strategy" is the language strategy, more or less unconsciously adopted by scriptwriters who, in the awkward attempt to avoid controversy with the broadcast productions end up erasing LGBT+ identities from the scripts, as demonstrated by a comparison between the number of occurrences of the word *gay* (Table 1) and the word *lesbian* in *The Good Wife*, and the exclusive use of the word *gay* to refer to lesbian women in *Supergirl*.

As clarified by Bednarek (2018: 7) there exist "differences between outlets (network, cable, subscription, etc, which impact on language use, especially in relation to the use of particular swear/taboo words, which are censored only in network/broadcast television".

As we will see in Table 2, in *Supergirl* the word "lesbian", though not in itself a taboo word anymore, is still unfortunately considered as such. This (self?-) censoring activity on the part of scriptwriters appears therefore as a "collateral effect" of the recommendation issued by The Statement of Principles of Radio and Television Broadcasters adopted in the US stating: "[i]n selecting program subjects and themes of particular sensitivity, great care should be paid to treatment and presentation, so as to avoid presentations purely for the purpose of sensationalism or to appeal to prurient or morbid curiosity" (cited in Bednarek 2010: 219). Such "recommendation", and its "collateral effect" on scriptwriting, proves useful in the English for Media and Communication classroom to illustrate how ideological perspectives impact language and produce distortions in relation to the correct perception/understanding of LGBT+ identities.

Supergirl ("Changing", S02E06, 2016) Walk along the river. Alex (Chyler Leigh) comes out to her sister Kara (Melissa Benoist)	*Supergirl* ("Medusa", S02E08, 2016) Laboratory. Alex comes out to her mother (Helen Slater).
Kara: So what's goin' on? Somethin' wrong? Alex: *No… No.* I… [clears throat] just *I… I* wanted to talk you about… *something… somethin'* about me Kara: Alex whatever it is you can tell me Alex: [longer pause] Is about Maggie Kara: Your cop friend Alex: We started workin' on a couple of cases together and you know we started… hanging'out after work and…*you know*…I started…ehm…thinking about her Kara: *I don't know* what that means Alex: *I mean…ehm…* [clears her throat] I started to… develop… feelings for her [pause] Kara: Feelings…*like…* Alex: yeah. *Those, those, those…*feelings [they stop] Alex: So Maggie thought that I should…tell you [move in opposite directions] And so…*I…I* did. *I just…I just* did. [Kara sits down on a bench] Kara: *So…she is gay* Alex: *Yeah* Kara: And are you sayin'…*you're gay too*? (exhales) Alex: *I don't know. I…I*'m just trying to make sense of it all. It's *so*…complicated Kara: Alex. It's sounds like you're *kind of* coming out to me (pause) […]	Mother: *So* what is it? Alex: [misunderstanding] *Oh.* I've got the main frame breaking down […] Mother: *No. I mean I know* you've been trying to tell me something Alex: [sounding casual] *Oh! No.* [she leaves the desk and stands up] She moves to another desk giving her back to mother. Shaking her head asks "How?" Mother: Keeping a secret disagrees with you, sweetie. [Alex turns] Alex: [arms crossed] This isn't like that mum. [with sadness] Mother: Does it have anything to do with Maggie. You mention her a lot. [she moves towards Alex] *My beautiful Alexandra* why, why is it *so* hard for you to tell me? Alex: I feel like *I'm… I'm* letting you down? Somehow [nodding] Mother: Why would *you're being gay* ever let me down? Alex: You always wanted us to have a *regular* life Mother: Alex…Look at the life our family has led. Look at me, look at your sister. I don't think you believe I ever expected you to have a *regular* life. You were always gonna be *different* Alex, because you were always *exceptional* and I love [stressed] you however you are [Alex about to cry nodding] Come here [mother hugs Alex. Alex exhales]

Table 2. (the italics are mine)

Snippet One: "Changing" (Supergirl S02E06, 2016)

Alex comes out to Kara (sister-Supergirl). This represents a verbal event substantiated in the revelation-disclosure of a secret (Kozloff 2000: 41-43) concerning the sexual orientation, if not gender identity, of the protagonist. The dialogues between Alex Danvers and her sister first and her mother later on (Table 2) are emotionally loaded conversations signalled by expressions of stance and emphatic content. The presence of hesitations, repeats and incomplete sentences are mostly meant to represent the lack of time for planning the speech which usually characterizes natural conversation in such emotional situations. These hesitations, pauses and some lexical elements (lexical bundles, discourse markers, non-minimal response conversation hedges, etc.) help the speaker hold the floor and elicit an emotional response on the part of the audience.

Expressive sequences (Bednarek 2010: 164) in the coming out scenes, that is "interactive patterns of speech acts between participants that can be associated with expressive meanings", emotions in general, evaluation or ideology, are designed to support the construal of the expressive character identity.

The main aim of dialogues 1 and 2 (Table 2) is twofold: they allow character revelation, on the one hand, while on the other they introduce a specific thematic message (gender identity acceptance/denial) for the audience/learners. Indicators such as non-minimal response conversation hedges ("no…no", "ehm…", "yeah"), along with hesitations and pauses, reproduce Alex's embarrassment before her mother and, secondly, also reveal the attempt on the part of the scriptwriters to mimic such an emotionally loaded conversation. In addition, lexical bundles such as "you know", "I don't know", "I mean" and repetitions ("somethin' … somethin'", "those … those … those", etc.) are instrumental in reproducing the emotional charge of the coming out scene to elicit a positive response on the part of the audience/learners.

In dialogue 2 (Table 2) the dialogue takes place in a laboratory with mother and daughter performing their job as (female) scientists. The exchange, though, soon turns into a more intimate conversation with a supportive mother encouraging her daughter to come out to her. Lexical bundles and the use of terms of address, such as "my beautiful Alexandra", and terms of endearment "sweetie", only find the embarrassed response of the daughter signalled by non-minimal response hedges ("oh", "no") and hesitations and repetitions. It should be noticed that the word *gay* (meaning lesbian) in both instances is not uttered by the LGBT+ character but by other actors. Moreover, the adjectives "regular", "different" and "exceptional" function here to finally state that "being *gay*" is definitely not an issue.

7.3. *The Fosters* (ABC Family 2013-2018): the gender spectrum representation in TV series

It is worth noticing that the regulation issued by the Federal Communications Commission in the US, which we have mentioned above, does not apply to cable television (Queen 2015: 210). *The Fosters*, produced by ABC Family, a cable channel, is therefore allowed more freedom in comparison with the other two TV series discussed in this contribution. *The Fosters* is, among the case studies considered in this brief analysis, the only TV series where the LGBT+ vocabulary is used extensively to refer to a large part of the gender spectrum.

Snippet One: "Things Unsaid" (The Fosters S01E13, 2014)

Cole (Tom Phelanis), a transgender F to M, was at the time *The Fosters* was first aired, one of the very few recurring transgender characters in TV series, with the show becoming the first TV series to feature several LGBT+ characters. The following is a multiparty interaction taking place during a meeting/brainstorming at Girls United, a shelter home for young girls, and it focuses on the misuse of personal pronouns for transgender F to M people (misgendering) (Dewaele 2016; Simpson and Dewaele 2019). In this interaction Gabi is one of the girls, Sandra is the manager of the shelter home, Callie is stepdaughter of the lesbian couple protagonist of *The Fosters*.

> 1. GABI (Hayley Kiyoko)[6]: I think Cole makes things hard on *herself*. […] *Girl*, please.
> 2. COLE (Tom Phelanis): *Don't call me girl*!
> 3. SANDRA (Rosie O'Donnell): Everybody should know by now, refer to Cole as '*he*', all right? […]
> 4. CALLIE (Maia Mitchell): I think Cole is right. […]
> 5. You say you think Cole makes things hard on *himself*, but what you actually mean is *he* makes things hard on you.
> 6. So maybe you should stop thinking about yourself all the time and *cut Cole a little slack*.

Lines 1 and 2 show examples of the derogatory use of personal pronouns in English. They help illustrate the issue of misgendering as opposed to the "correct" use of grammar personal pronouns taught in schools etc.

Line 3: Sandra is the ideal educator dealing with young people and welcoming difference in her group. Her grammar choice is to be understood as a challenge to the inequity of cultural heteronormativity.

Line 5: by using the personal pronouns in the masculine form, Callie explains that misgendering is just an excuse to maintain the status quo.

This interaction (*The Fosters* S01E13) clearly illustrates that the concept of the gender spectrum has effectively impacted and modified language producing more respectful forms of address; secondly, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the interaction elicits viewers' sympathy for the LGBT+ character and also helps expose/negotiate the dominant/hegemonic cultural ideology (Lippi-Green 2012: 17).

8. Conclusions

Far from presenting a discussion on TV series from a media studies perspective, this brief study has mostly concentrated on scripted dialogues in English in TV series, analysing their content from a gender-oriented stance. It has also proposed contemporary TV products as amazingly effective tools to achieve both linguistic and cultural goals in academic teaching. As Parsemain (2019) observes in *The Pedagogy of Queer TV* "inviting empathy" can represent a key pedagogical tool and that storytelling and emotions can both boost the engagement of students in the classes and present multiple perspectives so that the debate is not closed down and one single expertise validated.

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[6] It is worth noticing that the two actresses, Rosie O'Donnell and Hayley Kiyoko, are both icons for and representatives of the LGBT+ population of different generations in the US.

The identification of gender-sensitive issues in the English for Media and Communication classes, in my opinion, could help the "educator" invite students to be more proactive during class hours, and secondly, support and promote a more respect-oriented use of language in social interaction.

In order to achieve such ambitious goals, this paper has provided some excerpts from dialogues from three popular American TV shows *The Good Wife*, *Supergirl* and *The Fosters* featuring LGBT+ characters. Though the selection of snippets may appear tiny, it must be acknowledged that it results from an in-depth analysis of a total of 386 episodes and hundreds of dialogues, some of which would have proven equally useful for the purpose. Due to lack of space, a more extended discussion will be presented in a future, larger publication which will deal with dialogues in TV shows in English and will illustrate the impact of gender issues in TV dialogues on the general public in several countries.

The selected snippets presented in the case studies are therefore to be considered specimens to illustrate the main point of the present discussion, that is, the analysis of TV dialogues in the English for Media and Communication class and the questioning of the traditional heteronormative stance and contents proposed in academic approaches to the teaching of English. In short, they help demonstrate that fun and learning are not at all incompatible.

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COMMUNICATION STYLES AT WORK: HOW DO MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT NATIONAL CULTURES DEAL WITH INFORMATION REQUESTS AND DIRECTIVES WHEN WRITING EMAILS?

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Abstract

Ever since globalization began changing the world by removing geographical barriers, the exchange of information and knowledge has become easier thanks to the Internet and the use of English as a global lingua franca. In the business arena, one of the most common forms of communication is emails, which have replaced traditional communication methods such as by letter, fax, and telephone (Lightfoot 2006). Emails are so cheap, easy to store, retrieve, forward, and send to multiple recipients whenever needed (Crystal 2006; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta 2005) that even small companies can generate an enormous volume of email traffic to fulfil their daily tasks, with tremendous amounts of data being exchanged (Laclavík and Maynard 2009).

Bearing in mind that different national cultures have an impact on communication styles (Gudykunst *et al.* 1988; De Mooij 2014), the present contribution focuses on three corpora of 100 emails each, written by the Japanese, Chinese and Emirati employees of a multinational freight-forwarding company with a view to comparing the communication styles adopted when interacting with colleagues from a different country within the time constraints connected with the common field of operation. In particular, the analysis aims to explore the strategies deployed to tackle potentially face-threatening speech acts like information requests and directives. The results show that cultural differences in email are present and can be explained by Hofstede's (2009) dimensions of power-distance, individualism versus collectivism, uncertainty-avoidance and short- versus long-term orientation. In particular, power-distance and short- versus long-term orientation have a significant impact on the preference for promptness, task-relatedness, and relationship-relatedness in email communication.

1. Introduction

In the 21st century English is very much a global language, used by individuals and companies in order to communicate efficiently with anyone in many parts of the world. The fact that non-native speakers of the language outnumber its native speakers clearly shows that the status of English "cannot any more be perceived as 'foreign' in the same way as French, German, or Chinese, which are studied with the aim of being able to interact with the native speakers of those languages" (Louhiala-Salminen

and Kankaanranta 2011: 254). English is thus being dissociated from its primary lingua-cultural roots and transferred to new communicative contexts with ever-changing constellations of interactants.

As a consequence of observable changes in global language use, it is not possible to fall back on the traditions of British or US orientation (Mauranen 2015: 48), as the interlocutors that we meet and the target audience of our messages are no longer confined to a given nationality or locality and they use English as a communicative resource like their own languages (Seidlhofer 2015). These considerations paved the way for the introduction of the concept of ELF (English as a Lingua Franca). ELF was at first defined as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication" (Firth 1996: 240). However, this somewhat restrictive definition was subsequently made more comprehensive when Seidlhofer (2011: 7) defined ELF as the "use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option".

ELF cannot be considered 'bad' or 'deficient' English since its users are capable of exploiting the forms and functions of the language effectively in any kind of cross-linguistic exchange ranging from the most rudimentary utterances to elaborate arguments.

In business contexts, in particular, where English is employed to conduct negotiations in a global environment, the BELF (Business English as a Lingua Franca) acronym was introduced by Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* (2005: 403-404), in order to refer to "English used as a 'neutral' and shared communication code". In recent years this acronym has been enriched with new shades of meaning, and now stands for 'English as a Business Lingua Franca' (Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2013), to underline an increasing interest in global business communication and in the role played by English as the working language used to negotiate, persuade, solve problems, build relationships, sell goods, create contracts, manage conflict, give instructions, motivate, etc. (Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2018; Velilla Sánchez 2015; Roshid *et al.* 2018). Unsurprisingly, given the variety of its functions and contexts of use, BELF communication does not always follow English native-speakers' rules (Martins 2017), also because cultural differences among the interactants may lead to unexpected ways of using the language. For this reason, it is of particular relevance to shed light on the way English is adapted, rather than simply adopted by international users. In this regard the present study aims to focus on the communication styles displayed by the members of different cultures in their email communication, with particular reference to the strategies adopted to tackle particular kinds of speech acts, e.g. information requests and directives.

2. The relevance of culture in international interactions

Culture penetrates every corner of our societies. Like software to computers, culture works as the mental software for humans, and plays a significant role in forming our ways of feeling, thinking and acting. Geertz (1973: 44) views culture as a set of control mechanisms for governing behaviour. Culture includes shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles and values found among speakers of a particular language who live during the same historical period in a specific geographical region (Triandis 1995). When talking

about culture, it is advisable not to fall into the trap of stereotyping, i.e. drawing general conclusions on the basis of limited knowledge about a country and its inhabitants. In fact, cultures are formed by different individuals getting together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle: all the pieces are different and yet together they make a unique picture (Hofstede 2015: 3).

2.1. *Hofstede's dimensional scales*

Cultures are very complex, but according to Hofstede (2015: 3), if you realize that "they all share a limited number of fundamental problems which provide a structure, you can use that to describe them". Through the research they carried out, Hofstede and his colleagues were able to give different national societies scores on the following six dimensional scales, rooted in basic values and related to observable behaviour (Hofstede *et al.* 2010):

- individualism vs collectivism, connected with how dependent people are on others;
- power-distance (strong vs weak), connected with the way people handle inequality;
- uncertainty-avoidance (strong vs weak), connected with how people deal with the unknown;
- masculinity vs femininity, connected with emotional gender roles;
- long-term versus short-term orientation, connected with people's time perspective;
- indulgence vs restraint, connected with how people deal with natural drives.

The scores of the three countries under scrutiny here, on the basis of Hofstede's (2015) taxonomies, read as follows:

Country	PDI	IND	MAS	UAI	LTO	INDUL
Japan	54	46	95	92	88	42
China	80	20	66	30	87	24
UAE	74	36	52	66	22	22

Table 1. Scores of three countries on the basis of Hofstede's taxonomies (https://www.hofstede-insights.com/fi/product/compare-countries/)

Obviously, the above figures have to be interpreted 'with a pinch of salt'. In fact, even though Hofstede (2009: 24) defines cultures as "the collective mental programming of the human mind which distinguishes one group of people from another", this does not mean that everyone in a given society is programmed in the same way, as there is considerable room for variation. In fact, sometimes the differences among individuals in one country's culture may be bigger than the differences between two country cultures. We can, nevertheless, still use the country scores based on the law of large numbers, and on the fact that most people are strongly influenced by social control. It is important, however, to remember that statements about just one culture on the level of 'values' do not describe 'reality'; such statements are generalizations and they must be considered as relative. Without comparison, a country score is meaningless (Hofstede 1991).

Since only four dimensions relate to differences in communication styles (Hofstede 2015), they are the ones which will be referred to in the comparison between the three

countries under scrutiny, i.e. power-distance, individualism vs collectivism, uncertainty-avoidance and short-term vs long-term orientation.

Power-distance

At an intermediate score of 54, Japan is a borderline hierarchical society, even though the Japanese are always conscious of their hierarchical position in any social setting and act accordingly. The United Arab Emirates and China score higher than Japan on this dimension (scores of 74 and 80, respectively): people accept a hierarchical order, subordinates expect to be told what to do, and the ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat.

Individualism versus collectivism

At a score of 20 Chinese society is more collectivist than the other two countries. However, it is possible to say that, to a greater or lesser extent, all three countries are characterized by a close long-term commitment to the 'group', be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships.

Uncertainty-avoidance

China has a low score on uncertainty-avoidance. Chinese people are comfortable with ambiguity and they are also adaptable and entrepreneurial. As a consequence, adherence to laws and rules may be flexible to suit the actual situation and pragmatism is a fact of life. The UAE and Japan have higher scores (66 and 92), which indicate a high preference for avoiding uncertainty, and an emotional need for rules (even if the rules never seem to work).

Long-term versus short-term orientation

The normative nature of the Emirati society can be seen in its low score of 22 on this dimension. People in such societies exhibit great respect for traditions, a relatively low propensity to save for the future, and a focus on achieving quick results. China and Japan have much higher scores (87 and 88) in this dimension. These societies show an ability to adapt traditions easily to changed conditions, a strong propensity to save and invest, thriftiness, and perseverance in achieving results.

2.2. *Culture and communication*

Drawing upon De Mooij (2014), Hofstede (2015: 5) lists the consequence, in terms of communication styles, linked to each of the above-mentioned dimensions.

Societies with a high power-distance score respect authority and the language used depends on the relative position and status of the interactants. In low power-distance societies, inequality is minimized and critical opinions are often expressed.

Individualist societies have a tendency to use a direct, personal style, and believe that everything should be explicit. They are also active in their own quest for information, on social media or from other sources. Collectivist societies tend to rely on an indirect, visual and metaphorical style, with many things left implicit. Harmony should be preserved, and direct confrontations are avoided. They use social media more to keep in touch with the members of the group rather than to look for information.

Strong uncertainty-avoidance is conducive to greater clarity, structure, precision, scientific control, slow adoption of innovations; official messages are meant to be serious, as there is no place for humour. Low uncertainty-avoidance can result in a reduced need for structure and precision and in the occasional adoption of a humorous tone.

Finally, short-term oriented societies tend to express self-enhancement needs, as well as an urgency for instant reaction, while long-term oriented cultures are characterized by a patient, perseverant and pragmatic attitude.

3. The study

Given that the aim of business communication is normally to achieve mutual understanding, in order to get the job 'done' (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010), the preservation of a good relationship between the interactants is crucial in international exchanges (Caleffi 2020: 253). Email writers are generally aware of the importance of mitigating the directness of potentially face-threatening speech acts, as shown by the variety of strategies employed in the email chains written and received by employees in charge of customer services in four companies dealing with different lines of business analysed in Poppi (2020). However, since dimensions of culture have an impact on communication styles (Gudykunst *et al.* 1988; De Mooij 2014), it may be worth investigating the differences in the way members of different national cultures tackle potentially face-threatening speech acts like information requests and directives.

3.1. *Methodology*

In 2005 Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta proposed a tripartite model to categorize emails into three different genres: noticeboard genre emails (meant to inform the employees about the company's activities); postman genre messages (serving the function of delivering other documents for information and/or comments); and dialogue genre messages (whose purpose is to exchange information about the corporation's activities). However, since this model is no longer considered to be very productive, in the present study it was decided to refer to Goldstein and Sabin's (2006) categorization of email exchanges on the basis of the speech acts they entail. Accordingly, after manually annotating the emails in the corpus, out of the twelve main categories of speech acts identified, it was decided to concentrate on information requests (henceforth IRs) and directives – requesting someone to do something – (henceforth Ds), namely acts that may go against the receiver's face and can be defined as potentially face-threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987). In fact, since "composing email messages which contain speech acts that are potentially face-threatening, like directives or requests, can be a daunting task" (Darics 2015: 291), it is essential that email writers become aware of the importance of formulating messages which do not sound too threatening for the addressee.

Accordingly, in order to highlight the strategies deployed by the interactants, it was necessary to fine-tune the analysis by referring to the three levels of directness concerning the verbalization of requests highlighted by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 201):

a) the most direct, explicit level, realized by requests syntactically marked as such, like imperatives, or by other verbal means that name the act as a request, such as performatives (Austin 1962) and 'hedged performatives' (Fraser 1975);

b) the conventionally indirect level; procedures that realize the act by reference to contextual preconditions necessary for its performance, as conventionalized in a given language. These strategies have been commonly referred to in speech act literature, since Searle (1975), as indirect speech acts; an example would be "Could you do it?" or "Would you do it?" meant as requests;

c) non-conventionally indirect level, i.e. the open-ended group of indirect strategies (hints) that realize the request by either partial reference to the object or element needed for the implementation of the act ("Why is the window open?"), or by reliance on contextual clues ("It's cold in here" used as an invitation to close the window/door).

Finally, once each IR and D had been classified as direct, indirect or non-conventionally indirect, reference was made to the adaptation of the studies by Blum-Kulka *et al.* (1989) and Sifianou (1992) provided by Darics and Koller (2018), in order to identify the various communicative strategies adopted by the interactants to mitigate the potentially face-threatening force of their acts:

- consultative devices "*would you mind? Do you think…?*"
- downtoners "*possibly, perhaps, maybe…*"
- understaters/hedges "*a bit, sort of…*"
- subjectivizers "*I'm afraid, I think…*"
- cajolers "*you know, you see…*"
- appealers "*do this, will you? OK?...*" (Darics and Koller 2018: 292)

3.2. *Data collection*

The company under scrutiny here is a multinational freight-forwarding company with more than 300 offices all over the world and its main headquarters in Italy. English is the 'official language' of the organization and employees communicate mainly via email and telephone. Shipments are realized by plane and by sea and the mission of the organization is to deliver the products safely and on time. The messages examined in the present study were written over a period of six months, from October 2020 to April 2021. Since language reflects values, and the expression of values varies according to the language used (Giles and Franklyn-Stokes 1989), it was decided to focus on informants using a language which was not their own mother tongue to address a member of another culture (Italian), from the company's main headquarters.

The emails coming from the Japanese were written by twelve different employees of three branches, while the Chinese emails were sent by twenty employees based in seven offices. The third corpus consists of the emails written by thirteen Emirati employees working in the Dubai and Abu Dhabi offices. The employees working for the Japanese, Chinese and Emirati branches are either Ocean Export Specialists or Ocean Export Supervisors. Therefore, most of the emails were exchanged between people with the same position, whose main task is to provide customer services. In order to warrant confidentiality, all sensitive data, including the names of the writers of the emails, were deleted.

Each corpus contains 100 emails. The majority of emails are parts of chains, with interactants asking for information in order to get the job done as soon as possible, so they are normally not very long. Since each email may contain more than one IR and/ or D, after manually highlighting IRs and Ds, the data were normalized per hundred occurrences.

4. Information requests

Table 2 shows the different levels of directness of the IRs contained in the three corpora.

	DIRECT IRs	INDIRECT IRs	NONCONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT IRs
Japanese corpus	49%	36%	15%
Chinese corpus	52%	36%	12%
Emirati corpus	64%	19%	17%

Table 2. Direct, indirect and non-conventionally indirect IRs

4.1. *Direct IRs*

First of all, it is important to highlight that the number of direct IRs is higher than the number of indirect IRs. This result is not surprising, despite the fact that Japan, China and the UAE can be described, to varying degrees, as prevalently collectivist countries and as such share a general tendency towards an indirect communicative style. In fact, in Business-to-Business (B2B) encounters interactants usually prefer to address each other in a direct way, as there is no time to lose in order to get the job done (Poppi 2020).

In general, most IRs are mitigated, in line with the need to preserve the business relationship and with the three countries' collectivist positioning. However, by looking in detail at the way these direct IRs are phrased, it is possible to highlight several differences.

In the Emirati corpus (EC) the majority of direct IRs are expressed with the imperative, e.g.:

1. Keep us posted.

which is often mitigated by the downtoner *please or pls*

2. Please provide the rate.

Also in the Japanese (JC) and Chinese corpus (CC) direct IRs are usually expressed by means of imperatives, but they are always mitigated by *please* or *pls* used both on its own and also in combination with *kindly*:

3. *Please* check and tell us if we can still get the space on ULSAN EXPRESS or not (JC).
4. *Please* check the best rate & concern first available vessel message for us (CC).

5. *Please kindly* contact each shipper and inform us the exact status (JC) (20 occurrences).
6. *Please kindly* advise our soonest sailing schedule and best cost (CC) (13 occurrences).

In the EC there is only one instance of *please* + *kindly*:

7. *Pls* arrange *Kindly* update us the rate for Nov.

and one instance of *kindly please*:

8. *Kindly please* assist to check and confirm if we can maintain and extend below rates for Nov 2020.

At times direct IRs take the form of direct questions. Once again, a certain difference is noticeable in the three corpora. In fact, in the EC corpus questions are often left unmitigated:

9. Is at least the 20' available with usual tiles rate?
10. What about the cost?

while in the Japanese and Chinese corpora direct questions, which are much less common, are usually mitigated by consultative devices, as in:

11. *Can* you tell us the last loading date for both of vessel? (JC).
12. *Would* you *kindly help* to check with EVERGREEN or OOCL if we can get the space for 1x40GP? (CC).

Indirect IRs are almost twice as common in the Japanese and Chinese corpora and are mitigated by a variety of devices:

Subjectivizers

13. *I think* these charges are too expensive even though only 1 container. Please check and issue credit note and send us asap (JC) [1].
14. *I know* that space is tight so if possible confirm with the shipper how many containers will be ready and book the space (CC).

Consultative devices

15. Meanwhile *would you provide* the inspection receipt for the at cost charge EUR … so that we show to client, thank you (CC).
16. *Would you kindly send* us C/N by email? (JC).

Understaters

17. *Can you try* to re-check when the shipment will be ready? (JC).

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[1] The italics are mine in this citation, as they are in other citations.

The percentages of non-conventionally indirect IRs are similar in all three corpora. They mainly take the form of affirmative sentences, some of which may be further mitigated by a variety of devices:

18. We are waiting for your *prompt* (cajoler) reply. (JC).
19. Waiting for the HBL draft after loading 23-Nov. (CC).
20. Your prompt reply will be *highly appreciated* (subjectivizer)! (CC).
21. Wait for *your further* (cajoler) update of the Job number, *thank you very much* (cajoler) (CC).

There are also a few instances of expressions with no mitigation devices (example no. 22) where the writer is pressing the colleague to provide a reply. These statements are more frequent in the EC, as in:

22. Reminder for below message (EC).

This tendency can be explained by referring to the countries' different scores in uncertainty-avoidance. In fact, the UAE is short-term oriented and the communication style adopted by the Emirati email writers is characterized by task-relatedness and the need for an urgent reply as confirmed by the less abundant use of mitigating devices. On the contrary, the Chinese and Japanese writers' communication style is more relationship-oriented and displays a wider range of mitigating devices (downtoners, consultative devices) and references to contextual preconditions (*can you…?*; *would you kindly help…?*).

4.2. *Directives (Ds)*

When it comes to Ds, we can see that the data are quite similar to those concerning IRs. In fact, direct Ds are more frequent than indirect Ds, with the EC displaying the highest number of direct Ds.

The most common form of direct Ds is expressed by means of imperatives mitigated by *please*.

	DIRECT Ds	INDIRECT Ds	NONCONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT Ds
Japanese corpus	76%	10%	14%
Chinese corpus	62%	25%	13%
Emirati corpus	88%	4%	8%

Table 3. Direct, indirect and non-conventionally indirect Ds

Also in this case, *please* is sometimes used in combination with *kindly,* in the Japanese and Chinese corpora, while the EC mostly contains imperatives only mitigated by *please*:

> 23. *Please* kindly contact the shipper and inform us the exact status. If you tell proforma invoice number to the shipper, they will recognize this order (JC).
> 24. *Please* URGENTLY amend shipper details mentioned as … to … as per below COO copy (CC).

Once again, also non-conventionally indirect Ds, like non-conventionally indirect IDs, are often further mitigated by cajolers and subjectivizers*,* especially in the Japanese and Chinese corpora. In general, we can conclude that Emirati employees are more direct than their Japanese and Chinese counterparts, as confirmed by the higher number of direct Ds:

> Japan 76% - China 62% - UAE 88%

and by the lower number of indirect and non-conventionally indirect Ds:

> Japan 24% - China 38% - UAE 12%

As regards the EC, we can observe that the general impression of a 'less indirect' attitude displayed by the employees is confirmed if we look at two sample email messages in their entirety:

> 25. Ciao FN [2],
> **Did you read my earlier mail carefully? It seems not really.**
> This cntr we are talking about is DDP, which means PREPAID (PP) for what we usually get usd/.
> […]
> **Now, to make it very easy, I was proposing you to share the profit of the three cntrs you loaded last week** where you make eur…/cntr, if yes then I agree to ship this cntr and share the loss in order to help… with this cntr only.
> Let me know,
> **Another example, for the shipments going to Egypt and KSA you have handled (still Prepaid) I haven't asked any profit even if I am the one who got the business**.
> Rgds.

In example no. 25, the answer provided to a rhetorical question asked by the email writer her/himself turns into a reproach towards the addressee. Then in the following lines, s/he adopts a rather condescending tone (*now, to make it very easy…*) and closes off by openly boasting about her/his behaviour (*I haven't asked any profit even if I am the one who got the business*).

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[2] FN refers to the addressee's first name.

In example no. 26, the email writer displays once again a rather aggressive tone, when s/he addresses her/his colleague by saying "I am not sure if you noticed we are not getting new bookings since a while":

> 26. Dear FN and FN,
> **Pls note customer just informed me to hold this booking as he is going to check with the other 3 forwarders he is using out of Italy,**
> **I am not sure if you noticed we are not getting new bookings since a while, only this booking where we are facing same issues SPACE.**
> Now, customer is going to check tomorrow, can you pls do the same? pls note customer has about 20 cntrs to be booked before Xmas closure
> **But he is not sure to involve us as we lost his trust.**
> Can you pls intervene and find a solution?
> Thx.

At the opposite end of the spectrum we can find the email messages written by the Japanese (no. 27) and Chinese employees (no. 28), which are characterized by a much gentler and more indirect tone, attested by the presence of a subjectivizer (*we know* in example no. 28), a cajoler (*would you negotiate* in example no. 27) and a consultative device (*As you know*, in example no. 27) and by the frequent use of *please* (especially in example no. 27). Moreover, they also provide tables and well-organized information, probably for the purposes of making their messages as clear as possible.

> 27. Dear FN,
> SHPR : …..
> PO : LEA099/200
> P/F : 9760.595
> POD : KOBE
>
> We would like you to load LEA099/200-1 on 20ftx1 and catch below vessel to KOBE by ONE.

GENOVA(2nd) SINGAPORE	2021-02-26 (Fri) 2021-03-26 (Fri)	SINGAPORE KOBE, HYOGO	2021-03-19 (Fri) 2021-04-01 (Thu)	MD2 FP1	ZEPHYR LUMOS 001E NYK ORPHEUS 061E

> As you know, max G/W is 21500kg for Japan.
> Then, pls let us know cargo details of balance PLT under LEA099/200-2 for buyer's cnsl to SANWA.
>
> Then, pls put cnee's PO# on C1.
> Recently, it's missing and we've got a complaint from cnee.
> Though we add at our end, someone delete it in issuing HBL.
> Pls be sure to mention "LEA099/200-1" as exp reference.
> We are waiting for your soonest confirmation.
>
> Thanks and best regards,

28. Dear FN,

Further to the free period thing, it shows following shpt will arrive at XINGANG on 07-Feb, per client, as it's very close to our Spring Festival which will start since 11-Feb, the cargo p/u has to be done after holiday.

So they really need 14days free period for this one.

We know it's under spot not contract shpt, would you negotiate with carrier to consider the holiday factor in CHINA and extend the free period to 14days?

Otherwise we may have to share the detention/demurrage charge internally like other shpts.

Thank you.

	House Bill Number	Order References	Master Bill	Actual Pickup	ETD	ETA	ATA	20GP	Remark
ITASPAFMG	MOD0043 99321	JOZH2020-IM43	MAEU2 06824040	2020/12/18	2020/12/30	2021/2/07	TBC	9	Need to apply 14days free period

Thanks and Best Regards

Once again, we can see that the communication style of the Emirati email writers is definitely less mitigated than the one adopted by the Chinese and Japanese employees, who employ a wider range of mitigating devices (cajolers, subjectivizers, consultative devices) which serve the purpose of safeguarding the relationship with their interlocutors, and promoting future collaboration. The only element which seems at odds with Hofstede's score is the presence of tables in the CC. In fact, given that Chinese culture normally displays a low uncertainty-avoidance score, one might be led to expect no particular concern about the need for clarity, precision and structure, typical of countries with a high uncertainty-avoidance score. However, it is also to be remembered that long-term oriented countries tend to learn from others and to be quite pragmatic. This might account for the presence of tables in the CC.

One final comment about the communication style of the Emirati employees concerns the presence of self-enhancing (*I am the one who got the business*), condescending (*now, to make it very easy*) almost patronizing statements in example no. 25 (*Did you read my earlier mail carefully? It seems not really),* which clearly prove that the writers prioritize tasks over the relationship with their fellow workers.

5. Conclusions

Globalization is a widely discussed topic which can be defined as the increasing interconnectedness of human activities around the world. Increased speed in transportation and in accessing the Internet have deeply influenced how international transactions are conducted, as enterprises are more and more engaged in international business in order to increase profits in sales and distribution of services. As a consequence, the growth of international business requires highly effective global communication (Martin and Nakayama 2010: 18), which will have to take into account the presence of possible cultural differences. The present study shows that when it comes to the emails

exchanged among the employees of a freight-forwarding company, it is possible to claim that even if the email writers work for the same company and are subject to stringent time constraints because of their chosen line of business, several differences can be detected in the adopted communication styles.

The analysis focused on Information requests (IRs) and Directives (Ds), which are potentially FTAs and should therefore be mitigated, in order to prevent a possible negative impact on the reception of the message. Even though Japan, China and the UAE can be described as collectivist countries, and as such share a general tendency towards an indirect communication style, direct IRs and Ds are more frequent than indirect ones. This is of course hardly surprising, in that in B2B encounters interactants want to deal with the issue at hand as quickly as possible, as there is no time to lose. The number of direct IRs and Ds is not so dissimilar in the three corpora, even if the highest numbers are always to be found in the EC. However, differences emerge in the way these direct IRs and Ds are phrased. In fact, direct IRs and Ds are mostly realized by means of imperatives mitigated by the downtoners *please* (JC, CC and EC) and *kindly* (JC and CC) or by means of questions. The latter are usually mitigated by cajolers (in the JC and CC), which turn them into indirect IRs and Ds respectively, while in the EC questions are left unmitigated.

In the Chinese and Japanese corpora the number of indirect IRs is higher than in the Emirati corpus. This confirms that the desire to build a rapport with the counterpart is visible especially in the emails written by the Chinese and Japanese employees, while in the Emirati corpora several unmitigated messages soliciting an urgent reply were detected.

The preliminary results of the analysis confirm in the first place that email writers are generally aware of the importance of mitigating the directness of face-threatening speech acts like requests, and especially directives (Lefringhausen *et al.* 2019). Moreover, even though the messages are often short and contain mostly information about the shipment status, it was possible to identify and analyse the strategies favoured by the employees coming from different national cultures, which show how a country's L1 and culture do have an impact on pragmatics and on the way request schemata are expressed through language. It is moreover possible to interpret the differences in the adopted communication style, by referring to Hofstede's taxonomies. In particular, it was proved that power-distance and short-term versus long term orientation have a significant impact on the preference for the urgency, self-enhancement and task-relatedness displayed in the emails written by the Emirati employees and the relationship-relatedness which was noticed in the Chinese and Japanese writers' email communications.

Obviously, the limited size of the three corpora under scrutiny here does not allow for any generalizations to be made. Moreover, we should refrain from drawing general conclusions on the basis of limited knowledge about a country and its inhabitants, in that cultures are formed by different individuals interacting like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. However, the recurring trends that have been highlighted in the messages written by twelve Japanese employees, twenty Chinese employees and thirteen Emirati employees makes it possible to state that as far as this particular case-study is concerned, the evidence collected is in line with Hofstede's (2009) belief that the use we make of language becomes the most direct practice emanating from the core values that underlie our culture.

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GATE: AN ITALIAN-ENGLISH GLOSSARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATIONS

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Abstract

The European Union's policy of multilingualism and intra-EU mobility, which is also reflected at the academic level in such exchange programs as *Erasmus+* and *Horizon2020*, and excellence awards such as the *HR Excellence in Research Award*, has resulted in the need for a number of academic institutions to make their administrative documents accessible to international audiences. This has been accomplished mostly by translating all relevant texts, which include official charters, codes, regulations, calls, contracts, forms and web pages, to name but a few, into English, the *de facto* lingua franca of academia. However, since the documents produced by Italian academic administrations, not unlike those written by the public administration, are characterized by high levels of complexity, especially at the lexical level, translation into English may become a burdensome task. The present paper reports on the construction and describes the main features of an Italian-English glossary of the most salient technical terms and phrasal expressions typical of academic-administrative language (GATE, i.e. Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions) which was developed at the University of Insubria with the aim of providing a partial solution to this problem. The glossary wordlist was compiled making use of corpus linguistic methods from a corpus of 63 documents (and their English translations) produced by the academic administration and covering a wide variety of academic-administrative genres. Although developed specifically for a particular academic institution, the glossary, which provides a translation for a total of 508 entries among single-word and multi-word items that are characteristic of supra-local academic-administrative language, may be a useful resource for all Italian research institutions aiming at internationalizing their documents and aligning their policies to EU standards.

1. Introduction

As reflected in its motto – United in diversity – linguistic diversity represents one of the hallmarks of the European Union, which continues to this day to promote the principle of multilingualism in its language policy (Wright 2009: 94; Seidlhofer 2010: 356; Ammon 2012: 571). Since language played a significant symbolic role in the formation of European nation-states, where it was used to unite territories and strengthen communities (Wright 2009: 98-99; Ammon 2012: 573), and still carries a heavy ideological

load, opting for a dominant language would mean making the nation that owns it dominant as well (Wright 2009: 100; Seidlhofer 2010: 356-357). Thus, as laid down in Regulation No 1, the EU has 24 official languages, any of which may be used by EU citizens to communicate with EU institutions (European Commission 2022a). Multilingualism is further promoted by the European Commission, through such objectives as having all citizens learn at least two foreign languages by developing and adopting modern and more efficient teaching methods and favouring mobility within the EU itself (European Commission 2022b).

However, in the words of Seidlhofer (2010: 356), "there is a marked discrepancy between the European Union's discourse about language and communication on the one hand, and the reality on the ground on the other". Indeed, while all member-states' languages are officially recognized as equal, only five languages (i.e. English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) are used in the different EU institutions as official "working languages" (Wright 2009: 94), with English gaining ground on all the others and becoming the *de facto* but unacknowledged lingua franca of Europe (Modiano 2006: 233; Wright 2009: 94; Seidlhofer 2010: 355; Ammon 2012: 582). Indeed, English has for some years now been established as a language of wider communication, not only in the professional domain, but also in such areas as the media, tourism, advertising, popular culture, entertainment and even education (Seidlhofer 2010: 357; Ferguson 2012; Gerritsen 2017: 339; Mauranen 2018: 7), being studied as a second language by 96.4% of pupils at upper-secondary level in 2019 (European Commission 2021b).

At the academic level, this policy was aimed at creating a common European Higher Education Area, thus promoting linguistic diversity and the mobility of both students and academic staff (European Commission 1999; Seidlhofer 2010: 358), as reflected in such exchange programs as *Erasmus+* and *Horizon2020* (Kelly 2014), and excellence awards like the *HR Excellence in Research Award* (www.Euraxess.ec.europa.eu). The application of these policies and programs, however, has mostly resulted in the adoption of English for academic publishing and scientific networking (Wright 2009: 95), in the implementation of a number of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) academic courses (Gotti 2016a, 2017, 2020) and, ultimately, in the need for academic institutions to make their administrative documents accessible to international audiences, a goal that has mostly been accomplished by translating all relevant texts, which include official charters, codes, regulations, calls, contracts, forms and web pages, to name but a few, into English (Nickerson 2013; Mauranen, Carey and Ranta 2015: 414; Gotti 2016a and 2020).

This also applies to the Italian context, as evidenced by a survey conducted in 2015 (Broggini and Costa 2017). Whether intended to improve the national (3%) or international (70%) profile of the university, to attract foreign students (57%) and future members of the workforce (6%), to prepare students for the global market (39%), to promote interculturality (12%) or to improve proficiency in the English language (6%), 85% of the universities that responded to Broggini and Costa's 2015 survey reported that they offered EMI courses in such varied fields as economics, engineering, science, medicine and biotechnologies, IT, international studies, and law, especially at the master's or PhD levels (*ibid.*).

However, since the documents produced by Italian academic administrations, not unlike those written by the public administration, are characterized by high levels of

complexity, especially at the lexical level (Viale 2008; Cortelazzo 2021), translation into English may represent a burdensome task. Indeed, the language of the (Italian) public administration may be described as a language for special purposes (Madinier 2011), that is, a functional variety of the language, which is restricted to a specific field of knowledge and activity, and used by a limited group of speakers for the specific communicative goals of that specialized community (Viale 2008: 49). As it extends to political, legislative, administrative and judicial functions, the language of the public administration, besides sharing a number of technical terms with other specialized registers, is characterized by a high degree of formality and complexity, which is reflected at all levels: stylistic (e.g. synonymic repetition, deixis, explicitation), lexical (e.g. pseudo-technicisms, periphrases, abstract nouns), and morphosyntactic (e.g. impersonal forms, nominalizations, complex sentences: see Marazzini 2003; Viale 2008: 53; Cortelazzo 2021). However, although vocabulary is certainly not the sole factor responsible for the opacity and complexity of administrative language, it does represent the one aspect that has attracted most criticism, from the public and experts alike (Fioritto, Masini and Salvatore 1997; Madinier 2011: 69).

2. Aims, corpus and methods

The present paper reports on the construction and describes the main lexical features of an Italian-English glossary of the most salient technical terms and phrasal expressions typical of academic-administrative language (G.A.T.E., i.e. Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions) which was developed at the University of Insubria (Varese and Como, Italy) with the aim of providing a partial solution to the problem posed by specialized vocabulary in the translation and redaction of academic-administrative documents.

The glossary wordlist was compiled from a corpus of 63 documents produced by the Research Office of the University of Insubria that were translated into English by experts within the university itself as part of the *Human Resources Strategy for Researchers* (HRS4R) project, which aims at implementing the *European Charter for Researchers* and the *Code of Conduct for the Recruitment of Researchers* in the European Research Area, thus promoting an open, transparent and merit-based research framework (European Commission 2021a). As shown in Table 1, the documents in the corpus cover a wide variety of academic-administrative genres, including public selection calls to cover different positions, normative documents, notices and webpages on different procedures and topics, forms to be filled out in order to apply for various services, different types of contracts, meeting minutes, email communications, and some other organizational texts, for a total of 128,614 words.

A mixed-method approach was followed in the compilation of the glossary's wordlist, thus combining a quantitative, corpus-based, methodology (Culpeper and Demmen 2015; Paquot 2015) with a qualitative, manual, one (Martinez and Schmitt 2015). In order to include only those terms and expressions that are strictly connected to the specialized domain of academic-administrative matters, the initial wordlist was extracted by using the keywords function on *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2004 and 2014, http://www.sketchengine.eu), which compares the corpus frequency list to that of a reference corpus of general Italian, in this case *itTenTen16*, a corpus of the *TenTen Corpus*

GENRES	NO. OF TEXTS	APPROX. NO. OF WORDS
Selection call	9	30,225
Regulations	6	11,832
Code	1	10,987
Notice	8	10,816
Guidelines	2	10,025
Webpage	4	7,102
Form	18	6,863
Rectoral decree	1	5,824
Contract	2	4,403
Plan	3	3,005
Minutes	3	1,979
Policy	1	1,198
Email	4	833
Ranking list	1	424

Table 1. Distribution of academic-administrative genres in the corpus

Family [1] collected entirely from web documents and comprising a total of 5,864,495,700 words (https://www.sketchengine.eu/ittenten-italian-corpus/). Both single- and multi-word terms were taken into consideration for the construction of the glossary, so as to provide the best possible tool for the translation of specialized texts (Gray and Biber 2015; Martinez and Schmitt 2015; Xiao 2015). All keywords and expressions which appeared fewer than three times in the corpus were automatically ignored, in order to limit the dataset to more relevant material.

The keywords and expressions thus retrieved were then subjected to a manual analysis aimed at identifying the most relevant multi-word expressions among very similar alternatives. As the *Sketch Engine* keywords software identifies multi-word expressions composed of up to five single words, some lower-order n-grams are naturally also to be found as part of higher-order n-grams. Since including all lower-order n-grams which also figured in the keywords list as part of a higher-order n-gram would lengthen the glossary's wordlist to no avail, these were manually deleted. Thus, among *cooperazione interuniversitaria* (inter-university cooperation), *accordo di cooperazione* (cooperation agreement), *accordo di cooperazione interuniversitaria* (inter-university cooperation agreement), *cooperazione interuniversitaria internazionale* (international inter-university cooperation) and *accordo di cooperazione interuniversitaria internazionale* (international inter-university cooperation agreement), only the latter, which clearly represents the most complete expression, was included in the glossary's wordlist. Manual refinement also aimed at identifying small and negligible variations, including those

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[1] The *TenTen Corpus Family* is a family of over 40 corpora compiled from Web texts with the purpose of creating comparable corpora collecting more than 10 billion words per language (https://www.sketch-engine.eu/documentation/tenten-corpora/).

related to grammatical gender, number and prepositions, in semantically identical expressions. For this reason, among *entrato in vigore* (effective as of, masculine singular) and *entrate in vigore* (feminine plural), or among *direttore di dipartimento* (director of the department, simple preposition) and *direttore del dipartimento* (articulated preposition), only the former expressions, which, in Italian, represent the grammatically unmarked forms, were maintained. Finally, since the names of the individual departments, courses, and offices (e.g. *Como*, *Varese*, *Insubria*) that are specific to the institution which produced the documents themselves are particularly prominent in the corpus keywords list, precisely because of how the *Sketch Engine* software extracts keywords, the manual analysis also aimed at identifying and selecting only those terms and expressions which, because of their supra-local nature, may apply to all academic contexts.

The same procedure was applied to the corpus of translated texts (126,197 words), whose frequency list was compared to that of e*nTenTen20,* a reference corpus that belongs to the same *TenTen Corpus Family* and which collects English web documents for a total of 44,968,996,152 tokens (https://www.sketchengine.eu/ententen-english-corpus/). The terms thus extracted from the Italian and English corpora were then manually matched to compile the glossary. The wordlist was then organized in alphabetical order, so as to enhance its practical usefulness and applicability.

3. The Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions (G.A.T.E.)

G.A.T.E, the Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions thus compiled, collects 508 entries among single- and multi-word items that are typical of supra-local Italian academic-administrative language. While 30% of the glossary wordlist consists of single words (e.g. *commissione*, committee, *incompatibilità*, incompatibility, *macrosettore*, macroarea, *plagio*, plagiarism, *reclutamento*, recruitment, etc.), the majority of entry words are made up of multi-word expressions (e.g. *bando di selezione*, selection call, *Consiglio di Dipartimento,* Department's Board, *indirizzo email istituzionale*, institutional email address, *sede legale*, legal head office, etc.), some of which are characteristic of the formulaic language employed in the wider administrative domain (e.g. *e successive modificazioni e integrazioni,* following amendments and additions, *conforme a*, compliant to, *in osservanza di,* in compliance with, etc.).

As shown in Figure 1, which displays the part of speech distribution of the glossary entry words, the glossary consists almost entirely of nouns (22%, e.g. *certificazione*, certificate, *immatricolazione,* enrolment, *Rettore,* Rector) and noun phrases (68%, e.g. *anno accademico,* academic year, *esame di laurea,* final examination, *Settore Scientifico Disciplinare*, Academic field). This is not particularly surprising, since, historically, domain-specific lexicographical works have always had a bias for those lexical items which refer to the specific objects, people and concepts that are relevant for the domain itself and may thus be described as dictionaries of things (McConchie 2019). The second most frequent part of speech is that of adjectives (e.g. *istituzionale*, institutional, *rettorale*, rectoral), which, however, make up only 6% of the glossary wordlist. The rest of the glossary consists of verbs (2%, e.g. *conseguire,* obtain, *reclutare*, recruit), adverbs (0.6%, e.g. *digitalmente*, digitally, *tempestivamente*, promptly) and prepositional phrases (1.6%, e.g. *ai sensi dell'art.*, pursuant to article, *in conformità con,* in compliance with).
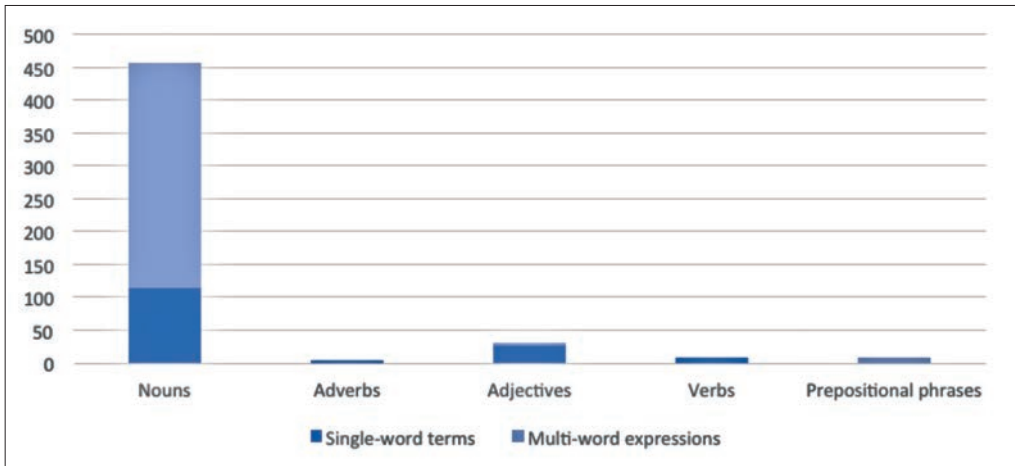
Figure 1. Part of speech distribution of the glossary entry words

Not unlike the language of the public administration, which shares many functions and, consequently, has many contact points with other specialized registers, most notably the legal one (Viale 2008: 53-54; Cortelazzo 2021: 14-15), the language of academic administrations appears to be similarly composed of a core of terms which may be properly defined as restricted to this specialized domain and a number of other words that strictly belong to different, though related, fields of knowledge, including, in particular, those of the public administration, law, research, publishing, business, and IT. While quite limited in number, as it roughly makes up 20% of the whole glossary, core vocabulary consists of those terms and expressions which are strictly connected to the academic world and that refer to the institutions themselves, their organizations, roles, activities and functions: *ateneo* (university), *Consiglio degli Studenti* (Students' Council), *Scuola di Dottorato* (Doctoral School)*, Commissione di Disciplina per gli Studenti* (Students' Disciplinary Committee), *professore ordinario* (full professor), *Cultore della Materia* (Honorary Fellow), *domanda di ammissione* (admission application), *diffusione della conoscenza* (knowledge dissemination), *tutorato* (tutoring), etc.

Since Italian universities represent a branch of the wider public administration (Masucci 2019: 119) and its employees are for all intents and purposes considered to be civil servants, a number of words (15%) from the glossary entry list are actually in common with the language of the general public administration: *aspettativa per maternità* (maternity leave), *congedo obbligatorio* (mandatory leave), *marca da bollo* (revenue stamp), *trattamento economico* (economic treatment), etc. However, as the language of the public administration is closely related to and shares many functions and domains with legal language (Viale 2008: 51-53), the academic-administrative register is also characterized by a large number of words (35%) which originated in the legal context, including, for example, *autenticare* (authenticate), *comma* (paragraph), *Decreto Ministeriale* (Ministerial Decree), *norma di legge* (legal provision), *procedura amministrativa* (administrative procedure), *regolamento* (regulations), *verbale della riunione* (meeting minutes), etc.

While universities can certainly be said to belong to the public administration, recent reforms have led to what is generally referred to as the corporatization of the academic sector (*aziendalizzazione* in Italian), by which managerial and entrepreneurial rationales have been introduced to transform a previously bureaucratic, centralized and inefficient system into a dynamic, decentralized, efficient and customer satisfaction-oriented one (Cosenz 2011: 3-6). As a consequence of this corporatization and marketization of higher education, which favours performance and competitiveness for the allocation of funding and investments, academic institutions now also fall and have to act within the business world. For this reason, some of the glossary entry words (2.4%) belong to the specialized vocabulary typical of this domain: *bilancio generale* (general budget), *Direttore Generale* (Director General), *proprietà industriale* (industrial property), etc.

Although the majority of the glossary entry words are concerned with administrative aspects, the glossary also contains a number of words (11%) which refer to the other domain that universities naturally deal with: research, as evidenced by such words as *assegno di ricerca* (research grant), *grandi strumentazioni scientifiche* (heavy scientific equipment), *produzione scientifica* (scientific production), *terza missione* (third mission), etc. Connected to research, a number of the glossary entry words (3%) have to do with the works produced by the members of the academic community, which are derived from the domain of publishing: *bozza* (draft), *opera collettanea* (edited work), *revisione tra pari* (peer review), etc.

Finally, given the recent progress towards informatization and digitalization within the wider public administration (Dipartimento della Funzione Pubblica 2022; Camera dei Deputati 2018a and 2018b; Martines 2018; Masucci 2019), one last distinct category of words (2%), unsurprisingly, belongs to the semantic field of Information and Communications Technology (ICT), as testified by such words as *dati di navigazione* (navigation data), *PEC* (Certified Email Address), *software di firma digitale* (digital signature software), etc.

As mentioned in Section 2, the glossary entry list was organized alphabetically, rather than thematically, for ease of consultation and terminology retrieval. While each section contains an average of 24 entry words, no section actually collects that precise amount. As shown in Figure 2, which displays the alphabetical distribution of the glossary entry list, the longest section is represented by letter C, with 101 words (20%), followed by letters P and D, with 58 and 56 entry words each (corresponding to 11.4% and 11%, respectively). The high frequency of words in these sections is linked specifically to the presence of many multi-word
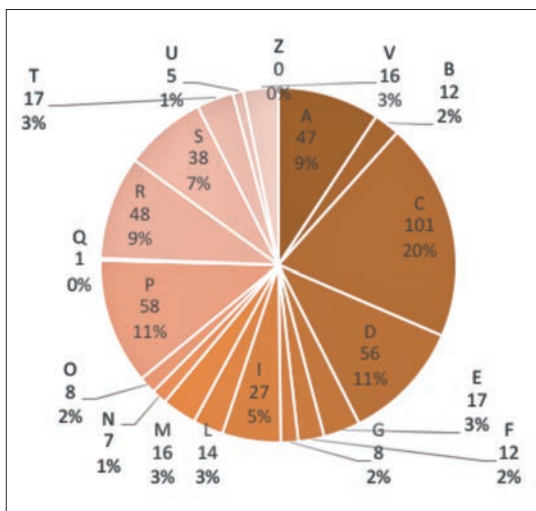
Figure 2. Alphabetical distribution of the glossary entry words

expressions which share the first term: *corso di aggiornamento* (refresher course), *Corso di Dottorato di Ricerca* (Doctoral Program), *Corso di Laurea a Ciclo Unico* (Five-year Degree Course), *Corso di Laurea Magistrale* (Master's Degree Course), *Corso di Laurea Triennale* (Bachelor's Degree Course), *Corso di Laurea Vecchio Ordinamento* (Four-year Degree Course), *Corso di specializzazione* (specialization course), or *professore associato* (associate professor), *professore di prima fascia* (full professor), *professore di ruolo* (tenured professor), *professore di seconda fascia* (associate professor), *professore ordinario* (full professor), *professore universitario* (university professor). Letters H and Z predictably have no entry words, while letter Q only has one (i.e. *questionario*, survey). Letters U, N, O and G are also sparsely covered by the glossary, with 5, 7, 8 and 8 entry words each (corresponding to 0.9%, 1.4%, 1.6% and 1.6%, respectively).

The translational equivalents list, which, as discussed in Section 2, was extracted from the keywords of the English translations corpus and whose terms were manually matched to their Italian counterparts, consists of 478 unique terms. While at first quite surprising, this discrepancy between the number of entry words and their equivalents is actually due to the presence of a number of synonymic expressions in the Italian source documents which in the corpus only have one English equivalent, including, for example, Italian *aspettativa per malattia* and *congedo per malattia*, which are both rendered in English as 'sick leave', or Italian *risoluzione anticipata*, *conclusione anticipata* and *cessazione anticipata*, which are all translated in English as 'early termination'.

4. Final remarks

While generally described as only the tip of the iceberg behind the complexity related to academic-administrative language, specialized vocabulary, which assumes a particularly important role given that some of the documents produced in this context also perform regulatory functions, does seem to represent the greatest obstacle to smooth communication in this specialized domain (Ciliberti 1997; Piemontese 2000; Viale 2008; Cortelazzo 2021). Not only has such terminological and stylistic complexity been perceived by ordinary citizens interacting with public offices as a deliberate attempt to exert social control by excessively complicating administrative matters and procedures (Viale 2008: 47-59; Cortelazzo 2021: 31-46), it has also become the focus of a number of governmental initiatives, most notably the 1993 reform of the public administration, whose focus on the simplification of administrative language expressed in the "direttiva sulla semplificazione del linguaggio amministrativo" (directive on the simplification of administrative language, Dipartimento della Funzione Pubblica 2002) resulted in the publication of the *Codice di Stile* (Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri 1993) and of the *Manuale di Stile* (Fioritto 1997), which aimed at eliminating unnecessary obscurity and rendering administrative documents more linguistically accessible (Fioritto, Masini and Salvatore 1997).

Such terminological complexity is reflected and also amplified in translation. In a specialized field such as that of the public administration, which shares many functions with the legal domain, terminological precision is of the utmost importance. However, since, in the words of Gotti (2016b: 13), "similar terms do not always refer to the same principles or standards in different jurisdictions", the closest and most literal translation is not always the most appropriate. Particular care must, therefore, be placed on

these aspects, especially in a context such as that of the European Higher Education Area, where, for the purposes of international mobility and cooperation, the institutions, customs and procedures of the individual member states have to be rendered comparable and accessible to each other (European Commission 1999; Seidlhofer 2010). All of this makes bilingual glossaries and other English-based lexicographical resources particularly useful. Indeed, while the EU policy was originally intended to preserve linguistic and cultural diversity by officially promoting multilingualism, in practice, it has mostly had the opposite effect of encouraging the use of English as a lingua franca and, ultimately, of increasing the Anglicization of higher education (Wright 2009; Seidlhofer 2010; Gotti 2017, 2020).

G.A.T.E., the Italian-English Glossary of Academic-administrative Terms and Expressions described in the present work, which provides a direct English equivalent for over 500 single- and multi-word terms that are characteristic of the Italian academic-administrative language, may thus represent a useful resource for all Italian and Italian-language research institutions aiming at internationalizing their documents and aligning their policies to EU standards. Indeed, although developed specifically for a particular academic institution, and starting from a number of documents produced by the university itself, therefore, ultimately depending on the quality of such documents, the glossary wordlist was compiled with the explicit objective of including supra-local academic-administrative language only, thus making it relevant for and applicable to a much wider context.

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