

Journal of Contemporary Philology

5 (2) / 2022

Современа Филологија



ISSN 2545-4765
e-ISSN 2545-4773



Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje
Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology

JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY PHILOLOGY

Skopje, December 2022

Publisher:

Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje
Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology

Editor-in-chief at Blaže Koneski Faculty of Philology:

Aneta Dučevska, Dean

Editorial Board

Kalina Maleska, editor-in-chief

Agim Leka

Ruska Ivanovska-Naskova

Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska

Boban Karapejovski

Zorica Trajkova Strezovska, guest editor

International Editorial Board

Natalija Boronnikova, Perm State University, Russia

Eleni Bužarovska, Macedonia

Mohammad Dabir-Moghaddam, Alameh Tabataba'i Tehran University, I. R. Iran

Jean-Marc Defays, University of Liège, Belgium

Slobodanka Dimova, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Daniela Dinca, University of Craiova, Romania

Victor Friedman, University of Chicago, USA

María Isabel González-Rey, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Alice Henderson, University of Grenoble Alpes, France

Ewa Waniek-Klimczak, University of Łódź, Poland

Zlatko Kramarić, University of Osijek, Croatia

Christina Kramer, University of Toronto, Canada

Iwona Łuczaków, University of Wrocław, Poland

Marjan Markovikj, Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Macedonia

Wolfgang Motsch, University of Mannheim, Germany

Mila Samardžić, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Alla Sheshken, Moscow State University, Russia

Slavica Srbinovska, Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Macedonia

Vanna Zaccaro, University of Bari, Italy

Proofreading:

Boban Karapejovski

Printed by:

Mar-Saž, Skopje

Print run:

100

ISSN 2545-4765 (print)

ISSN 2545-4773 (electronic)

Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“
Филолошки факултет „Блаже Конески“ – Скопје

СОВРЕМЕНА ФИЛОЛОГИЈА

Скопје, декември 2022

Издавач:

Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“, Скопје
Филолошки факултет „Блаже Конески“

Уредник на издавачката дејност на Филолошки факултет „Блаже Конески“:

Анета Дучевска, декан

Редакциски одбор

Калина Малеска, главен уредник

Агим Лека

Руска Ивановска-Наскова

Соња Китановска-Кимовска

Бобан Карапејовски

Зорица Трајкова Стрезовска, гостин-уредник

Меѓународен редакциски одбор

Наталија Бороникова, Универзитет во Перм, Русија

Елени Бужаровска, Македонија

Ева Ваниек-Климчак, Универзитет во Лоѓ, Полска

Марија Изабел Гонзалес, Универзитет во Сантијаго де Компостела, Шпанија

Мохамад Дабир-Могадам, Универзитет Аламех Табатаба'и во Техеран, Иран

Жан Марк Дефаји, Универзитет во Лиеж, Белгија

Слободанка Димова, Универзитет во Копенхаген, Данска

Даниела Динка, Универзитет во Крајова, Романија

Вана Сакаро, Универзитет во Бари, Италија

Златко Крамариќ, Универзитет во Осиек, Хрватска

Кристина Крамер, Универзитет во Торонто, Канада

Ивона Лучкув, Универзитет во Вроцлав, Полска

Марјан Марковиќ, Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј, Скопје, Македонија

Волфганг Моч, Универзитет во Манхајм, Германија

Милица Самарциќ, Универзитет во Белград, Србија

Славица Србиновска, Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“, Скопје, Македонија

Виктор Фридман, Универзитет во Чикаго, САД

Алис Хендерсон, Универзитет во Гренобл, Франција

Ала Шешкен, Московски државен универзитет, Русија

Јазична редакција и компјутерска обработка:

Бобан Карапејовски

Печат:

Мар-саж, Скопје

Тираж:

100

ISSN 2545-4765 (печатена верзија)

ISSN 2545-4773 (електронска верзија)

Table of contents

Содржина

Zorica Trajkova-Strezovska, guest editor

Foreword

Silvia Schultermandl

Insta-Girlhood: Selfies as Auto-Performative Responses
to Sexism and Misogyny

Силвија Шултермангл

Инста-девојчинство: Селфијата како автоперформативни одговори
на сексизмот и на мизогинијата

Liudmila Arcimavičienė

Political Leadership and Gender During the Covid-19 Pandemic:
On the Populist Features of Metaphor Use

Људмила Арчимавичиене

Политичкото лидерство и полот за време на пандемијата на ковид-19:
популистичките одлики на метафорите

Zorica Trajkova Strezovska, Silvana Neškovska

Vaccine Mandates: Deepening the Rift Between Polarized Ideology
on Social Media

Зорица Трајкова Стрезовска, Силвана Нешковска

Задолжителна вакцинација: продлабочување на јазот меѓу спротивставени-
те идеолошки гледишта претставени на социјалните медиуми

Ljiljana Marković, Ema Živković, Tatjana Paunović

Pre-Service EFL Teachers as Reflective Practitioners: Student Portfolios
as Evidence of Emerging Professional Identities

Љиљана Марковиќ, Ема Живковиќ, Татјана Пауновиќ

Идните наставници по англиски како странски јазик како рефлексивни
практичари: студентското портфолио како доказ за професионалните
идентитети што се градат

Mira Bekar

Interculturality and Interdisciplinarity in Bachelor Thesis Writing:
Mentors' and Mentees' Perceptions

Мира Бекар

Интеркултуралноста и интердисциплинарноста
при пишувањето дипломски тези:
видувања на менторите и на менторираните студенти

9

23

45

65

77

Milena Szdovska-Pigulovska

The Effect of Distance Learning on Student Emotional and Social Well-Being in a Pandemic Context

Милена Саздовска-Пигуловска

Ефектот на учењето на далечина врз емоционалната и социјалната благосостојба на студентите во пандемиски контекст

93

Igor Popovski

Cardenio's Various Fortunes

Игор Поповски

Многуге животи на Карденио

105

Magdalena Simionska

Problems in Interpreting Collocations from Macedonian into English and Vice Versa

Магдалена Симионска

Проблеми при интерпретирањето колокации од македонски на англиски и обратно

115

Darin Angelovski

Слободниот стих како хиперобјект

(Спасовска, Сузана В. *Слободата на стихоите, Ситуација за македонскиот слободен стих*, Скопје, 2021, 272 стр.)

Darin Angelovski

The Free Verse as a Hyperobject

(Spasovska, Suzana V. *The freedom of the verse, Study of the Macedonian free verse*, Skopje, 2021, 272 pp.)

125

FOREWORD

This special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Philology* contains selected articles presented at the ESIDRP 2022 conference, *English Studies at the Interface of Disciplines: Research and Practice*, organised by the Department of English Language and Literature, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. Around one hundred academics participated in the conference, whose main aim was to foreground the value of exploring issues in the discipline of English Studies from a variety of interdisciplinary perspectives.

Language, as a cognitive, social, and cultural entity, is closely intertwined and collaborates with other disciplines like psychology, sociology, economy, politics, and other sciences to enable wider perspectives in the exploration of complex issues that have significant implications in the everyday life. This cooperation among disciplines has especially proven to be necessary and has strengthened in the past few years when the whole humanity faced great challenges due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Researchers from different scientific areas, even from seemingly disparate areas, were inspired and encouraged to collaborate and break down disciplinary walls and open up a new space in which they can better understand the newly generated issues and problems in all areas of human life. Interdisciplinary research is not only necessary, but foundational to providing innovative solutions to complex problems – some of which we have tackled in our roles as teachers, researchers, scholars.

Seven articles, each focusing on a specific language issue and another discipline, were selected for publication in this special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Philology*. The first one, “Insta-Girlhood: Selfies as Auto-Performative Responses to Sexism and Misogyny”, is authored by one of the plenary speakers, Dr. Silvia Schiltermandl, and it deals with the affective aesthetic dimensions of feminist art projects which critically engage with the trope of the Insta-girl in an attempt to raise issues about the cultural constructions of girlhood on social media and in “real life.”

The second article, “Political Leadership and Gender During the Covid-19 Pandemic: On the Populist Features of Metaphor Use”, by Liudmila Arcimavičienė, analyses the different political leaders’ use of metaphor combined with the populist sentiment in their response to the COVID-19 pandemic, and it reveals specific differences in the male and female leadership style with regard to populism.

By combining the methods of critical discourse and pragmatic analysis in the article “Vaccine Mandates: Deepening the Rift Between Polarized Ideology on So-

cial Media”, Zorica Trajkova Strezovska and Silvana Neškavska investigate the main pro and con argumentation of social media users on mandatory vaccination, revealing that fear, triggered by threat as well as risk, is what supports and justifies both sides’ attitude and reasoning.

In the next article, “Pre-Service EFL Teachers as Reflective Practitioners: Student Portfolios as Evidence of Emerging Professional Identities”, Ljiljana Marković, Ema Živković, Tatjana Paunović attempt to get a better understanding of the reflection process of pre-service EFL teachers before entering the EFL classroom by employing an in-depth content analysis of the students’ reflective portfolios. Their findings shed light on the necessity of including reflective thinking in pre-service teacher education courses from the very beginning, and not only during the teaching practice.

Mira Bekar’s article, “Interculturality and Interdisciplinarity in Bachelor Thesis Writing: Mentors’ and Mentees’ Perceptions” explores some aspects of the Anglo-centred academic literacy promoted in a non-native English academic context. Through surveys and semi-structured interviews, she finds that students’ positioning in their BA theses is affected by the transcultural instruction and the local institutional requirements.

Milena Sazdovska-Pigulovska analyses the emotional consequences students experienced from the digital transformation of education during the pandemic in her article “The Effect of Distance Learning on Student Emotional and Social Well-Being in a Pandemic Context”. After analysing the results of the online survey she conducted, Sazdovska-Pigulovska concludes that a variety of emotional intelligence-related activities can be integrated in the teaching process to improve students’ generic competences such as self-awareness, self-management, motivation and empathy during online education.

Finally, in the article titled “Cardenio’s Various Fortunes”, Igor Popovski follows Stephen Greenblatt’s work on cultural poetics and cultural mobility, specifically focusing on issues of authorship, mobility of ideas and texts, the relationship between society and literature, to retrace the trajectory of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* from Spain to England in the early XVII century and examine its reception among the writers of the time. In addition, he critically analyses a few texts in circulation, the most recent findings and conclusions on the Cardenio issue, as well as XXI century adaptations of the play around the world.

On the behalf of the Organising Committee of the ESIDRP conference (Mira Bekar, Rumena Bužarovska, Elena Ončevska Ager, Zorica Trajkova Strezovska, Milan Damjanoski, Kalina Maleska, Ivana Duckinoska-Mihajlovska, Maja Joševska-Petruševska, Aynur Kaso, Anastazija Kirkova-Naskova and Nataša Stojanovska-Ilievkska) and the Editorial Board (Mira Bekar, Nataša Stojanovska-Ilievkska and Maja Joševska-Petruševska), I would like to express our gratitude to the reviewers for their selfless professional work, as well as to the authors for their contributions.

Dr. Zorica Trajkova Strezovska
Guest Editor

INSTA-GIRLHOOD: SELFIES AS AUTO-PERFORMATIVE RESPONSES TO SEXISM AND MISOGYNY

Silvia Schultermandl
University of Münster
silvia.schultermandl@wwu.de

In this essay, I attend to the affective aesthetic dimensions of feminist art projects which critically engage with the trope of the Insta-girl in an attempt to raise issues about the cultural constructions of girlhood on social media and in “real life.” With the help of two case studies – Noa Jansma’s *Dear Catcallers* and Amalia Ulman’s *Excellences & Perfections*, I will discuss the production and consumption of a particular type of Insta-girl which appeal to audiences via modes of fetishization and abjection. Jansma’s work consists of selfies she took with random men who catcalled her. The documentary character of her project supports her project’s aim to record the nature, extent and frequency of catcalling she experienced. In turn, Amalia Ulman’s *Excellences & Perfections* critiques the construction, circulation and consumption of the trope of the Insta-girl, a postfeminist, late-capitalist figure characterized by her “oversharing” of intimate details about her everyday life. Both artists’ auto-performative responses to sexist and misogynistic tropes in social media impel audiences to question late-capitalist and neoliberal constructions of “girl-hood.”

Keywords: Insta-girl, #MeToo life writing, affect, Noa Jansma, Amalia Ulman

ИНСТА-ДЕВОЈЧИНСТВО: СЕЛФИЈАТА КАКО АВТОПЕРФОРМАТИВНИ ОДГОВОРИ НА СЕКСИЗМОТ И НА МИЗОГИНИЈАТА

Силвија Шултермандл
Универзитет во Минстер
silvia.schultermandl@wwu.de

Во овој есеј ги разгледувам афективните естетски димензии на феминистичките уметнички проекти што критички се осврнуваат на тропата на Инста-девојка во обид да отворат прашања за културната конструкција на „девојчинството“ на социјалните медиуми и во „вистинскиот живот“. Со помош на две студии на случај – *Dear Catcallers* на Ноа Џансма и *Excellences & Perfections* на Амалија Улман, ќе ја разгледам продукцијата и консумацијата на одреден вид Инста-девојка, која ѝ е привлечна на публиката преку начини на фетишизација и абјектизација. Делото на Џансма се состои од селфија што ги има направено со мажи што ѝ свиркале на улица. Документаристичкиот карактер ја поддржува целта на нејзиниот проект да ја сними природата, опсегот и фреквентноста на свиркањето што го доживеала. Од друга страна, *Excellences & Perfections* на Амалија Улман го критикува градењето, пуштањето во оптек и консумацијата на тропата на Инста-девојка, постфеминистичка, доцнокапиталистичка фигура што се карактеризира со преголемо споделување интимни детали за нејзиниот секојдневен живот. Автоперформативните одговори на двете уметнички на сексистичките и мизогините тропи во социјалните медиуми ја поттикнуваат публиката да ги преиспита доцнокапиталистичките и неолибералните конструкции на „девојчинство“.

Клучни зборови: Инста-девојка, #MeToo пишување за животот, афект, Ноа Џансма, Амалија Улман

1 Introduction

Insta-girlhood is an interesting cultural phenomenon when it comes to questions of agency and risk, especially for women (cis, trans, white, BiPoC, differently abled, etc.). Feminist art projects on social media have successfully called attention to cultural practices and notions of identity that deliberately go against mainstream assumptions of womanhood. Often through auto-performative responses to sexist and misogynistic tropes, they impel audiences to question late-capitalist and neoliberal constructions of “girl-hood.” In my essay, I look at Instagram art projects which critically engage with the trope of the so-called Insta-girl, in an attempt to raise issues about the cultural constructions of girlhood on social media and in “real life.” With the help of two case studies – Amalia Ulman’s *Excellences & Perfections* (2014) and Noa Jansma’s *Dear Catcallers* (2017-2018), I will discuss the production, circulation, and consumption of a particular type of Insta-girl which appeals to audiences via modes of fetishization and abjection. Jansma’s work consists of selfies she took with random men who catcalled her. The documentary character of her project supports her aim to record the nature, extent, and frequency of catcalling she experienced. In turn, Amalia Ulman’s *Excellences & Perfections* critiques the trope of the Insta-girl, a postfeminist, late-capitalist figure characterized by her “oversharing” of intimate details about her everyday life. Both artists received strong reactions from their followers for their playful adaptations of the genre of Insta-girl life narratives. The use of pastiche in their own Insta-narratives incites comments about authenticity and, in turn, throws into relief the inherent misogyny at play when “girls” authorial practices are called into question.

I will use Ulman’s and Jansma’s respective projects as case studies for my larger observation about the affective aesthetic dimensions of the Insta-girl. I argue that the type of womanhood commonly referred to as Insta-girl is perceived as desirable but repugnant at the same time. The affective economies that circulate via their posts therefore go well beyond fandom, sexual attraction, or even criticism of excessive social media use. My deliberate focus is on the aesthetic affective dimensions because I want to show that the appeal of Insta-girlhood relies not only on a certain aesthetics (poses, filters, subjects, etc.) but on the affects and intensities these aesthetic dimensions generate. My understanding of the aesthetic draws largely from recent work on the interdependencies of the aesthetic and the political. Most helpful for my project is Sianne Ngai’s work on capitalism’s generative impact on modern and postmodern aesthetic categories. Capitalism’s pervasiveness, according to Ngai, manifests to such a degree in our practices of aesthetic judgment that the traditional aesthetic categories of the beautiful and the sublime are no longer capacious enough to account for the complex entanglements at play in aesthetic reception (2010). Instead, everyday value judgments offer more apt idioms to address the capitalist structures from which our aesthetic experiences are modeled.

Instagram, in particular, operates within these capitalist logics of consumption and commodification and often conflates agency and visibility with neoliberal self-optimization. “Insta-girl” is an identity particularly reflective of the commodification of the self on social media (cf. Maguire 2018: 179). The commercial appeal

of the Insta-girl is that of a stand-in for consumer publics and as product placement machinery. Lifestyle and fashion industries, for instance, have successfully hinged their advertising campaigns onto their customers' self-generated content and therefore profit from celebrations of inclusivity, body positivity, and queer identities. Among the world's leading fast-fashion companies, H&M's highly successful H&M x me campaign is a great example of this.

Before I begin, and since this is an interdisciplinary venue, I would like to situate my essay. As I am a literary and cultural studies scholar, my objects of study are predominantly within the field of American studies. Through my interest in queer and feminist work on affect, I have become fascinated by the ways in which social media – I have elsewhere called them quick media (cf. Friedman and Schultermantl 2016) – can circulate affect and facilitate the emergence of counterpublics through what Michael Warner has termed “circulation of discourse” (Warner 2002: 80). I approach social media as texts – including discourses and materialities – and theorize their affective potential to do something to and with readers. Situated within literary and cultural studies, my essay is interested in the cultural narratives of Insta-girlhood. Following a robust tradition in the field of life writing studies, I think of social media posts as “everyday” autobiographies (Smith and Watson 1996: 9), consisting of self-generated content (surface) as well as the algorithms (deep structure) through which these life expressions take on lives of their own. My current interest in these everyday autobiographies is not primarily in the ways in which they expand the common understanding of what autobiographies are, in turn, genre-based reconsiderations of authorship and the practices of life narration look like (cf. Whitlock and Poletti 2008; McNeill 2013; Smith and Watson 1996; and Poletti 2020). Rather, I am interested in the affective worldmaking of these cultural narratives (cf. Schultermantl et al. 2022).

In this essay, I start with a discussion of girl-shaming and the aesthetic category of “cute,” so as to introduce the phenomenon of Insta-girlhood and the ways in which mainstream audiences engage with this figure. Next, I situate this notion of girl-shaming with the recent emergence of #MeToo life writing and its reception within this field of auto/biography studies. In the two case studies I offer subsequently, I critically engage with the notion of Insta-cuteness employed in Ulman's *Excellences & Perfections*, on the one hand, and the political stance of what Sara Ahmed terms the *feminist killjoy* in Jansma's *DearCatcallers* on the other. These two case studies allow me to illustrate the precarious economies of selfhood that are pervasive on Instagram and other social networking sites, which depend on a neoliberal script of clicks and trends.

2 Insta-girlhood and the affective economies of “cute”

In the opening pages to her 2018 study *Girls, Autobiography, Media: Gender and Self-Mediation in Digital Economies*, Emma Maguire critically engages with an incident of what I call girl-shaming, which – unlike so many others – did not go unnoticed, even by the mainstream media at that time (pre-#MeToo). During a televised Major League baseball game in October 2015, two male commentators (and a camera) fixate for a moment on a group of young women – girls they call

them – who are taking selfies. On live TV, the commentators ridicule the women for their seemingly incessant use of their iPhones; their lack of interest for what really matters: the baseball game; and their allegedly narcissistic documentation of mundane experiences. The commentators vocalize a well-known polemic about social media's asocial effects and couple it with a contempt for the group of women. In Maguire's critical reading of the event, the paternalistic and misogynistic undertones of the commentators' sarcastic impressions of the "girls" highlight their subjection to both fetishization and abjection. This becomes especially evident in moments when the commentators voice what they think one ought to do to such girls, namely punish them for their behavior. Maguire astutely notes a deliberate infantilization of the women through the men's comments, such as when "they call with staged desperation for an intervention, for the phones to be confiscated - a punishment normally meted out to naughty children" (1).

Such reductive comments on women's agency over their own self-representation are a form of "girl-shaming." Like with the case of slut-shaming, the aim of girl-shaming is to contest women's agency and right to self-expression. As Maguire and others have noted, girls become a foil for verbal abuse directed at them to ridicule, dismiss, disrupt, and potentially repel their authorial acts. In this light, the trolling, the verbal abuse, the bullying, etc., witnessed in examples such as the one with the commentators, render visible common discursive patterns within digital economies that regulate and chastise women's self-expression. To be sure, my argument is not about the valence of the content the group of women at the ballgame produced but the fact that the public ridiculing they experienced normalizes misogynistic discourses that impinge on women's freedom of expression, creativity, and sense of safety and, at the same time, reify stereotypes about a particular type of "girl": white, cis, sorority culture, superficial, etc.

Maguire's point about women's agential use of social media to create visibility for their lives is well taken, but I would like to complicate the notion of taking back agency which she and others have foregrounded. Girl-shaming on social media, I argue, indexes the precariousness of self-authored lives and narratives by young women. Girl-shaming bespeaks an ambivalent form of abjection in which discourses of objectification are coupled with a certain appeal to read "girls" as innocent and cute, as malleable and vulnerable objects. It therefore needs to be understood as an affective aesthetic phenomenon which, through the use of social media, circulates the intensities of misogynistic commodification.

Cute, following Sianne Ngai, can be understood as an aesthetic category that tracks the effects of capitalism on our rhetorical judgments of objects, from art to avantgarde to mundane kitsch. In Ngai's understanding, cute, as a modern aesthetic category, epitomizes a "surprisingly wide spectrum of feelings, ranging from tenderness to aggression, that we harbor toward ostensibly subordinate and unthreatening commodities" (Ngai, 2010: 949). Cuteness has affinities with docility and passivity "[s]ince cute things evoke in us a desire to protect them" (ibid, 950). Cute things, according to Ngai, are both up for consumption and in need of protection qua their particular kind of femininity. In this sense, the value judgements placed on "girls" – as in the previous example – are to be understood as judgements of "taste" and "evaluation" (ibid, 955).

Cuteness is a salient category through which Insta-girlhood can be theorized, since it aptly describes certain lifestyle items associated in large part with a carefree and pliable character. Caldeira has argued that Instagram's affective work "compels us to move beyond classically established aesthetic categories such as the beautiful or the sublime by opening spaces for more mundane categories such as the interesting or the cute" (Caldeira 2020: 7). She further suggests that a particular "*Instagrammable aesthetic*, carefully considering lifestyles, experiences, and objects in terms of their visual and aesthetic characteristics, privileging certain contexts as particularly desirable according to their ability to look good on Instagram and attract likes" can be best understood via the aesthetic category of 'cute' (ibid, original emphasis 7). This is certainly true for Instagram as a social media phenomenon. However, the paradox of the medium's dependency on these neoliberal economies of self-promotion and excessive sharing illustrates the prime characteristic of girlhood, namely its focus on the process of "becoming" or "working out how to 'do' womanhood" (Maguire 2018: 7), which "signifies both youth and femininity" (ibid, 6). Linking girlhood and cuteness therefore tracks the commodification and consumption of lives on which social media platforms depend. As Amy Shields Dobson and Anita Harris (2015: 143–144) note, "the display and circulation of hyper-sexualized white, hetero-normative youthful female bodies appear to remain a constant in visual and consumer-oriented cultures," even in a media context ostensibly invested in consuming "real" life.

So, how do feminist art projects on Instagram engage with this notion of cuteness and girl-shaming that is pervasive in social media? And how does this notion of 'cute' fit into the larger context of #MeToo life writing and its consciousness-raising efforts?

3 The #MeToo life writing of the times we're in

I want to illustrate my argument by offering a discussion of two online art projects which respond to the circulation of the Insta-girl. The first – Amalia Ulman's project *Excellences & Perfections* – gained notoriety because it appropriates the narrative of a popular Insta-girl: to gain attraction and enter into conversation with Instagram audiences. The commodified womanhood Ulman performs on her Instagram won her thousands of followers; many sympathetically or admirably related to her Insta-narrative, while others saw it as an outlet for sexist and misogynistic hate speech. Such comments proliferated once it became clear that her Insta-account was deliberately fake (probably well before she started performing the life of a typical Insta-girl) and that her audiences' responses to her posts unknowingly contributed to Ulman's well-crafted ruse. The cuteness Ulman performs is strategic – in the sense of Gayatri Spivak's notion of strategic essentialism – a sociological experiment with the audience's ability to be social on social media. In turn, Noa Jansma's *Dear Catcallers* is a collection of selfies with men who verbally harassed her. By giving her project the subtitle "It is not a compliment" and by performing a stance that Sara Ahmed has termed the "feminist killjoy" (2017: 10), Jansma takes back agency over the discourse surrounding her body, her identity, and her sense of safety in public spaces. Jansma's project has garnered very different responses,

ranging from expressions of solidarity to hate speech. Posting the images of her harassers in seemingly amicable poses has also brought her work in contact with red pill and Incel groups, who criticize her project for what they deem transgressions of the featured men's right to privacy.

Ulman's and Jansma's respective projects are part of a growing archive of #MeToo life writing that facilitates the sharing of personal stories of sexual harassment and sexualized violence as acts of protest and practices of solidarity. In the immediate context of the #MeToo movement, such projects contribute to the continuous efforts of women's rights activists across the demographics to demand an end to sexist and misogynistic treatment of women; to call attention to their vulnerability to sexualized violence and abuse in public and private spaces; to expose sexual predators and demand legal action against them; and to instigate more accountability on the part of those who witness abuse without intervening. The #MeToo movement has rightfully been criticized for its own exclusionary practices, but its circulation in mainstream media and the general public has called attention to issues that had already motivated the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. From the viral traction of the #MeToo movement to #YouOkSis and #ChalkBack, social media platforms have become a successful tool in generating visibility for women's experiences of verbal abuse and sexual harassment. They have become what Abigail de Kosnik and Keith Feldman have termed "hashtags we've been forced to remember" (2019: 1).

The accessible, collaborative, and potentially connective narratives circulating via social media cohere around a shared sense of identity and belonging (cf. Papacharissi 2015; boyd 2014). Susanna Paasonen, for instance, argues that "where the affective, somatic, and the cognitive stick and cohere, resonance helps in understanding online connections and disconnections, proximities and distances between human and non-human bodies" (2020: 51). Which kinds of affective responses they elicit can, of course, not be readily determined but depend on the ideological configurations emerging from the emotional, somatic, or visceral responses between readers, characters, and authors. The well-known example of #nastywoman, which emerged in October 2016 during the U.S. presidential election, is a case in point: On the one hand, users employ this hashtag in acts of feminist resistance and give the idiom of the NastyWoman a positively connoted subversive meaning; on the other hand, users adopt this hashtag as a misogynistic moniker designed to extend the insults initially launched at Hillary Clinton to other women in politics. As examples from January 2019 show, posts with feminist icons and pro-life ideology become conjoined via the same hashtag and therefore document the contentious debates centering on feminist politics. Figures like the NastyWoman are "sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension" (Ahmed 2014: 11) and can therefore mobilize different ideological groups; and what initially started as a feminist social media intervention against misogyny, breaking with the slurs' interpellatory violence by giving it a subversive resignification, eventually became a shorthand for the organization of diametrically opposed political projects (cf. Butler 1997). This adherence of different affective economies to the same sticky figure also documents the micro-aggressions that are part of the misogynistic repertoire of everyday sexism. They are indicative of the same large-scale systemic misogyny

against which social media feminist projects protest. As the by-now robust scholarship on #MeToo illustrates, social media feminisms track the relationship between feminist activism and the subsequent anti-feminist backlash (cf. Boyle; Fileborn and Loney-Howes).

Unlike the above-mentioned projects, *DearCatcallers* and *Excellences & Perfections* are not designed to mobilize publics or engender practices of solidarity. Rather, the individual posts rely mostly on their phatic function alone and do not actively address other victims of catcalling or recipients of hate speech on social media, nor do they link to other consciousness raising projects. In Ulman's project, the deliberate focus on the individual is befitting of the type of "Insta-girlhood" she performs. To a similar extent, Jansma's project's curation of personal accounts also places the focus on Jansma herself, thereby tacitly affirming notions of attractiveness contained within Jansma's persona as a white, cis, able-bodied woman. Both provoke strong reactions from audiences – whose comments (because of the interactive and networked nature of social media) become part of their "story." The hate speech they receive for their projects is symptomatic of the digital economies in which the Insta-girl thrives.

4 Performing strategic cuteness in excellences & perfections

Amalia Ulman's piece, *Excellences & Perfections* (2014), uses Instagram as a conceptual space for the performance of the typical Insta-girl. Her performance of a common Instagram narrative – that of the "pretty girl" who moves to the big city to become a model and who experiences a difficult rite of passage – relies so heavily on recognizable Instagram tropes that audiences immediately believed that her account was real, meaning that Ulman advanced to a popular it-girl and that her lifestyle, relationships, and beauty regime were captured in candid and authentic snaps, 175 to be precise. What audiences did not know initially is that Ulman studied the profiles of influencers and modeled her narrative, iconography, and use of angles and filters after theirs. It is no surprise, then, that she, too, became instantly successful, with over 65,000 followers.

My use of the word 'narrative' to describe Ulman's project is perhaps misleading: It is a performance in three acts, each one distinct in the use of visual iconography to create a certain performance of the life of the fictional character she becomes for the project. In the beginning, she plays the role of the innocent country girl who moved to the city. In this first act, pinks and pastels dominate the array of images, showing luxury items, expensive hotel rooms, playful femininity and a cute Insta-girl with a Lolita look. The first act culminates in Ulman's character's experience of heartbreak, the end of a boy-meets-girl story that also prompts a shift in her identity and self-expression. In Act Two, Ulman's character is depicted as much more edgy, sarcastic, and rough. The color scheme in this creates a dark and sinister atmosphere. The impeccable and airbrushed images of the first act have now been replaced by grainy, sometimes unflattering closeups. Ulman's character is now in a possibly abusive relationship with an older man – her sugar daddy who also paid for her plastic surgery but still makes her feel insecure about her body. This act culminates in a mental break-down, staged via Ulman's character's ab-

sence from Instagram for a while. When she resumes, she informs her followers that she had returned to her family and has discovered yoga and clean living. This cathartic reprise in Act Three is visualized via clean, earthy, and serene shots of her organic lifestyle.

By duping her followers, Ulman challenges their assumptions that Instagram stories depict real lives. As Emma Maguire has argued, “What the piece also does in highlighting the constructed or performative nature of social media, is trouble the idea that images like these are a simple or straightforward documentation of life, but rather that they are highly mediated versions of lives and selves that circulate and reflect meanings about gender, class, and race” (178). Ulman’s performance of the stereotypical Insta-girl – and her audience’s credulity – reaffirmed the practices of digital commodification prevalent on Instagram. The fact that her performance of an “authentic” slice-of-life piece, complete with plot twists and catharsis, elicited such strong reactions can be read as a testimony to her concept and craft as well as her audience’s investment in mediated life narratives. Verbal responses (as opposed to the numbers of likes and emojis her posts received) range from expressions of admiration, offers of friendship, and sympathy to hate speech, disdain, and *Schadenfreude*. Throughout the range of verbal comments, no matter the affective register, there are more or less explicit sexual propositions or expressions of sexual fantasies.

It is the so convincingly executed ability to incite audiences’ reactions, to adopt the aesthetics and choreography of an Insta-girl’s life, and the pretense to be authentic that brought Ulman much acclaim in the art world. Before that, she had already started to gain notoriety within the art world. For instance, in 2013, the internationally renowned Serpentine Galleries in the UK mentioned her on their list of young artists to look out for. This brought her international attention, especially to her social media platforms, via which she had been most visible until that point in time. Establishing her reputation in the international art scene, as she once mentioned in an interview, also meant negotiating the expectations and risks of the art world, especially towards young female artists. Ulman also contended that, as somebody born in Argentina and raised in Spain, getting a footing into the L.A. art scene can be particularly daunting.

Ulmans’ performance of Instagram cuteness draws an interesting connection between the risks of online hate speech and her risks within the artworld. Undoubtedly, these are different kinds of precarity: one financial and existential, the other ideological, but the two are obviously linked, as this lecture series has made clear. What Ulman’s biography indicates is that the late-capitalist demand for excessive online presence informs the digital economies of arts, such as the Insta-girl. At the same time, by appropriating a widely accessible medium such as Instagram and mimicking the prevalent sharing (some may say oversharing) of self-generated content, the long-held question of what actually constitutes art is revisited. In the field of life writing studies, Laurie McNeill has astutely argued that social media facilitate productive spaces for self-curation, not only of oneself but of one’s favorite things. Ulman intervenes into canonical spaces of contemporary art by re-inventing something so mundane as the Insta-girl as a subversive figure with a clear political message.

5 DearCatcallers and the affective aesthetics of the feminist killjoy

@DearCatcallers is an Instapage created by award-winning artist Noa Jansma to showcase the extent, range, and frequency of catcalling she received, all of which were presumably intended as compliments on her body, sexuality, and femininity. For an entire month (September 2017), she posed with her catcallers and posted the resulting selfies accompanied by verbatim quotes of the things they had allegedly said to her. The project's subtitle, "It's not a compliment," puts the various quips she received into perspective by emphasizing the malign intent of any form of public harassment. Through Twitter, #DearCatcallers went viral instantly: Over 300,000 people actively followed it; some posts, like one with three construction workers, received over 6400 likes and almost 800 comments. The project, which officially closed at the end of September 2017, lives on in many forms, including solo photo exhibitions, interviews, and Ted talk appearances. Among other accolades, it brought her the Dutch Gouden Kalf Beste Interactive in 2018.

While her project is designed to turn the public sphere into a safer space for women, the virtual world in which it circulates is anything but that. This has to do with the confrontational nature of her project, but it is also due to networked interactivity, which, according to Laurie McNeil and John David Zuern, relies on a "many-to-many structure, with a range of participants being private in public" (2015: xi). In the case of Jansma's project, what mobilizes these publics are the various affective economies bearing on the issue of sexism, women's rights, and gender discrimination at large. Jansma's project received three distinct kinds of responses: posts which partake in her outrage against everyday sexism; hate speech in the form of slut-shaming and rape threats directed at her; and posts which mildly side with the catcallers, suggesting they are being unjustly exposed on her Instapage. All three groups coalesce around shared feelings of empowerment, threat, or pity, respectively, as well as the affective economies of these communities and their spontaneous formation via social media.

Certainly, Jansma's project is borne out of feminist consciousness raising, but among the responses its interactive nature invites, it also features sexist hate speech. Such posts cite political correctness and genderism as oppressive interventions of a liberal social elite, and the proponents of such ideology use Jansma's platform to protest what they think of as anti-male discrimination. To groups that oppose equal rights initiatives, Jansma's project epitomizes the "norms of the dominant culture" (Warner 2002: 80), which they feel unfairly censors them. What was intended as a contribution to dismantle sexual harassment now circulates in forums where the verbal abuse Jansma first encountered is not only repeated but oftentimes grossly upstaged, probably precisely because she went public with the private. In her 2018 project *DearHaters*, Jansma published the conversations @DearCatcallers inspired and notes that 75% of them are hate speech. With these comments as a backdrop, Jansma's selfies with the catcallers center on her assertion of agency in the face of objectification.

In all of the posts, Jansma displays a similar demeanor: annoyed, frustrated, yet determined, focused, and confrontational. Her demeanor, especially in contrast to the bemused, arrogant, or giddy expressions of her catcallers, conjures up a feeling

of disgust: Too often the catcallers stand very close to her, at times within an arm's length or less, and while she deliberately stages the scenes, her overall expression is one of discomfort and suspicion. At the same time, her posts suggest a successful confrontation with the perpetrators of sexual harassment and a re-framing of the moment of attack on her own terms. Showcasing her own victimization lends her heroic qualities – so that the victim/hero dichotomy she embodies can become a potential ground for identifying with her audience.

Together with her control over the image (and perhaps by extension the situation), her unamused but determined gaze serves as a commentary to the laughter and ridicule most of the men in her selfies express. Jansma's refusal to partake in their humor and just laugh it off exemplifies a feminist resistance strategy that Sara Ahmed terms the "feminist killjoy" (2017: 10), a deliberate rupture with the bemusement initiated by racist or sexist comments. Being a feminist killjoy, in Ahmed's theorization of feminist resistance to hegemonic forms of oppression, means taking a stance against majority-condoned actions, in public and private spaces, during committee work and at the family dinner table. Through her non-compliance, Jansma's feminist killjoy pose underscores the gravity of misogyny and other forms of systemic violence against women.

While Ulman's project deliberately stages cuteness as a means of adapting the aesthetics of the Insta-girl, Jansma breaks with the Insta-girl trope, in order to reflect back at misogyny, by refusing to express shame, delight, or amusement in response to these forms of public harassment, masked behind jovial banter and good-natured humor. Her resistance is precisely what kills the joke – but, as most of her images of grinning catcallers imply – not the joy. In contrast, Ulman's strategic performance of an Insta-girl persona first lures audiences into a staged spectacle of girlhood, only to later disclose the ruse of authenticity.

6 Conclusion

The inherent risk of these (and I am sure other) art projects on Instagram is that they traffic in what Lauren Berlant has termed "good-life fantasies" (2011: 15) founded in a "cruel optimism" (ibid). The cruelty of these attachments lies in the fact that their promise of a good life ropes us in and strings us along, as we perpetuate the very conditions that systemically make a good life impossible. Berlant's observations about optimism's cruelty attends to "fraying fantasies" of "upward mobility, job security, political and social equality, and lively, durable intimacy" (ibid, 3). The affective economies of social media depend to a large degree on these cruel optimistic attachments to the things that put us down in the first place. As Berlant astutely argues: "Cruel Optimism turns toward thinking about the ordinary as an impasse shaped by crisis in which people themselves develop skills for adjusting to newly proliferating pressures to scramble for modes of living on" (ibid, 8). With Instagram and other forms of social media, the promise resides in their technical capacity to bring people into contact, a capacity we have all relied on to a large degree during the COVID-19 pandemic. And even beyond that, social media's role in mobilizing publics is uncontested – thinking of the Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo movements, among many other consciousness-raising and activist pro-

jects through which we will probably remember the times we're in. (As an aside, I am also thinking of the #IchBinHanna movement and the expressions of solidarity, collective rage, and community building we are currently witnessing in Germany).

Nevertheless, the very economy of constant self-promotion, on which the "social" in social media is predicated, reifies the very neo-liberal dynamics of competition and judgment that have shaped our perception of ourselves and the world around us. Cuteness, recalling Sianne Ngai's definition, is particularly equipped to index the excessive dependency on consumption, protection, and destruction. The tension between these affective attachments is indicative of the cruel optimistic lore that the 'cute' promises – to those who perform it and to those who label these performances within larger contexts of art's aesthetic affective potential. Cuteness is, of course, an invented category shaped by its own internal hegemonies, and a highly formulaic one, as Ulman's project has shown. To employ this category successfully, therefore, also reproduces these hegemonies or, at least, tacitly reaffirms them through continuous and uncritical circulation. The digital economies Ulman and Jansma employ further embody social media's role of what Jasbir Puar has termed "recapacitation machine" (2017: 10). Puar contends that the stunning success of the It Gets Better campaign, designed to inspire queer youth, normalizes predominantly white, liberal and male queer identities and assemblages but thereby "ultimately partakes in [the] slow death" (ibid) of other queer identities and communities for whom it does not get better. Puar suggests that the IGB's cultivation of individual resilience, rather than focusing on the systemic violence against queer and trans folks, also tacitly places blame on individuals who failed at getting better. The same pressure to out-perform one's haters is also an issue for Ulman's and Jansma's respective projects. Within the logic of misogyny, to borrow Kate Manne's book title (2017), harassment still registers a response to women's behavior in public, thinking back on the "girls" on their iPhones at the beginning of my essay. Or, in the case of sexual harassment, as long as the questions as to what she wore, said, or really wanted when she said no are posed/exist, the blame sits with the victim. The cuteness of the Insta-girl cannot exist outside of capitalist interpellation, and celebrating its agential potential is a cruel optimistic fantasy, but perhaps one which is necessary, as we navigate the many iterations of neo-liberal risks.

Bibliography

- Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2014). *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Caldeira, S. P., De Ridder, S. and Van Bauwel, S. (2020). Between the Mundane and the Political: Women's Self-Representations on Instagram. *Social Media and Society* 6(3), 1-14.
- Berlant, L. (2011). *Cruel Optimism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- boyd, d. (2014). *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Boyle, K. (2019). *#MeToo, Weinstein, and Feminism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Fileborn, B. and Loney-Howes, R. (eds.) (2019). *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- de Kosnik, A. and Feldman, K. (2019). Introduction: The Hashtags we've Been Forced to Remember. In A. de Kosnik and K. Feldman (eds.). *#Identity: Hashtagging, Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nation*, 1-19. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Dobson, A. S. and Harris, A. (2015). Post-Girlpower: Globalized Mediated Femininities. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 29(2), 143-144.
- Friedman, M. and Schultermandl, S. (eds.) (2016). *Click and Kin: Transnational Identity and Quick Media*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Jansma, N. *DearCatcallers: It's not a compliment*. Available from: <https://www.instagram.com/dearcatcallers/?hl=en> [Accessed: October 14th, 2022].
- Jansma, N. (2018). *DearHaters*. Available from: <https://www.noajansma.com/dearhaters> [Accessed: October 14th, 2022].
- Maguire, E. (2018). *Girls, Autobiography, Media: Gender and Self-Mediation in Digital Economies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Manne, K. (2017). *Down Girl: The Logics of Misogyny*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McNeill, L. (2013). Digital Dioramas: Curating Life Narratives on the World Wide Web. Paper presented at the *MLA Conference*, January 3rd-6th, 2013, Boston, Massachusetts.
- McNeill, L. and Zuern, J. D. (2015). Online Lives 2.0: Introduction. *Biography* 38(2), v-xlvi.
- Ngai, S. (2010). Our Aesthetic Categories. *PMLA* 125(4), 948-958.
- Ngai, S. (2005) *Ugly Feelings*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Paasonen, S. (2020). Resonant Networks: On Affect and Social Media. In A. Fleig and von C. Scheve (eds.). *Public Spheres of Resonance: Constellations of Affect and Language*, 49-62. London and New York: Routledge.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Puar, J. (2017). *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Poletti, A. (2020). *Stories of the Self: Life Writing after the Book*. New York: New York University Press.
- Schultermandl, S., Aresin, J., Whybrew, S. S. P. and Simic, D. (eds.). (2020). *Affective Worldmaking: Narrative Counterpublics of Gender and Sexuality*. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript.
- Smith, S. and Watson, J. (1996). Introduction. In S. Smith and J. Watson (eds.). *Getting a Life: Everyday Uses of Autobiography*, 1-24. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ulman, A. (2014). *Excellences & Perfections*. 2014. Available from: <https://www.newmuseum.org/exhibitions/view/amalia-ulman-excellences-perfections> [Accessed: October 14th, 2022].
- Warner, M. (2002). Publics and Counterpublics. *Public Culture* 14(1), 49-90.
- Whitlock, G. and Poletti, A. (2008). Self-Regarding Art. In G. Whitlock and A. Poletti (eds.). *Autographics*, v-xxiii, special issue of *Biography* 31(1).

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND GENDER DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: ON THE POPULIST FEATURES OF METAPHOR USE

Liudmila Arcimavičienė
Vilnius University, Faculty of Philology
liudmila.arcimaviciene@flf.vu.lt

This study aims to show how different political leaders combine metaphor use with the populist sentiment in their response to the COVID-19 pandemic. To analyse the populist nature of the recurrent metaphor use, 17 leaders' national lockdown speeches from different countries were collected and analysed within the theoretical framework of critical metaphor studies and frame semantics. Procedurally, metaphors in the collected speeches were identified by applying Pragglejaz Group's MIP (2007) and coded into thematic categories via NVivo 12.0. Overall, four thematic codes (470 metaphorical expressions) were established, and their content analysis has demonstrated specific differences in the leadership style with regard to populism. It has been clarified that the male political leaders tend to prioritise the arousal of negative emotions discursively expressed through the antagonism between the collective Self and the collective Other (the virus), and a heightened sense of unpredictable (economic) future. By contrast, the female political leaders overwhelmingly focused on their affinity with the collective Self in the context of social accountability and mutual trust.

Keywords: political discourse, metaphor, populism, lockdown speeches, COVID-19 pandemic, gender

ПОЛИТИЧКОТО ЛИДЕРСТВО И ПОЛОТ ЗА ВРЕМЕ НА ПАНДЕМИЈАТА НА КОВИД-19: ПОПУЛИСТИЧКИТЕ ОДЛИКИ НА МЕТАФОРИТЕ

Људмила Арчимавичиене
Вилнус Универзитет, Филолошки факултет
liudmila.arcimaviciene@flf.vu.lt

Ова истражување има цел да покаже како различните политички лидери ја комбинираат употребата на метафорите со популистичкиот сентимент во нивниот однос кон пандемијата на КОВИД-19. За да се анализира популистичката природа на повторливата употреба на метафорите, беа собрани и анализирани говори на 17 политички лидери од различни земји, во кои најавуваат воведување карантин, во рамките на теоријата за критички проучувања на метафората и на семантичките рамки. Процедурално, првин беа идентификувани метафорите во собраните говори со употреба на процедурата за идентификување метафори (ПИМ) на Праглџез груп (2007) и потоа беа кодирани во тематски категории со NVivo 12.0. Во целина, беа утврдени четири тематски групи (470 метафорични изрази), а содржинската анализа покажа специфични разлики во стилот на лидерите во однос на популизмот. Она што произлезе од истражувањето е дека машките политички лидери го фаворизираат подигањето на негативните емоции дискурзивно изразени преку антагонизмот меѓу колективното „јас“ и „другиот“ (вирусот), и зголеменото чувство за непредвидливата (економска) иднина. Од друга страна, пак, женските политички лидери премногу се фокусираат на својот афинитет за колективното „јас“ во контекст на општествената одговорност и на споделената доверба.

Клучни зборови: политички дискурс, метафора, популизам, говори за воведување карантин, пандемија на КОВИД-19, пол

1 Introduction

In discourse studies, the analysis of the intricate relationship of power and subjectivity has been particularly emphasized (Angermüller et al. 2014; Fairclough 2013). The complex nature of this relationship is best illustrated by the analysis of political discourse practices and their ideological restructurings (Fairclough 2001). In Fairclough's (2013) view of discourse, meaning is a product of social practice and is dependent on the social context, while meaning in political discourse is particularly complemented by an expression of power relations, conflict and dominance (Wilson 2015). Despite the fact that there are numerous discourse mechanisms of how power relations can be manifested, conceptual metaphor has been particularly acknowledged for activation of the unconscious meaning (Lakoff 2012) and emotionally appeal to the system of shared values and beliefs (Charteris-Black 2017; Musolff 2016; Breeze 2020).

The importance of the ideological nature of metaphor has been emphasized within the cognitive studies of metaphor in critical discourse studies (Chilton 2004; Charteris-Black 2011). The power of metaphor lies within its capacity to operate at the levels of language, ideology and power in political discourse (Breeze 2020; Musolff 2016 2021). As a cognitive mechanism (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 2012), metaphor can shape, reinforce, remodel various public perceptions, when used in specific social and political contexts. In political discourse, the ideological power of metaphor (Musolff 2016; Breeze 2020) is identified in its narrative structure that offers evaluation and always expresses emotions, also known as the persuasive power of metaphor (Charteris-Black 2011).

The current study focuses on the populist features of gender-related metaphor use in the first national lockdown addresses delivered by seventeen political leaders during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. This genre of political discourse has been purposefully chosen for its binary ideological nature, namely political leaders' attempt 1) to unite the nation in the face of the pandemic, and 2) to legitimise their national public health strategy curtailing certain individual freedoms of movement and choice. To analyse the ideological nature of political metaphor, it has been aimed to identify, evaluate and compare populist features of metaphor use between male and female political leaders.

As based on the psychological insights and the ongoing research about the discursive nature of populism (Mudde 2016, Macaulay 2019, Palaver 2019), it has been hypothesized that political leaders will use metaphorically expressed populist political symbols (Laclau 2005) aimed to create a sense of belonging and national unity in the time of crisis. To test this hypothesis, the following research questions have been raised: (1) What are the populist features of metaphor use in the collected data sample? (2) What are the gender-related aspects of the metaphorical production of populism in the delivered national lockdown speeches?

To address these issues, the paper is structured in the following way. In the rest of this paper some of the literature on the nature of populism and political metaphor during the COVID-19 pandemic is outlined. Then data and methods are introduced, and the most recurrent types of populism metaphor use by male and female political

leaders are overviewed. Finally, the ideological nature of populist metaphor use is reflected on.

2 Populism and Metaphor

Despite the fact that populism remains a contested concept, its analysis in political discourse has received close attention in both social sciences and humanities. It has been established that populism can be realised through the narrative construal of the ‘people’ (Mudde 2016) as an “undivided whole” (Macaulay 2019: 6), politicians’ leadership style and their ideological positioning to the collective identity, and antagonism of the collective ‘Self’ to the collective ‘Other’ (Wodak 2015; Palaver 2019). The concept of populism is viewed here as a discursive representation of a thin-centred ideology (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2018) that is centred on the topics of popular sovereignty, pure people, corrupt elite, and dangerous others (Engesser et al. 2017) with different contextual targeting.

Ideological antagonism has become a noticeable trend in public and political discourse during the migration crisis in 2015, with politicians spreading the ideas of Euroscepticism and populism and raising the sentiment of unpredictable, uncertain and fearful changes (Wodak 2021). The Eurosceptic and nationalist attitudes are deeper entrenched with Donald Trump becoming the U.S. president and the Brexit referendum in 2016 (Inglehart & Norris 2016).

In populist discourse, political leaders’ narrative for the collective Self is generally constructed around the concepts of the “native people” (Mudde 2016), “national pride”, “sacred past”, “nostalgia for the glorious past” (Mudde 2016; Pető 2017; Elçi 2022). By contrast, the collective ‘Other’ is given a role of ‘invaders’ or ‘enemies’ challenging and bringing chaos to the ‘established social order’ (Mudde 2016, Wodak 2015; 2021). Such populist attempts by political leaders are accompanied by the arousal of negative emotions that stimulate social division and polarisation.

As based on the above studies of populist features in political leaders’ narrative, the following four concepts were taken into account while analysing the identified metaphorical expressions, namely (1) collective identity of the ‘Self’ (Wodak 2015, Palaver 2019), (2) collective identity of the ‘Other’ (Wodak 2015; Palaver 2019), (3) antagonism (Macaulay 2019; Mude 2016; Mudde & Kaltwasser 2018) and (4) uncertainty (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2018). The construal of these concepts is identified through the ideological underpinnings of the linguistic metaphorical expressions derived from the representative source domains.

3 Political Metaphor during the COVID-19 Pandemic

In this study, political metaphor is viewed as a linguistically realised cognitive mechanism that, due to its ideological function, results in high level of persuasiveness (Charteris-Black 2011, Musolff 2021). The ideological effects of metaphor use are reflected in the most recurrent metaphorical linguistic patterns (Goatly 2007) that are driven by specific conceptualisations (i.e., source domains of the conceptual metaphor). In addition to their ideological nature, the persuasiveness of

metaphors in political discourse is explained by their created sense of familiarity and emotional appeal (Mio 1997). In most cases, political leaders' use metaphors to legitimise their stance (Tyler 2006) and raise their credibility in the public eye.

The metaphorical construal of the COVID-19 pandemic in political discourse is mostly recognized for its military narrative. The study of the WAR political metaphor has pointed out to such ideological functions as national mobilisation against a common threat and the maintenance of collective morale (Seixas 2020). The military narrative evoked by the WAR metaphor has allowed political leaders to legitimise the national lockdown measures in the time of public health crisis at the expense of individual losses (Bhaumik et al. 2020). Despite its legitimisation narrative, the WAR metaphor has been also viewed as more controversial and counter-productive in political discourse (Semino 2021, Panzeri et al. 2021, Wicke & Bolognesi 2020).

In addition to the military framing, public political discourse has been discursively enacted by spatial metaphors. The ideological use of the CONTAINMENT, MOVEMENT IN SPACE, CENTRE/PERIPHERY metaphors has been linked to the psychological phase of denial of how critical to public health the current situation is (Kremer 2020). According to Charteris-Black (2021), the metaphor of Containers As Bounded Spaces has become a symbol of the COVID-19 pandemic, representing government attempts to literally create spatial separation with its metaphorical extension to social relationships. At the same time, the CONTAINER metaphor, can be ideologically positive, when people perceive an idea of containment within the spatial bounds of their own home as integral and self-reliant to their own being (Craig 2020).

Despite certain positive entrenchment by the WAR and CONTAINMENT metaphors, the militarised perspective to the pandemic of 2020 has contributed to ideological polarisation within societies worldwide. The current study will focus on the prevalent metaphor use by male and female political leaders in their first national lockdown speeches, with the main aim to identify gender-specific characteristics of the populist sentiment. As indicated above, the populist sentiment is expressed through the following concepts of 1) the collective 'Self', 2) the collective 'Other', 3) antagonism, and 4) uncertainty.

4 Research Procedure

Seventeen political leaders were selected for this study: eleven male and six female for the purposes of comparison. The sample was designed to include as many political leaders as possible, representing different countries and different political regimes. All of the selected leaders delivered their first national addresses to announce a national lockdown during the pandemic in 2020 (February-April). More specific detail about the collected data sample is provided in the chronological order below.

Table 1. Research data

| Nr | Speaker | Timeline | Word count |
|----|--|------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | CN President Xi Jinping | February 3, 2020 | 4625 |
| 2 | US President Donald Trump | March 11, 2020 | 1296 |
| 3 | AU Prime Minister Scott Morrison | March 12, 2020 | 612 |
| 4 | LT President Gitanas Nausėda | March 15, 2020 | 416 |
| 5 | CA Prime Minister Justin Trudeau | March 16, 2020 | 1204 |
| 6 | AR President Alberto Fernández | March 19, 2020 | 1732 |
| 7 | GR Chancellor Angela Merkel | March 19, 2020 | 1746 |
| 8 | SE Prime Minister Stefan Löfven | March 22, 2020 | 740 |
| 9 | UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson | March 23, 2020 | 898 |
| 10 | NZ Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern | March 23, 2020 | 4655 |
| 11 | SC Prime Minister Nicola Sturgeon | March 23, 2020 | 1059 |
| 12 | IN Prime Minister Narendra Modi | March 24, 2020 | 1866 |
| 13 | RU President Vladimir Putin | March 25, 2020 | 2087 |
| 14 | EU President Ursula von der Leyen | March 26, 2020 | 2285 |
| 15 | UKR President Volodymyr Zelenskyy | April 1, 2020 | 999 |
| 16 | <i>Queen Elizabeth II</i> | April 5, 2020 | 525 |
| 17 | FI Prime Minister Sanna Marin | April 29, 2020 | 1590 |
| | | | Total 28, 335 |

The national lockdown speeches were delivered in the time period of three months (February-April) in 2020 by sixteen political leaders representing such countries as the US (President Donald Trump), the Russian Federation (President Vladimir Putin), Lithuania (President Gitanas Nausėda), the UK (Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Queen Elizabeth), China (President Xi Jinping), India (Prime Minister Narendra Modi), Sweden (Prime Minister Stefan Löfven), Ukraine (President Volodymyr Zelenskyy), Canada (Prime Minister Justin Trudeau), Australia (Prime Minister Scott Morrison), Argentina (President Alberto Fernández), the EU (President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen), New Zealand (Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern), Finland (Prime Minister Sanna Marin), Scotland (Prime Minister Nicola Sturgeon), and Germany (Chancellor Angela Merkel). Due to the lower number of the speeches by the female leaders, the national address by the Queen Elizabeth II was also added to the list. Besides, the speech by the Queen Elizabeth II was delivered during the period of time (i.e., April 5, 2020), when most of the first lockdown speeches were announced by the national leaders, i.e., the period of three months from February to April in 2020.

The sample was collected by following two main criteria: (1) genre – all the speeches are the first national lockdown addresses; (2) time span – all the speeches were delivered during the months of February, March and April in 2020. The coding of the speeches was carried out in the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 12.0 by procedurally implementing MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007). More specifically, a three-step procedure was followed. First, metaphorical patterns in

the collected data were identified. The metaphor analysis was carried out within the framework of two theoretical approaches to metaphor: (1) cognitive perspective or metaphor as thought-based (Fillmore 1982; Gibbs 1992; Lakoff & Johnson 1980 1999; Kövecses 2017); (2) discourse perspective or metaphor as discourse-based (Cameron 2013; Goatly 2007; Charteris-Black 2011; Musolff 2016).

Both perspectives on metaphor analysis are closely intertwined and complement each other, as the discourse-based view is inspired by the cognitive view and emphasizes the need for “the importance of the metaphorical use of language in context” (Cameron 2013: 342). Within the critical approach to metaphor use, the metaphorical expressions were deconstructed into their representative source domains. The most prevalent source domains were compared by politicians’ gender in terms of their populist features, namely the following references to (1) the collective identity of the ‘Self’/ ‘the people’, (2) the collective ‘Other’, (3) antagonism, (4) uncertainty.

The content analysis of metaphor use was carried out via NVivo 12.0, whereby all the speeches were coded, and compared in terms of coded references (i.e., the overall frequency of metaphorical instances per speaker). In addition, frequency lists were generated and considered for each political leader.

5 Results

Before moving on to the findings of the content analysis of the prevalent metaphor use, frequency word lists for all political leaders with minimum length of three and five letters were generated and considered as a starting point to overview general reference trends. The frequency lists help to identify recurrent words and their possible role in meaning construction, as indicated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Word frequency lists by speakers’ gender

| | Political leaders | WF lists (min. 3) | WF lists (min. 5) |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| FEMALE | | | |
| GR | Angela Merkel | Now (11) | Everyone (7) |
| | | Also (9) | Government (7) |
| | | One (9) | Virus (6) |
| | | Everyone (7) | Every (5) |
| | | Government (7) | Everything (5) |
| NZ | Jacinda Ardern | New (19) | Essential (13) |
| | | Now (17) | Level (12) |
| | | Essential (13) | Covid (11) |
| | | Level (12) | Cases (10) |
| | | Covid (5) | Services (9) |

| | | | |
|----|----------------------|--|--|
| UK | Queen Elizabeth | Many (4) Children (3) Come (3) Time (3) Together (3) | Children (3) Together (3) Across (2) Country (2) Disruption (2) |
| FI | Sanna Marin | Crisis (17) Measures (17) Finland (14) Also (13) Government (13) | Crisis (17) Measures (17) Finland (14) Government (13) Situation (13) |
| EU | Ursula von der Leyen | Europe (27) European (13) Help (9) Must (9) Lives (8) | Europe (27) European (13) Lives (8) Member (8) People (8) |
| SC | Nicola Sturgeon | Essential (11) Now (6) People (6) Enforcement (5) Must (5) | Essential (11) People (6) Enforcement (5) Advice (6) Health (5) |

| | Political leaders | WF lists (min. 3) | WF lists (min. 5) |
|-------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| MALE | | | |
| AR | Alberto Fernandez | Health (13) Face (8) Need (8) Value (8) Contagion (7) | Health (13) Value (8) Contagion (7) Lives (7) People (7) |
| UK | Boris Johnson | People (10) Home (9) Lives (5) Many (5) HNS (5) | People (10) Lives (5) Disease (4) Including (4) Coronavirus (3) |
| US | Donald Trump | Virus (14) Health (10) Americans (9) Actions (7) Take (7) | Virus (14) Health (10) Americans (9) Action (7) States (6) |
| LT | Gitanas Nausėda | Lithuanian (7) Own (7) Today (6) Our (4) However (4) | Lithuanian (7) Today (6) However (4) Actions (4) Lithuania (3) |

| | | | |
|----|----------------|---|---|
| CA | Justin Trudeau | Health (13) Canada (11) Canadians (11) Time (8) Keep (7) | Health (13) Canada (11) Canadians (11) Canadian (6) French (6) |
| IN | Narendra Modi | Days (15) Corona (14) Friends (14) People (13) Countries (12) | Corona (14) Friends (14) People (13) Countries (12) Country (11) |
| AU | Scott Morrison | Australia (9) Australians (8) Health (7) Virus (7) Now (5) | Australia (9) Australians (8) Health (7) Virus (7) Support (4) |
| SE | Stefan Lofven | People (9) Responsibility (7) Everyone (6) Society (6) Also (5) | People (9) Responsibility (7) Everyone (6) Society (6) Beings (5) |
| RU | Vladimir Putin | For (30) People (20) What (19) Russia (18) Now (17) | People (20) Russia (18) Momentarily (17) Support (14) Situation (13) |

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| UKR | Volodymyr Zelenskyy | Ukraine (12) | Ukraine (12) |
| | | Also (8) | Citizens (7) |
| | | Citizens (7) | People (7) |
| | | People (7) | Coronavirus (5) |
| | | Coronavirus (5) | Thank (5) |
| CN | Xi Jinping | Epidemic (85) | Epidemic (85) |
| | | Control (76) | Control (76) |
| | | Prevention (67) | Prevention (67) |
| | | Necessary (37) | Necessary (37) |
| | | Must (36) | Strengthen (30) |

As indicated above, the reference to “people” is found in two female political leaders’ speeches - Ursula von der Leyen’s Nicola Sturgeon’s, and six male speakers (i.e., Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Vladimir Putin, Stefan Lofven, Narendra Modi, Boris Johnson and Alberto Fernandez). A patriotic sentiment to the collective Self is also enacted to such references as “Australians” (Scott Morrison), “Americans” (Donald Trump), “Canadians” (Justin Trudeau), “Lithuanian/s” (Gitanas Nausėda). It should also be noted that the collective identity has been expressed by both genders via the specific reference to their country.

With regard to metaphors, four most recurrent source domains (i.e., thematic metaphorically used fields by both male and female political leaders) with their populist features were identified and analysed in terms of their content of use, as summarised below.

Table 3. Gender recurrent metaphor use and their populist features

| Source domain | Male CR | Populist categories | Female CR | Populism categories |
|---------------|------------|--|------------|---|
| 1. WAR | 116 | The collective ‘Other’ Antagonism | 32 | The collective ‘Self’ |
| 2. MOVEMENT | 113 | Uncertainty | 87 | The collective ‘Self’ |
| 3. THREAT | 47 | Uncertainty Antagonism | 19 | The collective ‘Self’ |
| 4. ONENESS | 29 | The collective ‘Self’ Antagonism | 27 | The collective ‘Self’ |
| Total | 305 | (1) The collective identity of the ‘people’ (2) The collective ‘Other’ (3) Antagonism (4) Uncertainty | 165 | (1) The collective identity of the ‘people’ |

It has been determined that all political leaders, while discussing their national health policy and lockdown measures, relied on the metaphors of WAR (116 coding references or CR for the male use and 32 CR for the female use), MOVEMENT (113 CR for the male and 87 CR for the female), THREAT (47 CR for the male 19 for the female), and ONENESS (29 for the male and 27 for the female). The content analysis of the identified metaphor use has demonstrated marked differences in their leadership styles with regard to populism. Gender-related aspects of each of these metaphors will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

5.1 The WAR metaphor

The ideological role of the WAR metaphor in both male and female political leaders' first lockdown speeches is undeniably that of mobilising the collective morale during the pandemic and ascertaining national readiness to face the challenges posed by the pandemic. Nonetheless, there is an ideological divide between the two genders in terms of how populist those mobilisation messages are. In the case of the male political leaders, they discursively enact the mobilisation image-schema and reduce it to as simple "us vs. virus-as-enemy" dispute. By doing so, male political leaders legitimise lockdown measures in their fight against the collective enemy, e.g.:

WAR (MALE)

- (1) *It's a battle against an invisible enemy to save lives/ We're going to mobilise all our forces as an Argentine community/ Coronavirus attacks us all (Aberto Fernandez, 15 references). <> To fight the disease/ But in this fight we can be in no doubt that each and every one of us is directly enlisted (Boris Johnson, 7 references). <> And if you know someone who is working on the frontlines (Justine Trudeau, 2 references). <> The ray of hope to combat Corona/ I am confident that every Indian will not only successfully fight this difficult situation but also emerge victorious (Narendra Modi, 6 references). <> The example of a successful and timely fight against the virus (Gitanas Nausėda, 3 references). <> We have mobilised all the capabilities and resources for deploying a system of timely prevention and treatment (Vladimir Putin, 10 references). <> To confront a foreign virus in modern history/ we'll ultimately and expeditiously defeat this virus (Donald Trump, 12 references). <> Joint preparation for the operational deployment of mobile hospitals (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, 8 references). <> The people's war for epidemic prevention and control was launched/ resolutely win the fight against the epidemic (Xi Jinping, 52 references). <> Targeted local recovery plans (Scott Morrison, 1 reference).*

ENEMY/KILLER (MALE)

- (2) *The virus will not have a chance against us (Donald Trump, 2 references)/ But we must not forget that in addition to fighting the invisible enemy, we*

*have a war in eastern Ukraine (Volodymyr Zelenskyy, 2 references)/ the devastating impact of this **invisible killer** (Boris Johnson, 2 references).*

The WAR metaphor in male political leaders' national lockdown speeches has recurrent populist features discursively realised together with the all-inclusive "we" (see underlined expressions in (1)), as "Coronavirus attacks us all" (Alberto Fernandez), "each and every one of us is directly enlisted" (Boris Johnson) and leaders' appeal to a "people" (De Cleen & Stavrakakis 2017) defined on the level of the nation-state, as in "an Argentine community" (Alberto Fernandez), "every Indian" (Narendra Modi), "people's war" (Xi Jinping). Less explicit populist rhetoric is observed in the ideological purpose of the WAR metaphor used by male political leaders, who implicitly describe it as their national threat (e.g., Donald Trump's "foreign virus"), enemy or a killer, as in (2).

By contrast, female leaders tend to use the WAR metaphor in its more generic meaning without any specific ideological features by recurrently using the "fight" metaphorical expressions, as in (3).

WAR (FEMALE)

- (3) *I want to pay tribute to the women and men **leading that fight** (Ursula von der Leyen, 8 references) <> **Fight** this virus (Nicola Sturgeon, 1 reference) <> Alongside the controlled **dismantling** of restrictive measures (Sanna Marin, 2 references) <> **Frontline** (Queen Elisabeth II) <> In the **fight** against COVID-19/ will help give our healthcare system a **fighting** chance (Jacinda Ardern, 14 references) <> The most effective means of **combating** the virus spreading too quickly/ at the **forefront** of this struggle (Angela Merkel, 5 references).*

The analysis of the WAR metaphor in political leaders' public announcements also supports Charteris-Black (2021) and Mussolf's (2022) ideas about its legitimization purposes. In most cases, both male and female leaders used this metaphorical projection to rally support for the national health policy during the pandemic. However, in the context of the collective mobilisation only male political leaders raised a populist sentiment through antagonising and othering a virus (1 and 2).

5.2 The MOVEMENT metaphor

Despite the fact that the MOVEMENT metaphor semantically activates an image-schema of action and change (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), male political leaders use this metaphor with the populist intention of emotional appeal to uncertainty. This is done by their emphasis of how unpredictable the virus and its projection on the economic consequences are:

MOVEMENT (MALE)

- (4) *The Coronavirus pandemic is **expanding at tremendous speed** in many countries/Reducing the **speed** of contagion/ We will discourage people from jumping into their cars and **circulating** (Alberto Fernández, 10 references). So it's vital to **slow** the spread of the disease/ We are*

accelerating our search for treatments (Boris Johnson, 6 references). Covid-19 **spread** around the world at an even **faster pace**/ The economic impact of this pandemic is **shifting** hourly/ We can still **slow the spread** of this virus (Justin Trudeau, 8 references). The Coronavirus is **spreading** at such a **rapid pace**/ Citizen of these countries have fully adhered to the government rules and hence, these countries now are **heading towards overcoming** this pandemic (Narendra Modi, 11 references). The quick **spread** of this disease/ reduce the **speed** (Vladimir Putin, 8 references). This virus **began** in China/And as our economy **bounces back** (Scott Morrison, 4 references). The infection is **spreading** in Sweden/ to prevent the **spread** of infection (Stefan Löfven, 5 references). Testing and testing capabilities are **expanding rapidly**/We made a **life-saving move** with early action on China (Donald Trump, 10 references). We are working to **provide space** for the mandatory observation of Ukrainian citizens/ But sooner or later coronavirus will **pass** and the quarantine will **end** (Vlodymyr Zelenskyy, 4 references). We fundamentally **reverse the spread** of the epidemic across the country as quickly as possible/ the **route** of transmission/ It is necessary to **accelerate** the release of emerging consumption potential/ **drive** the consumption of 5G mobile phones and other terminals (Xi Jinping, 38 references).

As seen from the examples above, male political leaders use the MOVEMENT metaphor in the context of changes that can be both negative and positive. The negative meaning is implied by the use of such metaphorical expressions as “pandemic is **expanding at tremendous speed**”, “**reducing the speed**” (Alberto Fernández), “it’s vital to **slow the spread** of the disease” (Boris Johnson), “Coronavirus is **spreading at such a rapid pace**” (Narendra Modi), “the **quick spread** of this disease” (Vladimir Putin) etc. In these examples, the use of the MOVEMENT metaphor evokes a semantic frame of unpredictability caused by the spread of the virus that cannot be externally controlled.

By comparison, a positive change is implied when this metaphor is used by male political leaders in the economic context to imply possible positive economic changes, as in “**accelerate** <...> the consumption” (Xi Jinping), “our economy **bounces back**” (Scott Morrison) or political decision-making, as in “we made a life-saving **move** <...> on China” (Donald Trump), “we are working to **provide space** for mandatory observation” (Volodymyr Zelenskyy).

As opposed to their male counterparts, the female political leaders used the MOVEMENT metaphor mainly in their reference to “slowing down the spread”, as illustrated below:

MOVEMENT (FEMALE)

- (5) *As long as this is the case, there is only one thing we can do, and that is **to slow down the spread** of the virus, **stretch it over** the months and thus gain time. (Angela Merkel, 3 references). We will **move** to Alert Level 3 nationwide/ But these new measures can **slow** the virus down/ **to stop** community **transmission**/ We will **get through** this together (Jacinda*

*Ardern, 21 references). It presents an opportunity to **slow down** (Queen Elisabeth, 2 references). We have also succeeded in **slowing down the progression** of the disease/ **navigating** abnormal everyday life/to **curb the progress** of the epidemic in Finland/ **moving** to the next stage (Sanna Marin, 26 references). We can **slow down the spread** of the virus/a successful European response can only be **coordinated**/to **spread hope** through all Europe/ Europe is now really **stepping up** (Ursula von der Leyen, 27 references).*

The emphasis on “**slowing down the spread**” was also paralleled with the collective response evoked by the female leaders, as in “**get through this together**” (Jacinda Ardern), “there is only one thing we can do <...>” (Angela Merkel), “we have also succeeded in **slowing down the progression** of the disease” (Sanna Marin). In the female political leaders’ lockdown speeches, the MOVEMENT metaphor is never used in the economic context but mainly with its references to the spread of the disease and the necessity of the collective effort to tackle it. By doing so, female political leaders evoke the frame of the collective identity of the ‘Self’ and its role in “slowing down the spread”.

By contrast, the male political leaders used the MOVEMENT metaphor in their reference to the disease and the economic challenges. In the context of the disease, differently from their female counterparts, they evoked the concepts of “rapid pace” and “speed” that contribute to raising the feeling of uncertainty and unpredictability of the situation.

5.3 The THREAT metaphor

Another difference is observed with the use of the THREAT metaphor in the collected data sample. The male leaders show a more expressed tendency towards the politics of emotion, with fear being manipulated the most. In the case of the national lockdown speeches, fear of the unknown is raised by using the THREAT metaphor and such metaphorical expressions as “in the face of this threat”, “great risk”, “real danger”, “hidden danger”, as illustrated below:

THREAT (MALE)

- (6) *The world is **facing a threat** and Argentina is also **at risk**/ We are co-responsible **in the face of this threat**. (Alberto Fernandez, 10 references). The biggest **threat** this country has faced for decades/ that is the moment of **real danger**. (Boris Johnson, 2 references). A **dangerous** pandemic/ great **risk**/put your life at **great risk** (Narendra Modi, 3 references). Poses a major **hidden danger** to public health **safety** (Xi Jinping, 3 references).*

By contrast, the female leaders ideologically reverse the politics of fear into the politics of hope, where the metaphor of THREAT is realised by the use of metaphorical expressions with the focus on taking actions and protecting their community against “the threat”:

THREAT (FEMALE)

- (7) *The federal government and the levels of government are doing to **protect** everyone in our community (Angela Merkel, 2 references). To **protect** New Zealanders from the worst (Jacinda Ardern, 2 references). To **protect** the capacity of the healthcare system and to **protect** people (Sanna Marin, 1 reference). This is for the **protection** of each and every one of us/ the **protection** of yourself, your loved ones, your community and our national health service (Nicola Sturgeon, 5 references). Because if there is one thing that is more contagious than this virus, it is love and compassion. And **in the face of adversity**, the people of Europe are showing how strong that can be. (Ursula von der Leyen, 9 references).*

As seen from the examples in (7), the female political leaders clearly demonstrate their ability to manage crisis communication with empathy. In case of the THREAT metaphor, they do not only emphasize their readiness to protect against the threat, but they also communicate their social and ethical responsibility to behave empathetically. This communicative stance is achieved through such metaphorical expressions as “protect everyone in our community” (Angela Merkel), “the protection of yourself, your loved ones, your community” (Nicola Sturgeon), “one thing more contagious than this virus, it is love and compassion” (Ursula von der Leyen). By contrast, the male political leaders, who also evoke the “protection against the threat” frame, emphasize their need to protect against economic threats, by thus shifting their focus onto “financial safety”, e.g.

THREAT (MALE)

- (8) *At the same time, our government is doing everything it needs to do to **keep you safe—to keep your family safe, and to keep our economy strong**. (Justin Trudeau, 11 references). **Secure** Australians’ jobs and livelihoods (Scott Morrison, 2 references). Life, health and **jobs are threatened/ to protect** as many people’s lives, health and **jobs**, to every extent possible (Stefan Löfven, 3 references). To handle any **threat** that comes our way/ To ensure that working Americans impacted by the virus can stay home **without fear** of financial **hardship/ we will significantly reduce the threat** to our citizens (Donald Trump, 9 references).*

Thus, the female political leaders’ emotional safety is replaced by the male political leader’s messages of “economic safety”, being illustrated by such metaphorical expressions as “keep our **economy strong**” (Justin Trudeau), “jobs are **threatened**”, “**protect** jobs” (Stefan Löfven), “financial **hardship**” (Donald Trump).

5.4 The ONENESS metaphor

The ONENESS metaphor, unlike the previous metaphors, is aimed at raising public morale and establishing a positive emotional connection with the audience. This communicative style is also known as the politician’s discourse strategy of the United We Stand Myth for making appeals to the audience to gain public support

in challenging times (Charteris-Black 2011, Umar & Rasul 2017). Despite being unifying for both genders, the analysis of the ONENESS metaphor has also revealed a few differences with regard to populism. The ONENESS metaphor is evoked in the context of a collective Self that is bound by affinity, and can have populist intentions, as in the case with the male political leaders, e.g.:

ONENESS (MALE)

- (9) *Our destiny depends on **each and every one of us**/ We are **one** community/ a **united** Argentina to face this challenge (Alberto Fernández, 4 references). **Each and every one of us** is now obliged to **join together**/ We will beat the coronavirus and we will **beat it together** (Boris Johnson, 2 references). The strength of our country is our capacity to **come together**/ To discuss the work we're doing **together** on preparedness and mitigation efforts/ We **pull together** and we **look after each other** (Justin Trudeau, 5 references). **Each and every** Indian **comes together**/ to put forth **united efforts** to deal with it/ the private sector is **standing shoulder to shoulder** with fellow citizens in full capacity during this crucial time (Narendra Modi, 4 references). We will **win by acting together**/ We will overcome the pandemic and come out of this test more **united** (Gitanas Nausėda, 2 references). We need the state, society and the people to **work together**/ if we are in it **together**/ it is this sense of **solidarity** (Vladimir Putin, 3 references). You help your neighbours shop <...> That is **solidarity** in practice/ You show that when times are at their toughest, **our unity** is at its strongest (Stefan Löfven, 2 references). We will **overcome together** as a nation and as a world/ Emerge from this challenge stronger and **more unified** than ever before/ We must put politics aside, stop the partisanship, and **unify together** as one nation and one family (Donald Trump, 4 references). Broad masses of the people **united**/ Show the spirit of **unity** and **solidarity** of the Chinese people (Xi Jinping, 2 references).*

In the context of their speeches, male political leaders use the ONENESS metaphor to popularise their stance on solidarity and unity, as a necessary mobilisation factor. This is mainly done through the use of such metaphorical expressions as “**one** community”, “a **united** Argentina” (Alberto Fernández), “**each and every-one of us**” (Boris Johnson), “the work we’re doing **together**” (Justin Trudeau), “**united** efforts” (Narendra Modi), “**solidarity**” (Vladimir Putin, Stefan Löfven, Xi Jinping), “**unify together**” (Donald Trump).

We can also find this metaphor in the context of the leaders’ appeal to “a people” on the level on the nation state, also known as populist expressions of nationalism (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017), illustrated with the following metaphorical expressions: “we need the state, society and the people to work **together**” (Vladimir Putin), “we will overcome **together** as a nation and as a world”, “**unify together** as one nation and one family” (Donald Trump), or “Show the spirit of **unity** and **solidarity** of the Chinese people” (Xi Jinping). Besides, the ONENESS metaphor is also used in the context of mobilisation efforts against the virus (i.e., the WAR metaphor), as in the examples “**Each and every one of us** is now obliged to join

together/ We will beat the coronavirus and we will beat it **together**” (Boris Johnson), “the private sector is standing shoulder to shoulder with fellow citizens **in full capacity**” (Narendra Modi).

By comparison, the female political leaders mainly focus on the collective action in the context of the pandemic. This collective inclusion does not mobilise the listeners against a common threat, but it rather frames their role of active engagement into cooperative measures, e.g.:

ONENESS (FEMALE)

- (10) *That depends so much on **our joint solidarity**/ We can now, resolutely, **all react together**/ We can accept the current limitations and **stand by each other** (Angela Merkel, 8 references). **Together**, we must stop that happening, and we can/ Your actions will be critical to our **collective ability**/ We will get through this **together**/ What we need from you, is **support one another** (Jacinda Ardern, 10 references). If we remain **united and resolute**/ join with all nations across the globe in a **common endeavour** (Queen Elizabeth, 2 references). **Joint** coordination and **joint** action/ to cooperate extensively and seek solutions **together** (Sanna Marin, 3 references). We must work closer together than ever before/ Let us do the right thing **together** – with **one big heart**, not 27 small ones/ And our role as Europe’s institutions, policy makers and leaders is to show that same trust, that same **unity** and that same leadership (Ursula von der Leyen, 5 references).*

As seen from the examples above in (10), the ONENESS metaphor is realised via such metaphorical expressions as “our **joint solidarity**”, “all react **together**” (Angela Merkel), “get through this **together**” (Jacinda Ardern), “do the right thing **together**” (Ursula von der Leyen). However, unlike their male counterparts, female political leaders emphasize the importance of cooperation that constitutes vulnerability and empathetic engagement. This is clearly seen in the use of the following metaphorical expressions: “work closer together”, “do the right thing **together** - with **one big heart**”, “show that same trust, that same **unity**” (Ursula von der Leyen), “cooperate extensively and seek solutions **together**” (Sanna Marin), “our **collective ability**”, “**support** one another” (Jacinda Ardern), “**stand by** each other” (Angela Merkel). Such concepts as ‘trust’, ‘cooperation’, ‘support’ contribute to creating a social arrangement between political leaders and their listeners based on vulnerability and social empathy (Larios & Paterson 2021).

6 Conclusions

In response to the raised research questions, the analysis has confirmed the following. The most recurrent metaphors (WAR, MOVEMENT, THREAT and ONENESS) used by male and female political leaders discursively enacted different leadership styles with regard to populism. It has been determined that male political leaders’ speeches integrated all four components of populist discourse: 1) the collective ‘Self’, 2) the collective ‘Other’, 3) antagonism, and 4) uncertainty. By contrast,

female political leaders foregrounded the collective ‘Self’ in all of the identified metaphors. This marked ideological difference of the metaphor use between the two genders pointed out to a higher degree of ideological polarisation in the male data sample.

According to the results, the WAR metaphor in the speeches by the male political leaders evoked more negative associations related to the concepts of mobilisation, confrontational defence and antagonism with regard to the virus. By contrast, the female leaders used this metaphor in the most generalised sense of “the fight”. Moreover, there were instances of the male political leaders shifting all the blame onto the metaphorical enemy/killer – the virus. This kind of strategy heightens the panic against a marked enemy and gives more sense to the frame of militarisation that the male leaders were focusing on in their speeches.

The metaphor of MOVEMENT was used by the male leaders in the context of unpredictability and a lack of control over the “spread” of the virus. By comparison, the female leaders unitedly focused on the collective action of “slowing down the spread”. Similarly, the THREAT metaphor was used by the male leaders with their emphasis on the unpredictability of the situation and economic issues. By contrast, the female leaders focused on the thematic aspect of “protection” with their calls to collective action and social empathy.

Finally, the metaphor of ONENESS pointed out to different thematic aspects raised by the political leaders. The male leaders used this metaphor to raise a collective morale for mobilisation against the virus and other upcoming “threats”. By contrast, the female leaders again tried to establish emotional connection and trust with their audience by prioritising the collective self in the context of social empathy and accountability.

Additionally, the male political leaders expressed their pandemic policies in a more competitive manner, by thus making their attempts to raise the public morale for their national superiority in their “fight against the virus”. The male leaders’ reference to the “people” as an empty signifier (Laclau 2005) and their projection of “people’s love for homeland” contribute to their populist intentions of sounding right.

This study admittedly has its limitations, as the established metaphorical patterns and their populist features are a tendency rather than a representative view. Methodologically, the collected data sample was limited only to the first national lockdown speeches delivered by various political leaders during the time period of three months – February, March and April in 2020. The delivery of subsequent speeches by the same leaders could point out to how their communicative styles have developed over time in terms of enacted metaphor use and populist symbols. In addition, the extension of the data corpus would be consistent with the application of any corpus-based method for generating semantic domains (Stefanowitch 2006; 2020) and establishing a more accurate metaphorical narrative of populist sentiment.

Despite the above, analyses of gender-related metaphors and their populist features can contribute to a greater awareness of political leadership style in times of crisis, and the role of populist sentiment in interpreting social and political reality.

Finally, this study has confirmed the idea that populist sentiment is underpinned with the negative emotions of fear and uncertainty (Rico, Guinjoan & Anduiza 2017), being the constituent elements of the politics of fear (Wodak 2015; 2021), as the examples of metaphor use by the male political leaders have demonstrated.

Bibliography

- Angermuller, J., Maingueneau, D., and Wodak, R. (2014). The discourse studies reader. an introduction.
- Dash, S. B. S., and Kakkar, K. (2020). Moral philosophy, pragmatism, and the larger cause: why “war” metaphors are needed during pandemics. *Indian Journal of Medicine Ethics V(3)*, 219-221. doi: 10.20529/IJME.2020.067.
- Breeze, R. (2020). “Approaching metaphor in political discourse: introduction.” In R. Breeze (ed.) *Metaphor in political conflict: populism and discourse*, 11-25. Ediciones Universidad de Navarra: EUNSA.
- Brewer, M. B. (2001). “Ingroup identification and intergroup conflict.” In R. D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder (eds.) *Social identity, intergroup conflict, and conflict reduction*, 17-41. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Cameron, L. (2013). Metaphor in spoken discourse. In J. P. Gee and M. Handford (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis*, 368-381. Routledge: London.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2011). Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor. Palgrave Macmillan: London and New York.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2017). Competition metaphors and ideology. In e R. Wodak and Bernard F. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politic*, 202-218. Routledge: London.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2021). Metaphors of Coronavirus: Invisible Enemy or Zombie Apocalypse?” Palgrave Macmillan: Cham.
- Chong, D., and Druckman, J. (2007). Framing theory. *Journal of Annual Review of Political Science* (10), 103-126.
- Craig, D. (2020). Pandemic and its metaphors: Sontag revisited in the COVID-19 era. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 23(6), 1025-1032. doi:10.1177/1367549420938403.
- De Cleen, B., and Stavrakakis, Y. (2017). Distinctions and articulations: A discourse theoretical framework for the study of populism and nationalism. *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture* 24(4). 301-319. doi:10.1080/13183222.2017.1330083.
- Dirven, R. (1990). Metaphor and ideology. *Journal of Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 68(3), 565-575.
- Elçi, E. (2022). Politics of nostalgia and populism: Evidence from Turkey. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(2), 697-714.
- Ellemers, N. (2012). The group self. *Science*, 336 (6083), 848-852.
- Engesser, S., Ernst, N., Esser, F., & Büchel, F. (2017). Populism and social media: How politicians spread a fragmented ideology. *Information, communication & society*, 20(8), 1109-1126.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). Language and power. Harlow: Pearson Professional Education.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). “Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language.” London: Routledge.
- Fillmore, Ch. J. (1982). Frame semantics. *Cognitive linguistics: Basic readings*, 373-400. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Frank, M. C. (2017). The cultural imaginary of terrorism in public discourse, literature, and film: Narrating terror. New York: Routledge.

- Gibbs, R. W. (1992). Categorization and metaphor understanding. *Psychological Review* 99(3), 572-577.
- Goatly, A. (2007). *Washing the brain: Metaphor and hidden ideology* (Vol. 23). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Gongaware, T. B. (2010). Collective memory anchors: collective identity and continuity in social movements. *Sociological Focus* 43 (3), 214-239.
- Group, Pragglejazz. (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and symbol* 22 (1), 1-39. [doi:10.1080/10926480709336752](https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480709336752).
- Inglehart, R. F., and Pippa, N. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash. (July 29, 2016). HKS Working Paper No. RWP16-026. [doi:10.2139/ssrn.2818659](https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2818659).
- Kövecses, Z. (2017). "Levels of metaphor." *Cognitive linguistics*, 28(2). 321-347.
- Laclau, E. (2005). *On populist reason*. Verso.
- Lakoff, G. (2012). Metaphor and war: The metaphor system used to justify war in the gulf. *Cognitive Semiotics* 4(2), 5-19.
- Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. (1980a). Conceptual metaphor in everyday language. *The Journal of Philosophy* 77(8), 453-486.
- Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. (1980b). The metaphorical structure of the human conceptual system. *Cognitive science* 4(2), 195-208.
- Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic books.
- Larios, L., and Paterson, S. (2021). Fear of the other: vulnerabilization, social empathy, and the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada. *Critical Policy Studies* 15(2). 137-145. [doi:10.1080/19460171.2021.1927777](https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.1927777).
- Macaulay, M. (2019). *Populist discourse*. Springer International Publishing.
- Mio, J. S. (1997). Metaphor and politics. *Metaphor and symbol*, 12(2), 113-133.
- Mudde, C. (2016). Can We Stop the Politics of Nostalgia That Have Dominated 2016?. *Newsweek*, 15th of December. <http://www.newsweek.com/1950s-1930s-racism-us-europe-nostalgia-cas-mudde-531546>.
- Mudde, C., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2018). Studying populism in comparative perspective: Reflections on the contemporary and future research agenda. *Comparative political studies*, 51(13), 1667-1693.
- Musolff, A. (2016). *Metaphor and persuasion in politics*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Musolff, A. (2016). *Political metaphor analysis: Discourse and scenarios*. Bloomsbury Academic Publishing.
- Musolff, A. (2021). *National Conceptualisations of the Body Politic. Cultural Experience and Political Imagination*. Singapore: Springer.
- Musolff, A. (2022). "World-beating" Pandemic Responses: Ironical, Sarcastic, and Satirical Use of War and Competition Metaphors in the Context of COVID-19 Pandemic. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 37(2), 76-87.
- Palaver, W. (2019). Populism and religion: On the politics of fear. *Dialog*, 58(1). 22-29. [doi:10.1111/dial.12450](https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12450).
- Panzeri, F., Di Paola, S., and Domaneschi, F. (2021). Does the COVID-19 war metaphor influence reasoning?. *Plos one* 16(4). [doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0250651](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0250651).
- Pető, A. (2017). Revisionist histories, 'future memories': far-right memorialization practices in Hungary. *European Politics and Society* 18(1). 41-51. [doi:10.1080/23745118.2016.1269442](https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2016.1269442).
- Rico, G., Guinjoan, M., and Anduiza, E. (2017). The emotional underpinnings of populism: How anger and fear affect populist attitudes. *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4). 444-461. [doi:10.1111/spsr.12261](https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12261).

- Seixas, E. C. (2020). War metaphors in political communication on COVID-19. *Frontiers in sociology* 5. doi:10.3389/fsoc.2020.583680.
- Semino, E. (2021). Not soldiers but fire-fighters”–metaphors and COVID-19. *Health Communication* 36(1). 50-58. doi:10.1080/10410236.2020.1844989.
- Stefanowitsch, A. (2006). Words and their metaphors: A corpus-based approach. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs*, 171, 63.
- Stefanowitsch, A. (2020). *Corpus linguistics: A guide to the methodology*. Language Science Press.
- Tyler, T. R. (2006). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology* 57, 375-400.
- Wicke, Ph., and Bolognesi, M. M. (2020). Framing COVID-19: How we conceptualize and discuss the pandemic on Twitter. *PloS One*, 15(9). doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0240010.
- Wilson, J. (2015). Political discourse. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 775-794.
- Wodak, R. (2015). The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean. Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2021). The Politics of Fear and Hope: Europe at the Crossroads. In E. Klerides and S. Carney (eds.) *Identities and Education: Comparative Perspectives in Times of Crisis*, 117-138. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Roccatò, M., Colloca, P., Cavazza, N., and Russo, S. (2021). Coping with the COVID-19 pandemic through institutional trust: Rally effects, compensatory control, and emotions. *Social Science Quarterly*, 1–8.
- Umar, L., and Rasul, S. (2017). Critical metaphor analysis: Nawaz Sharif and the myth of a golden time. *NUML Journal of Critical Inquiry* 15(2), 78-102.

VACCINE MANDATES: DEEPENING THE RIFT BETWEEN POLARIZED IDEOLOGY ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Zorica Trajkova Strezovska
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
trajkova_zorica@ff.ukim.edu.mk

Silvana Neškovska
University St. Kliment Ohridski – Bitola
silvana.neskovska@uklo.edu.mk

Facing the consequences of one of the most deadly waves of the Covid-19 pandemic towards the end of 2021, the political authorities all over the world struggled to persuade people to get as massively vaccinated as possible, using rhetoric which ranged from threats to even begging. Focusing on the vaccine hesitancy by certain populations, most governments have started to impose a vaccine mandate for all citizens, which resulted in eruption of protests across a number of European, Australian and American cities. Consequently, the intolerance of “the other”, either vaccinated or unvaccinated, has risen among social media users. By combining the methods of critical discourse and pragmatic analysis, this research attempts to investigate the main pro and con argumentation of social media users (Macedonian and English) made in the comment threads of posted online news on mandatory vaccination. The detailed discursive analysis of the samples reveals that fear, triggered by threat as well as risk, is what justifies both sides’ attitude and reasoning.

Keywords: vaccine mandate, vaccine hesitancy, CDA, pragmatics, social media

ЗАДОЛЖИТЕЛНА ВАКЦИНАЦИЈА: ПРОДЛАБОЧУВАЊЕ НА ЈАЗОТ МЕЃУ СПРОТИВСТАВЕНИТЕ ИДЕОЛОШКИ ГЛЕДИШТА ПРЕТСТАВЕНИ НА СОЦИЈАЛНИТЕ МЕДИУМИ

Зорица Трајкова Стрезовска
Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“ во Скопје
trajkova_zorica@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Силвана Нешковска
Универзитет „Св. Климент Охридски“ – Битола
silvana.neskovska@uklo.edu.mk

Соочувајќи се со последиците на еден од најсмртоносните бранови на КО-ВИД-19 кон крајот на 2021 година, политичките власти насекаде во светот се обидуваа да ги убедат луѓето што е можно помасовно да се вакцинираат, користејќи реторика која варираше од директно заканување до молење. Свесни за фактот дека одредена популација граѓани се двоуми да се вакцинира, повеќето влади почнаа да ја наметнуваат вакцинацијата како задолжителна за сите граѓани, што резултираше со протести во многу градови во Европа, во Австралија и во Америка. Како резултат на тоа, „нетрпеливоста кон другиот“, вакциниран или невакциниран, порасна на социјалните медиуми. Со употреба на комбинирана критичка дискурсна и прагматичка анализа, ова истражување прави паралела меѓу аргументацијата „за“ и „против“, изразена во коментарите на корисниците на социјалните медиуми (македонски и англиски) на објавени онлајн-вести поврзани со задолжителната вакцинација. Деталната дискурсна анализа на примероците открива дека стравот, поттикнат од закана и од ризик, стои во заднината на однесувањето и на размислувањето и на двете страни.

Клучни зборови: задолжителна вакцинација, двоумење, КДА, прагматика, социјални медиуми

1 Introduction

The past few years the whole world faced a rather challenging and unexpected crisis and each country had to introduce measures such as lockdowns, social distancing, and quarantines to deal with it. The deadly consequences of the corona virus urged scientists to develop a vaccine against it, with the USA, the UK, Russia and China taking the lead in that respect in 2021. What followed after the discovery of vaccines was an intensive campaign on the part of the World Health Organization, medical experts and authorities in each country, aimed at persuading people to get vaccinated. However, although many were easily persuaded that the cure they had been expecting had finally arrived, a major part of the world population showed vaccine hesitancy, their dilemmas being whether the vaccine was safe and equally relevant for all individual cases, particularly, given the fact that they were they were developed in a relatively short period of time. This doubt, which was most prominently expressed and spread on social media, intensified in the second half of 2021, when the governments decided to impose vaccine mandates, obliging people to get vaccinated. The consequences for those who refused to get vaccinated, varied across countries, from restriction of people's going to public places, schools and, in some cases even, going to one's work place. Consequently, some decided to transfer their children's education to home schooling, some lost their jobs¹, and many faced mental and psychological hardships. The intolerance of "the other", either vaccinated or unvaccinated, increased and could be witnessed the most on social media. The dissatisfaction with the imposition of vaccine mandates escalated in many countries, such as New Zealand, Canada, USA, Austria, Croatia, Italy, Northern Ireland, the French territory of Guadeloupe, the Netherlands² etc., where thousands gathered to protest against this measure.

The vaccination rhetoric on social media has been analysed by many researchers (Furini and Menegoni 2018; Germani and Biller-Andorno 2021; Wawrzuta et al. 2021; Weinzierl and Harabagiu 2022a, 2022b etc.). Furini and Menegoni (2018), for instance, analysed about 200.000 vaccination related messages on Facebook and defined four different linguistic and psychological types of messages: affective, social, biological and medical. According to their findings, the anti-vaccination groups use a language that is difficult to refute (e.g., not anxious, not focused on specific health issues or on specific diseases), whereas the pro-vaccination groups use a more anxious language and specificity (e.g., family cases, specific diseases or vaccines). Germani and Biller-Andorno (2021) analyzed the behavior of anti-vaccination supporters on Twitter, and found that the success of anti-vaccination

¹ See for instance <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-60351455>; <https://www.npr.org/2021/10/24/1047947268/covid-vaccine-workers-quitting-getting-fired-mandates>; <https://www.cbsnews.com/sanfrancisco/news/homeschooling-in-california-boom-amid-kid-covid-19-vaccine-mandate/>;

² See for instance <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/5/protesters-against-vaccine-mandate-in-belgium-clash-with-police>; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/30/thousands-join-protest-in-canada-against-covid-vaccine-mandates>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzpyq3LXTx0>; <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-11-08/thousands-protest-covid-19-vaccine-mandates-in-l-a>

supporters relies on a strong sense of community, which rests on sharing conspiracy theories and using emotional language. According to their research, the anti-vaccination supporters were more engaged in discussions on Twitter and shared their contents from a pull of strong influencers, among whom Donald Trump as the main driver of vaccine misinformation. Wawrzuta et al. (2021) compared the arguments used by anti-vaxxers in the context of COVID-19 vaccines across different social media networks: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok. They revealed 14 categories of arguments used by the anti-vaxxers, whose frequency varied across different social media platforms. Their activity on Facebook and Twitter, however, was similar, because it focused mainly on distrust of government and allegations regarding vaccination safety and effectiveness. Weinzierl and Harabagiu (2022a) analysed about nine million tweets and found that vaccine hesitancy framed on Twitter is not only based on misinformation, but is also driven by erosion of trust in vaccines, lack of health literacy, interaction between civil rights and vaccination mandates.

The paper at hand is a continuation of our work on the Covid-19 narrative on social media in North Macedonia (Trajkova Strezovska and Neshkovska 2022), in which we made a comparison of the lexical, pragmatic and rhetorical devices commenters employed to build their for or against argumentation concerning the vaccination in two specific periods – the beginning of the first and the beginning of the second half of 2021. The results showed differences in the commenters' rhetoric employed in the two periods. While in the first half of 2021, the comments 'reflected people's deep-rooted mistrust in the authorities and their ability to provide the vaccines', in the second half of 2021, they 'revealed people's concern with the nature of the vaccine and its imposition by the government so their comments were burdened with irony, threats, curses and even summons for action against the government-imposed restrictions' (2022: 122). In this paper, we take the matter further by setting a goal to provide a thorough analysis of comments made by English speakers in the second half of 2021 on Facebook concerning the imposition of the vaccine mandates and compare and contrast them with the sample of comments made by Macedonian commenters in the same period. The analysis investigates how the commenters' stance is discursively constructed in the collected data, i.e. what language strategies are used to support or speak against the vaccine mandates in the two samples and aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What are the ideological features of the vaccine/vaccine mandates issue presented in both pro- and anti- vaccine comments?
- 2) How are these features linguistically represented – discursive analysis: lexical (specific vocabulary used) and pragmatic (speech acts and rhetorical features)?
- 3) Is there any difference in the language used by FB commenters when building their pro or con argumentation in the two corpora: Macedonian and English?
- 4) How do commenters position themselves in relation to the issue, the politicians and other commenters in the two sets of data?

Our initial expectations are that the ideology of both pro- and anti-vaccine/mandates groups in both samples will be similar, i.e. there will be similarities in the linguistic features employed to build the argumentation of the pro-vaccine/ man-

dates groups, as well as in the argumentation of the against- groups in both samples (Macedonian and English).

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Critical discourse analysis

In order to answer the research questions, methods of critical discourse analysis were used (Van Dijk 1995, 1997, 2001, 2009; Fairclough 1989, 1995). For Fairclough, “to fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the way this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place” (Richardson 2007: 37). Therefore, the current research follows his three-dimensional framework (Fairclough 1989: 26), which consists of three interconnected analytical steps to take: description (the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text or text analysis), interpretation (the stage focusing on the processes relating to the production and consumption of the text) and explanation (concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects, i.e. the social analysis). Linguistic analysis entails some form of detailed textual analysis, including features of vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, types of speech acts etc., and their distribution across different parts of the text describes the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice, and shows the relationship between discursive practice and social practice (Elsharkawy 2012: 8).

Van Dijk (1997) developed an approach that is based on four categories: action, context, power and ideology and it is articulated within a conceptual triangle that connects society, discourse and social cognition in the framework of a critical discourse analysis. Highlighting the human cognitive feature in understanding discourse, van Dijk (1977) pointed out that speech acts can be defined in terms of action and inaction, or intentional events. Ideologies are the basic ‘axioms’ of socially shared representations of groups about themselves and their relations to other groups (van Dijk 1995: 30). Inherent in the notions of ideology, attitudes and the specific opinions based on them is the notion of ‘position’. Events are described and evaluated from the position, point of view or perspective of the speaker (van Dijk 1995:17). For van Dijk (2009: 75), the relationship between context and society needs to be mediated by what he called ‘context models’, which are the cognitive devices that mediate discourses and the social structures. Frames are very closely related to social practices models, which are defined as the conceptual structures or sets of beliefs that organize political thought, policies, and discourse in the analysis of political text and talk (van Dijk 2001). According to Goffman (1974, 1986), Chong and Druckman (2007), Entman (1993, 2004, 2007), discourse almost inescapably involves framing – a strategy of highlighting certain issues to promote a certain interpretation or attitude.

2.2 Social media, stance and stance taking

Social media, especially Facebook, have proven to be very effective platforms that enable users to openly state their opinions on important social issues as well as engage in communication with others, especially in the online comment sections which operate as forum-like venues analogous to letters to the editor (McCluskey and Hmielowski 2012). According to Anderson et al. (2014), people who participate in online forums set a tone for public opinion, and can influence the tone of future comments. Mutz (2002, 2006) suggests that users are enticed to use online comment sections because they allow them access to people outside their usual social network and because talking to others helps them to fully crystalize their opinion.

During the past few years, since the outbreak of the pandemic, social media platforms have played a crucial role in disseminating news connected to the spread of and fight against Covid-19. As this situation has taken everyone by surprise, social media users have actively engaged in online forums and comment sections communication to better communicate their views, fears and their stance. For Du Bois (2007: 163) stance is a single unified act which encompasses three subsidiary acts, it is “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of value in the sociocultural field”. The notion of stance involves evaluation and assessment (Conrad and Biber 2000; Hunston and Thompson 2000; Goodwin 2006) and it generally reveals why people say what they say in the way they say it. Speakers can position themselves along both affective and epistemic scale, depending on whether they emphasize their feelings regarding the content of the utterance (e.g. I am pleased/ happy etc.) or they emphasize the degree of access they have regarding the information that follows (e.g. I know/ of course etc.) and this general concept is known as positioning (Du Bois 2007: 143). According to Myers (2010: 96), there is also a stylistic stance, referring to the manner in which the content is expressed. Drawing on the conclusions reached in the above studies, we want to determine the differences in positioning towards the vaccine mandates between Macedonian and English commenters.

3 Research methodology

For the purposes of this paper, a quantitative and qualitative critical discourse, pragmatic and rhetorical analysis of 1144 comments, 572 in Macedonian, written by Macedonian commenters and 572 in English, written by English commenters. The analysed comments were posted in comment threads as reactions³ to news

³ The posts were chosen randomly – the only criterion was that they referred to the vaccine mandates in the specifically selected period. They (the English ones) were usually accompanied with a hashtag [#VaccineMandates](#).

See for instance: **krcr news channel** 7’s post on 19th October 2021; **Ken Paxton**’s post on 16th September, 2021 (an American lawyer and politician who has served as the Attorney General of Texas since January 2015, and was reelected for the third time in 2022); **World Health Organization (WHO)**’s post on September 3, 2021, Getting vaccinated against COVID-19 helps protect you from

articles, media reports and politicians' or WHO's official statements published on the social media in the second half of 2021, after the vaccine mandates had been introduced. We used #vaccine #vaccination #vaccinemandates as key words to search for relevant comments. The aim, as previously stated, was to dismantle the ideology behind both pro- and anti-vaccine/ mandates comments in both English and Macedonian samples, by conducting a critical discourse analysis. Following Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of analysis (1989), first we conducted a lexical analysis to determine the polarity of the comments, i.e. whether they are for or against the vaccination and vaccine mandates. In addition, in order to reveal what exactly instigated commenters' reactions, we analysed the most prominent frame (Goffman 1974, 1986; van Dijk, 2001; Chong and Druckman 2007; Entman 1993, 2004, 2007) created by the politicians' and WHO's posts.

Furthermore, a pragmatic coding analysis on the data gathered in the two samples was conducted, by analysing the speech acts made in the comments (Searle's taxonomy, 1976), and dividing them into three main sub-categories: expressives, directives and assertives. Then, in order to interpret these results and explain their use and meaning in the specific social context, i.e. to reveal the commenters' general positioning towards the issue at hand and bring to light any differences in the attitude of commenters in the two samples, we matched these three categories of speech acts to Atifi and Marcoccia's (2017) three main pragmatic functions and three main social roles that commenters take: 1) evaluative, as a subcategory of expressives, reflected in the role of a judge that the commenter assumes, 2) directive, which subsumes the role of an activist and 3) analytical, as a sub-category of assertives, which matches the role of an analyst. When they play the role of a judge, commenters mainly assess and evaluate a certain situation or action (they perform asserting, evaluating, assessing, stating, affirming acts). The activist's main focus is on persuading people to act, to do something about the issue at stake (they perform questioning, ordering, imploring, challenging, summoning acts). The analyst, on the other hand, mainly aims to make an analysis of the situation and clarify it so that their FB friends, their readers, can better understand it (they explain, contextualize, enlighten, clarify, analyze, etc.) (Atifi and Marcoccia 2017). Finally, a rhetorical analysis was conducted to investigate the rhetorical figures (irony, sarcasm, metaphor etc.) employed by commenters to express their feelings, either positive or negative, related to the vaccine mandates.

getting sick; **Liberty Nation** (October 15, 2021), BREAKING: Texas Governor Abbott Bans Vaccine Mandates etc.

As for the Macedonian posts, see for instance, the comments to <https://arhiva.infomax.mk/> post on 8th August (Од 16 август нема влез во кафуле и на концерт без потврда за вакцина...); **Venko Filipche's** posts (the Minister of Health at the time) on 8th August, 2021 in Narodен Glas (Јавното здравје и колективната заштита се приоритет,...), and Deneshen Vesnik (ФИЛИПЧЕ: Апелирам до шефовите, и во државниот и во приватниот сектор, да ги притискаат вработените да се вакцинираат), **Zoran Zaev's** post (the Prime minister at the time) on 7th August, 2021 (Владата на вечерашната седница ги донесе следните одлуки со цел спречување на ширењето на новиот бран КОВИД-19...), etc.

4 Discussion of results

The results of the lexical analysis revealed that the anti-vaccine/mandates comments prevailed in both corpora, with 87.5% (Anti-) vs. 12.5% (Pro-) in the English data, and 94.9 % (Anti-) vs. 5.1% (Pro-) in the Macedonian data. The comments in both samples were generally laden with earnestness, worry, confusion, fear, anxiety, anger and revolt. There were also some comments whose polarity was hard to determine, because they were written by people who got vaccinated but spoke against the imposition, for example:


- (1) *We've all had it already or thrice. Remind people not to jab while ill or full of antibodies. People need full instruction at this point other than jab jab jabby jab and jab again. Thanks.*

These neutral comments were not taken into consideration in the analysis.

It is important to note down that, our previous research (Trajkova Strezovska and Neshkovska 2022) on the rhetoric of Macedonians on social media in two specific periods, the first and second half of 2021, i.e. before and after the imposition of the vaccine mandates, showed that the number of Macedonian commenters who were for the vaccine in the first half of 2021 was higher 88.43% (Anti-) vs. 11.57% (Pro-) compared to the second half of 2021. The comments at that time were mostly directed at officials, criticising them for their inability to provide the vaccines, and were written in a non-serious and bantering manner, seasoned with ironic criticism and mockery (2022: 134). The commenters were taking the role of 'onlookers', 'observers' and 'critics' of the government's actions (Trajkova Strezovska and Neshkovska 2022: 129). This attitude changed after the vaccines were mandated and the comments reveal that 'many felt angry, afraid and desperate to find a 'way out' of the 'dead-end' they were forced into (ibid: 129).

The lexical analysis of the two samples gathered for the purposes of this research generally showed use of negative lexis in offensive and derogatory comments written a great deal by anti-vaccine/mandates commenters (36.38% (Mc), out of which only 0.5% were used in pro-vaccine/mandates comments vs. 2.3% (En)), such as: 'liars', 'thieves', 'thrash', 'good-for-nothing', 'beggars', 'fags' etc. The comments were directed mostly towards politicians, government officials or the World Health Organization, comparing them with fascists, tyrants, Hitler and North Korea, as in the examples (2)-(6) below. Some of the commenters would use debasement language to mock politicians, as in (4), or visual symbols with short messages, as in (6).

- (2) *Се враќа Хитлер!*
'Hitler is back!' (Mc; Anti-)
- (3) *Ова е чиста Фашизам!!*
'This is sheer Fascism!!' (Mc; Anti-)
- (4) *That's great don't need old Obiden telling us what we need .he isn't a king (En; Anti-)*

- (5) *WHO are you, WHO WHO, WHO WHO!
WHO be a bunch of conning dweebs, pushing the alien pee, trying to jab it into me.
WHO wanna terraform humanity, turn us into cyborg insanity, this is the reality.
WHO be a bunch of conning dweebs, nothing but a bunch of conning dweebs,terraforming humanity, turning us into cyborg insanity. (En; Anti-)*
- (6)  (En; Anti-)

The analysis of the selected posts and comments further showed a repetition of lexis, the most frequent being: death (die/died/deadly/dying/death), in 19.8% of posts; safety (safe/safety), 15%, risk (4.3%), illegal (4.3%), side effects (3.9%), and freedom (2.7%). The most prominent frame created by authorities (either politicians or WHO) was the loss frame⁴: *If you do not get vaccinated you might get infected or die*. The examples below are taken from the World Health Organization's facebook page:

- (7) *We can end the tragedy of COVID-19 by stopping the deaths, by stopping the hospitalisations - vaccines give us the power to do that. But we need to use vaccines in a much fairer and much more equitable way - Dr Mike Ryan*
- (8) *Get vaccinated as soon as it's your turn to protect yourself from serious COVID-19 disease and death.*

According to Gantiva et al. (2021), loss-framed messages are more effective at increasing awareness of risks. The ideology of both pro- and anti- vaccine commenters was based on fear caused by threat (partially reasonable and partially imposed by the politicians), as their comments were mostly focused on what they had to lose if they did not take or took the vaccine. For instance:

Stance: Acceptance (pro-vaccine oriented comments)

- (9) *Just this January, one of my closest friends lost her brother, another friend lost her partner, a relative got long covid...please please take the vaccine. You cannot comprehend what the relatives of a covid patient go through while the person is sick at the hospital...is a real nightmare filled with torture and despair.*
- (10) *What about the millions who died without being vaccinated??*
- (11) *Getting ready to get my 3rd one end of the month thank God, I feel safer with the shot as I do taking the flu shot.*

⁴ Gain or loss framing refers to phrasing a statement that describes a choice or outcome in terms of its positive (gain) or negative (loss) features (Baumeister and Vohs 2007).

Stance: Rejection (anti-vaccine oriented comments)

- (12) *My cousin is dying as we speak, he was vaccinated! My daughters aunt in law is in ICU because of a brain bleed, she was fully vaccinated! ... What do these people have in common? They were all fully vaccinated and were all healthy before the vaccine! Nothing else!*
- (13) *Zosto barate soglasnost deka narodot na svoja odgovornost ja prija vakcinata? Zosto nikoj NE garantira bezbednost na vakcinata? Zosto vakciniranite povtorno se razboluvaat i nazalost ima i mrtvi? Zosto,Zosto??? Kade ni se covekovite prava????*
 ‘Why do you ask the people to bear responsibility for taking the vaccine? Why doesn’t anyone take responsibility for the safety of the vaccine? Why do the vaccinated get infected again and unfortunately die? Why, Why???? What about are our human rights????’
- (14) *Why not list the serious side effects on here too... let people know there are chances they could die from the jab also.*

Overall, the comments in both samples were mostly expressing trust or lack of trust in the safety, effects, ingredients and testing of the vaccines, as well as the role of the pharmaceutical companies in fighting the infections, and the politicians and authorities in general. The analysis of the issues that were continuously foregrounded by all commenters revealed three main dilemmas they were mostly concerned about and around which their argumentation revolves:

1. *Are the vaccines legal and are they in accordance with the basic human rights?*

The pro-vaccine/mandates commenters’ stance was that everyone should get vaccinated because that is their obligation as society members. Those who refuse are selfish and pose a direct threat to other people.

(15a) *Everyone eligible without a health threat should be vaccinated for community safety. (Pro-)*

On the other hand, the anti-vaccine/mandates commenters’ stance was that nobody should be forced to do anything against their will because that is against the constitution. Everyone should have the right to decide for themselves. In addition, they stated that they could not understand the fear of the vaccinated if they had already gained immunity.

(15b) *Coercion is illegal anyway. It’s against our constitution. (Anti-)*

2. *Should the authorities be trusted?*

The analysis revealed that unlike the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters (16a), the anti-vaccine/mandates commenters lacked trust in the authorities, stating that the governments hide vaccine safety information, imposing them on the people (16b). According to some English (American) commenters, the government did not mandate the vaccine for their closest associates (see 16b and 16c).

- (16a) *You know that 1.8 BILLION people have got this vaccine, right? That's a mighty large sample size. If there were any of the problems postulated in this article, believe me, we'd know. There aren't. (Pro-)*
- (16b) *Очиџлеоно набавиле њовише од шџио им њреба и сеа нема како да џи њџрошадџ...* 🤔
 'They have obviously provided more than needed and now they have to use them ... 🤔' (Anti-)
- (16c) *You know who DOES NOT mandate the vaccine?
 WHO - for its' employees (I personally know someone who works for them)
 White House - for its' employees... (Anti-)*
- (16d) *[...]Members of Parliament and Judges and other officials are exempt from the mandates. This is absolutely disgusting! The lowest of low. How can we have any respect for these people when they force, blackmail and coerce the people into having an experimental vaccine.*

3. *Should the vaccination be mandatory for those who have already been infected and have natural immunity?*

And finally, the dilemma bothering the commenters the most was whether the vaccine should be mandated for those who have already been infected and have gained natural immunity (17b, 17c). According to many experts' opinion,⁵ the natural immunity is stronger than the one gained from vaccines. Even those who decided to take the vaccine shot expressed their doubts about this issue (see 17a)

- (17a) *We've all had it already or thrice. Remind people not to jab while ill or full of antibodies. People need full instruction at this point other than jab jab jabby jab and jab again. Thanks.(Pro-)*
- (17b) *Great article, especially highlighting that those with natural immunity are being completely ignored. Its like it doesn't matter?? But natural immunity IS safer and more effective than the vaccine.(Anti-)*
- (17c) *Tie sto prelezale isto treba da imaat sertifikat ??!!!!!!!*
 'Those who have already been infected should also get a certificate??!!!!!!!'
 (Anti-)

4.1 Pragmatic and rhetorical analysis: social roles of commenters

The results of the analysis of the comments (see Figure 1) indicate that the most prominent role the commenters assumed in both corpora was the one of analysts (English corpus (En) 67.3% vs. Macedonian corpus (Mc) 42.2%). It is also noticeable that Macedonians assume the role of judges (16%) when the English do not (0%), but would judge only when they have made an analysis of the situation (En 11.7% vs. Mc 26.8%). The results also reveal that the English commenters take the role of activists when they call for protest and civic disobedience more frequently

⁵ See for instance: <https://www.medscape.com/viewarticle/968553>;
<https://www.reuters.com/business/healthcare-pharmaceuticals/prior-covid-infection-more-protective-than-vaccination-during-delta-surge-us-2022-01-19/>

than Macedonians (En 7.8% vs. Mc 0.9%), who mostly urge for action after making an analysis of the situation (Mc 10.8% vs. En 10.1%). Although much less frequently, some commenters in both samples assume all the three roles at once by analysing, judging and, then, by attempting to activate or motivate people to react (En 3.1% vs. Mc 3.3%).

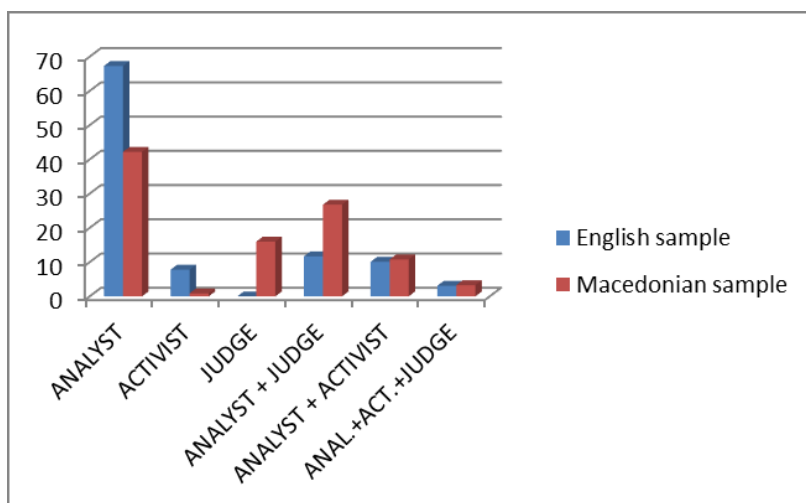


Figure 1. Commenters' social roles in both corpora

Example (1) features an anti-vaccine/mandates commenter taking the role of an analyst by employing logical reasoning and concluding that the vaccines cannot be applied to everyone equally because some people might be allergic to some of the ingredients, and they should not be made to sign a document which obliges them to take full responsibility for the consequences. Over one thousand people agreed with this reasoning.

- (1) *Peanuts are safe, tree nuts are safe, dairy is safe, gluten is safe, latex is safe etc but not for everybody. There are some people for whom these things are deadly. Therefore you cannot just say they are safe for 100% of people. If is safe why i have to sign that is 100% my responsibility if I die?? (En; Anti- ; 1.2k like reaction)*

In the following examples, the commenters take the role of activists and attempt to summon people to a protest against, as they call them, the fascist measures (2) or urge them to take action against the government which, by mandating the vaccines, is threatening their basic human rights (3).

- (2) *На 15 Август (недела) во Скопје, пред Собрание во 19 часот ќе се одржи ПРОТЕСТ ПРОТИВ ФАШИСТИЧКИТЕ КОВИД МЕРКИ ... 'On 15th August (Sunday) in Skopje, in front of the Assembly, at 7 p.m. a PROTEST AGAINST THE FASCIST COVID MEASURES will be held...' (Mc; Anti-)*

- (3) *If anyone thinks this is ok has given their body to the govt, and their human rights. Don't be silent, speak out and say no! (En; Anti-)*

Macedonian commenters, as mentioned before, appear much more frequently as judges when they assess and evaluate the situation, and often use debasement language like insulting and ridiculing (3)-(4) when discussing the work of the government (official) or the decisions it is making. Example (6) features a commenter analysing the situation by comparing it to previous similar ones and accusing the people who think that they know better than those in charge.

- (4) *Fascism! (En; Anti-)*
 (5) *Even God cannot help you anymore, you went completely mad!*
'Tebe ni gospod veke nemoze da ti pomogne cisto si zabegal' (Mc; Anti-)
 (6) *Just like the polio, diphtheria, small pox, whooping cough, and the rest... Crazy that the western world is so blessed by medical science and doctors, but we're all smarter and know better (En; Pro-)*

Commenters in both samples make comments in which they first appear as analysts of the situation and, then, attempt to activate the readers. For instance, in (7), the commenter urges the authorities to be more transparent in revealing the consequences or side effects that people might suffer from the vaccine. In (8), on the other hand, the commenter takes all the three roles, assessing the vaccine mandates as illegal as they are enforced to people who might lose their job if they refuse to be vaccinated and threatens to take action against such enforcement.

- (7) *Why not list the serious side effects here too?...let people know there are chances they could die from the jab also. (En; Anti-)*
 (8) *Biden's nationwide vaccine mandate would illegally force tens of millions of private sector employees to get a COVID-19 vaccine, submit to weekly testing, or be fired. I urge the [#BidenAdmin](#) to reconsider its unlawful plan. If not, I will sue this lawless Admin once again. [#VaccineMandates](#) (En; Anti-)*

The comparison between the social roles assumed by commenters in the pro-vaccine/ mandates comments (Figure 2) and in the anti-vaccine/ mandates comments (represented in Figure 3) reveals some considerable differences. While the roles assumed by the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters were mostly those of analysts (especially in the English sample) and of analysts and judges (a bit more frequently in the English sample again), the roles assumed by the anti-vaccine/mandates commenters were more versatile. Besides taking the role of analysts very frequently (English again more frequently than Macedonian), they also assume the roles of judges, or analysts and judges and even analysts and activists more frequently than the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters, especially in the Macedonian sample. This also might be an indication of a cultural difference in dealing with difficult social issues, as Macedonians seem to be more prone to being judgmental than the English, while English seem to summon people to action after presenting an analysis of the situation at hand.

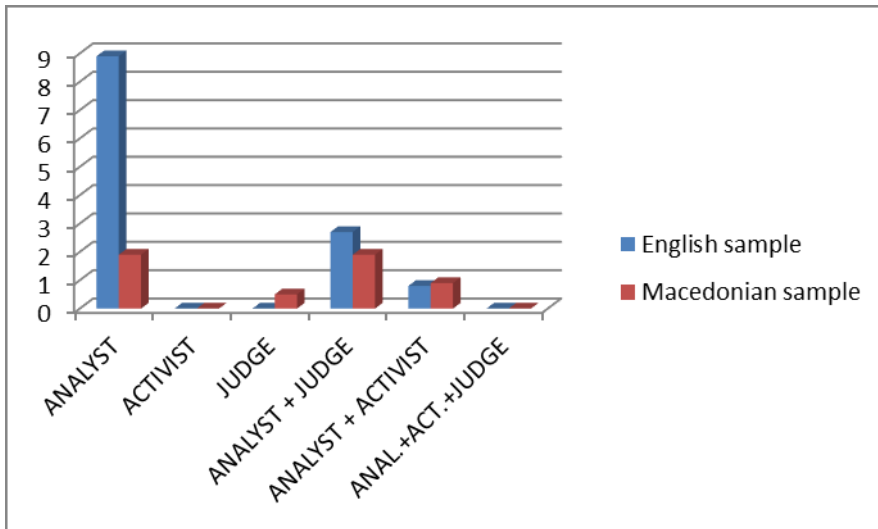


Figure 2. Social roles of commenters in the pro-vaccine/vaccine mandates comments

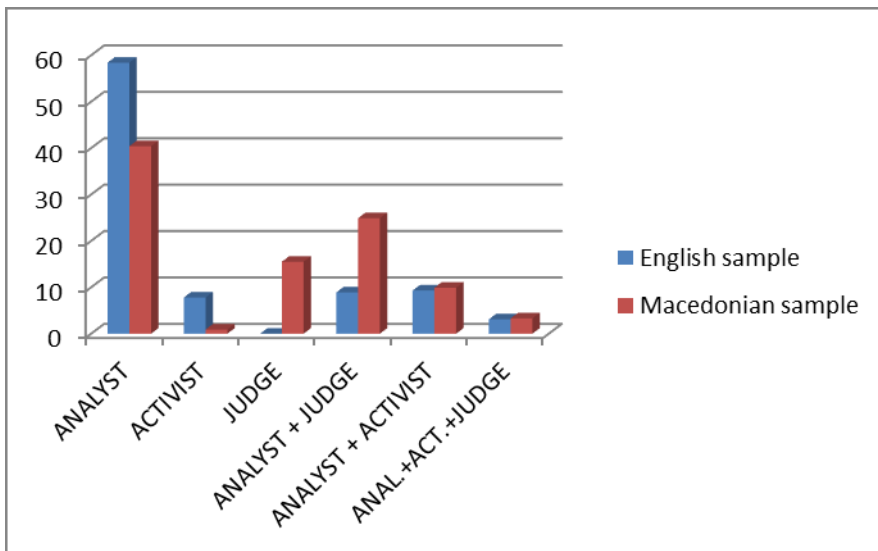


Figure 3. Social roles of commenters in the anti-vaccine/vaccine mandates comments

The rhetorical analysis, on the other hand, showed that the most prominent rhetorical figures used in both corpora were *irony* and *sarcasm*, with anti-vaccine/mandates commenters taking the role of judges or of analysts and judges and mocking the government's new measures and the imposition of mandates and the (in)efficiency of vaccines, as in (9) and (10) below, while the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters are mocking the "stubbornness" of the unvaccinated, as in (11). However, the number of such comments used by the Macedonian commenters was much higher (26.08% of the analysed comments, out of which only 0.5% written by

pro-vaccine/ mandates commenters) compared to the English (14% of comments, out of which 1.9% were made by pro-vaccine/mandates commenters).

- (9) *Најкриво ми е што нема да можам да влаѓам во институциите да си
платиам данок и осџали давачки*
'I really feel bad that I won't be able to enter the institutions and pay tax'
(Mc; Anti-)
- (10) *with +80% fully vaccination rates, why the lockdowns? Oh, that's right,
the vaccines DON'T work! (En; Anti-)*
- (11) *Just like the polio, diphtheria, small pox, whooping cough, and the rest...
Crazy that the western world is so blessed by medical science and doctors,
but we're all smarter and know better (En; Pro-)*

Some anti-vaccine/mandates commenters used visual messages or slogans to make fun of the whole situation, as in (12) below.



A rather noticeable difference between the two samples was noticed in the use of *threats* and *curses*, especially by the Macedonian anti-vaccine/mandates commenters, whose social roles varied from activists to judges or both judges and activists. Threats, as commissive speech acts were used 7.24% by Macedonian commenters and only in 2.7% of the English comments. They were directed towards politicians, who were threatened to lose their voters at the next elections as in examples (13) and (14) or to be sued for breaching people's right to freedom and free choice, as in (15).

- (13) *Ќе го јадеш ти кај да е, мрсолче*
'You're gonna get it, bugger' (Mc; Anti-)
- (14) *Следни избори уште пред да почнат знајте дека толку ви е позз*
'Next elections will be over before they start, that's it with you. Bye.'
(Mc; Anti-)
- (15) *I urge the [#BidenAdmin](#) to reconsider its unlawful plan. If not, I will sue
this lawless Admin once again. [#VaccineMandates](#) (En; Anti-)*

In addition, only Macedonians (2.89%) employed *curses* as expressive speech acts, directed towards politicians and their members of family, as in examples (16) and (17).

- (16) *Црко да боџ да*
‘I wish you Died!’ (Mc; Anti-)
- (17) *За њару и власџ деџаџа ке си џи џрогадеџ џосџоџ да ве казни сиџе*
‘You are ready to sell your own children for money and power. May God punish you all’ (Mc; Anti-)

Commenters also employed directive speech acts, such as *requests* and *orders* and *suggestions* as commissive speech acts. In comparison to *threats* and *curses*, these speech acts were used more frequently in the English corpus of comments (21%, out of which only 1.6% were made by the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters) compared to the Macedonian comments (15.5%, out of which 1.9% were for the vaccine/mandates). The comments were directed towards politicians, government officials or the WHO and were about the commenters’ dissatisfaction with their decisions (as in examples (18) and (19) below). *Suggestions* were a bit more frequently used in the English sample (4.7%, 0.4% of which were made by the pro-vaccine/mandates commenters) compared to the Macedonian (3.3%, all made by those against the vaccine/mandates). The pro-vaccine/mandates comments were generally directed towards the unvaccinated, suggesting or urging them to vaccinate (20). Here, the social roles the commenters assumed were the one of activists, judges or both judges and activists.

- (18) *Премиере најдобро е да воведете јавно сџрелање на неваџцинираниџе и џо брза џосџаџка да ја џроџласиџе Коронаџа за умрено. Само најпреџ!*
‘Prime minister, you better publicly kill the unvaccinated and pronounce the Corona virus dead. Go ahead!’ (Mc; Anti-)
- (19) *OH PLEASE STOP. !!!! Why not tell people how many people die when they took the vaccine (En; Anti-)*
- (20) *Let’s stop the spread of covid. Isn’t that the entire reason for this? So who has pollio or small pox who would let their kid be around them? Vaccines work for a reason (En; Pro-)*

Furthermore, *requests for information* and (*rhetorical*) *questions* were used rather frequently in both samples, especially by the Macedonian commenters (37%, with only 0.4% used in pro-vaccine/mandates comments) compared to the English (28.4%, out of which 3.9% were used in the pro-vaccine/mandates comments). As it can be seen from the results, the English pro-vaccine/mandates commenters were engaging more with other commenters than the Macedonians and were trying to lead a conversation, usually by asking them questions which seemed that were primarily intended to dispel doubts that taking the vaccine was the right thing to do. The social roles assumed by commenters were either the ones of analysts or judges or analysts and judges. The pro-vaccine/mandates comments were directed

towards the unvaccinated, trying to persuade them to get vaccinated by asking them relevant questions, as in examples (24) and (25), while the anti-vaccine/mandates questions were directed mostly towards politicians, government officials and the WHO, asking them concrete questions connected to the vaccine safety and the side effects people suffer, as in examples (21)–(23). Their general remark was that there was lack of information on things that were of grave concern for everyone.

- (21) *Zosto barate soglasnost deka narodot na svoja odgovornost ja prija vakcinata? Zosto nikoj NE garantira bezbednost na vakcinata? Zosto vakciniraniite povtorno se razboluvaat i nazalost ima i mrtvi? Zosto, Zosto???* *Kade ni se Covekovite prava???*
 ‘Why do you ask people to state that it is their responsibility if they take the vaccine? Why does no one guarantee the vaccine safety? Why do the vaccinated get infected too and even die unfortunately? Why, Why???
- (22) *If safe then why many people died after taking the shots? (En; Anti-)*
- (23) *How many tests? Over what period of time? Which ingredients? Every time I see something like this, I view it with an open mind and the hope of being won over by good information; instead, you’re spewing platitudes and doing zero to allay anyone’s concerns. Up your PR game W.H.O. (En; Anti-)*
- (24) *what about the millions who died without being vaccinated?? (En; Pro-)*
- (25) *What about the millions who could have been saved with therapeutic medicine?? Which they deemed unsafe, which in fact have saved thousands of people. (En; Pro-)*

Finally, only the anti-vaccine/mandates commenters used *refusals* as commissive speech acts, especially the English commenters (7.8% vs. 2.4% (Mc)). By assuming the social roles of analysts and judges or both analysts and judges, the commenters either directly refused to take the vaccine regardless of vaccine mandates, as in example (27), or first tried to explain their position and then refuse, as in (26), or they criticised the politicians or the WHO for imposing the vaccine/mandates and used that as a supporting argument to refuse to get vaccinated, as in (28) and (29).

- (26) *za vakcina NIKOGAS NEMA DA KAZAM DA. Prosta matematika TOJ STO ME TRUE TOJ LEK NEMOZE DA MI DADE.*
 ‘I WILL NEVER SAY YES to the vaccine. Simple Mathematics. THE ONE WHO POISONS ME CANNOT GIVE ME ANY CURE.’ (Mc; Anti-)
- (27) *Никад нема да ја ѓримам ѓаа вакцина.*
 ‘I will never take that vaccine shot.’ (Mc; Anti-)
- (28) *I don’t think so. I am a covid survivor and have anti bodies. My God created body is working as it should thank you! Get off my page! (En; Anti-)*

- (29) *Thanks but no thanks. And I'd ask the WHO to consider what kind of road it's going down when its forcing medical procedures on people or taking away their human rights. (En; Anti-)*

5 Conclusion

This research attempted to analyse and compare Macedonian and English comments written as a reaction to the authorities' mandating of vaccines. As to the first research question which concerned the ideological features of the vaccine/vaccine mandates issue presented in both pro- and anti- vaccine comments our research shows that commenters (both pro and anti-vaccine/vaccine mandates) build similar argumentation to support their ideological position and that fear, triggered by threat as well as risk, is what justifies both sides' attitude and reasoning. This ideology is particularly made conspicuous in the negative lexis used by the anti-vaccine/mandates comments generally directed towards politicians, government officials or the World Health Organization. By using a range of different speech acts, the commenters in both corpora mostly assumed the role of analysts in their comments, analysing, explaining and clarifying issues; however, compared to the English, Macedonian commenters appeared much more frequently as judges, or analysts and judges, assessing, evaluating and judging the decisions of the government to impose the vaccine mandates and movement restrictions. Their comments were ironic and sarcastic, and they used much more threats and curses compared to the English. The English commenters, on the other hand, asked more questions, demanding the government or the WHO to give more information and clarify their doubts concerning the safety of the vaccines. Therefore, they were more direct, explicitly refusing to take the vaccine, regardless of the consequences. Overall, the results of the analysis yielded some important conclusions that need to be confirmed on a larger sample. However, although the language features, which were used by both groups of commenters differed in certain aspects, the research showed that they generally shared the same doubts, fears and opinions about the governments' actions in regards to the vaccine mandates. Therefore, this research shows that the governments must be ready to address these issues to gain their citizens' trust and loyalty, rather than simply impose their decisions and expect people to obey them.

Bibliography

- Anderson, A. A., Brossard, D., Scheufele, D.A., Xenos, M. A. and Ladwig P. (2014). The "nasty effect:" Online incivility and risk perceptions of emerging technologies. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19 (3), 373–387.
- Atifi, H. and Marcoccia, M. (2017). Exploring the role of viewers' tweets in French TV political programs: Social TV as a new agora?. *Discourse, Context and Media* 19, 31–38.
- Baumeister, R. F., and Vohs, K. D. (2007). Gain–loss framing. In *Encyclopedia of social psychology*. 1, 371-372. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Conrad, S. and Biber, D. (2000). Adverbial Marking of Stance in Speech and Writing. In S. Hunston and G. Thompson (eds.) *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, 56–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Chong, D. and Druckman, N.J. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 10, 103-126. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054
- Du Bois, W. J. (2007). The Stance Triangle. In R. Englebretson (ed.). *Stancetaking in Discourse*. 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Elsharkawy, A. (2012). *Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse of Power: CDA in Practice*. GRIN Verlag.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 43 (4), 51-58.
- Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication*. 57 (1), 163–173.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. USA, Longman Inc.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Longman.
- Furini, M. and Menegoni, G. (2018). Public Health and Social Media: Language Analysis of Vaccine Conversations. Presentation at the 2018 International Workshop on Social Sensing (SocialSens), 50-55.
- Germani, F. and Biller-Andorno, N. (2021). The anti-vaccination infodemic on social media: A behavioral analysis. *PLoS ONE* 16(3): e0247642.
- Goffman, E. (1974, 1986). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Goodwin, H.M. (2007). *The Hidden Life of Girls: Games of Stance, Status, and Exclusion*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hunston, S. and Thompson, G. (2000). *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myers, G. (2010). *The discourse of blogs and wikis*. London: Continuum.
- McCluskey, M. and Hmielowski, J. D. (2012). Opinion expression during social conflict: Comparing online reader comments and letters to the editor. *Journalism*, 13(3), 303-319.
- Mutz, D. C. (2002). The consequences of cross-cutting networks for political participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(4), 838–855.
- Mutz, D. C. (2006). *Hearing the other side: Deliberative versus participatory democracy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University.
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing Newspapers. An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York.
- Searle, J. R. (1976). *A Classification of Illocutionary Acts*. *Language in Society*. 5, 1-23.
- Trajkova Strezovska, Z. and Neshkovska, S. (2022). The COVID-19 Vaccination Narrative on Social Media. In A. Mammadov and B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (eds.). *Analysing Media Discourse: Traditional and New*. 122-147. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1977). *Text and context: explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse*. London: Longman.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Opinions and Ideologies in the Press. Paper Round Table on Media Discourse, Cardiff, July 8-10. In Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to Media Discourse*. 21-63. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is political discourse analysis? Key-note address Congress Political Linguistics. Antwerp, 7-9 December 1995. In J. Blommaert and C. Bulcaen (Eds.). *Political linguistics*. 11-52. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. 352-371. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*. Cambridge University Press, United States of America.

- Wawrzuta, D., Jaworski, M., Gotlib, J., Panczyk, M. (2021). Characteristics of Antivaccine Messages on Social Media: Systematic Review. *J Med Internet Res* 23(6): e24564.
- Weinzierl, M. and Harabagiu, S. (2022a). Identifying the Adoption or Rejection of Misinformation Targeting COVID-19 Vaccines in Twitter Discourse. *Proceedings of the ACM Web Conference*, 3196–3205.
- Weinzierl, M. and Harabagiu, S. (2022b). From Hesitancy Framings to Vaccine Hesitancy Profiles: A Journey of Stance, Ontological Commitments and Moral Foundations. *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM 2022)*, 1087-1097.

PRE-SERVICE EFL TEACHERS AS REFLECTIVE PRACTITIONERS: STUDENT PORTFOLIOS AS EVIDENCE OF EMERGING PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

Ljiljana Marković
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš
ljiljana.markovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

Ema Živković
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš
ema.zivkovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

Tatjana Paunović
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš
tatjana.paunovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

The purpose of the present study is to get a better understanding of the reflection process of pre-service EFL teachers at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš during their theoretical TEFL Methodology course, before entering the EFL classroom. An important element of students' individual work in this course is their portfolio which consists of the students' views and opinions on the most important principles of TEFL, recorded at the beginning and the end of the 12-week course, as well as a reflective essay on how and why their beliefs have changed during the course. This qualitative case study employs an in-depth content analysis of these reflective portfolios collected in 2020 and 2021, aiming to identify the themes pertaining to the participants' emerging teacher identities as well as examine changes in their beliefs about various aspects of language teaching and their own professional development. The findings suggest that reflective thinking should be an essential component of pre-service teacher education courses from the very beginning, and not only during the teaching practice.

Keywords: EFL, pre-service teacher education, reflective practice, student portfolio, teacher beliefs

ИДНИТЕ НАСТАВНИЦИ ПО АНГЛИСКИ КАКО СТРАНСКИ ЈАЗИК КАКО РЕФЛЕКСИВНИ ПРАКТИЧАРИ: СТУДЕНТСКОТО ПОРТФОЛИО КАКО ДОКАЗ ЗА ПРОФЕСИОНАЛНИТЕ ИДЕНТИТЕТИ ШТО СЕ ГРАДАТ

Љиљана Марковиќ
Филозофски факултет, Универзитет во Ниш
ljiljana.markovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

Ема Живковиќ
Филозофски факултет, Универзитет во Ниш
ema.zivkovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

Татјана Пауновиќ
Филозофски факултет, Универзитет во Ниш
tatjana.paunovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

Целта на оваа студија е да се добие подобро разбирање на процесот на рефлексивност кај идните наставници по англиски како странски јазик на Филозофскиот факултет во Ниш во текот на теоретскиот предмет Методологија на изведување настава по англиски како странски јазик, пред да се влезе во училиницата каде што се учи англиски како странски јазик. Важен дел од индивидуалната работа на студентите на овој предмет е нивното портфолио, кое се состои од гледиштата и мислењата на студентите за најважните принципи на изведувањето настава по англиски како странски јазик, евидентирани на почетокот и на крајот од 12-неделниот курс, како и рефлексивен есеј за тоа како и зошто нивните верувања се смениле за време на курсот. Оваа квалитативна студија на случај вклучува длабинска анализа на содржината на овие рефлексивни портфолија собрани во 2020 и во 2021 година, чија цел е да ги идентификуваат темите што се однесуваат на идентитетите на наставникот, кои се градат кај учесниците, како и да се истражат промените во нивните верувања за различни аспекти на подучување на јазикот и нивниот професионален развој. Сознанијата укажуваат на тоа дека рефлексивното размислување треба да биде основната компонента во наставните предмети на студентите по методика од самиот почеток, а не само за време на наставната практика.

Клучни зборови: изведување настава по англиски како странски јазик, образование на студенти по методика, студентско портфолио, верувања на наставникот

1 Introduction

The importance of reflective practice (Dewey 1933; Kolb 1984; Schön 1987) is widely recognized in EFL teacher education, as an “active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends” (Dewey 1933: 9). Viewing reflective teaching as “deliberate thinking about action with a view to its improvement” (Hatton and Smith 1995: 40), reflection is commonly associated with the teaching practicum (e.g., Ončevska Ager 2016). However, reflection could also be used as a tool for enhancing pre-service teachers’ (PSTs’) understanding of their own beliefs even prior to teaching practice, in line with Farrell’s (2013, 2018) view of reflection as any process in which teachers critically analyse their own beliefs, assumptions, and values about teaching and learning. In their longitudinal study of pre-service EFL teachers’ preparation, Reynolds et al. (2021) claim that teachers’ beliefs are shaped by experiences, but also that one of the crucial experiences is their education. In line with Richards and Lockhart’s (1994) view that “teacher knowledge and ‘teacher thinking’ provide the underlying framework or schema which guides the teacher’s classroom action” (29), developing PSTs’ reflective competence should be an important component of student-teacher’s education as a whole, not only during their teaching practicum, but also in the preparatory theoretical parts of the TEFL Methodology courses. If they are to construct a coherent and solid ‘underlying framework’ that would guide their teaching practice, PSTs need time and practice to develop the tools that would help them understand and express their own beliefs and experiences. The present study illustrates one way in which students’ reflection can be used prior to teaching practice.

2 The background: The TEFL Methodology courses

In the English Department curriculum at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, the TEFL Methodology courses follow a clear division between the first, preparatory, theoretical course, and the second one, during which the students have their teaching practice. The theoretical component involves extensive reading, and limited practical work, mainly the basics of lesson planning, lesson observation, and peer microteaching. The topics cover two aspects of theoretical preparation. One involves getting well-acquainted with different teaching methods and approaches and the theoretical principles guiding the use of their different teaching techniques (Larsen-Freeman 2011). The other aspect of the course, covered either through individual reading reports or group projects (microteaching or student presentations), includes topics such as Krashen’s hypotheses, as well as learning styles and strategies, motivation, learner differences, Multiple Intelligences theory, language assessment, and the use of language games in the classroom. The notions of differentiation, scaffolding, and authentic input-output are also covered.

2.1 Student's portfolio

An important element of students' individual work, which is part of the students' final grade, is Student's Portfolio. This element was introduced in 2020, mainly as a response to the Covid-19 pandemic and the context of online teaching and learning.

In the theoretical courses, the use of student portfolio may also be questioned, as it cannot contain many examples of students' practical work. However, in terms of Hatton and Smith (1995), students were asked to keep a portfolio as a means of documenting the development of their theoretical knowledge, which consisted of *descriptive writing* (summing up the most important information about various methods) and *reflection – descriptive* or, hopefully, *dialogical* and *critical reflection*.

In the first week of the course, students do the *My Principles 1* (MP 1) assignment, i.e., provide their own answers to the 10 questions about methodological principles (Larsen-Freeman 2011), based on their prior experiences as students, before they started TEFL Methodology, and on their overall beliefs about education, learning and teaching. In the last week of the course, students do the *My Principles 2* (MP 2) assignment, and provide their current beliefs and views on the same questions. Lastly, students are offered an opportunity to replace the regular written final exam (on teaching methods), by a reflective essay, as the last step in their portfolio. In the essay, they are asked to focus specifically on how their views and beliefs have changed, and how the coursework has influenced them.

3 Aims and methodology

The purpose of the present study was to explore the reflection process of pre-service EFL teachers during their theoretical TEFL Methodology course as well as examine how reflection can promote their professional growth even before being engaged in their teaching practicum.

3.1 Participants

The participants were Serbian PSTs taking TEFL Methodology 1 in their third year of the four-year BA program at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, Serbia. The study was conducted with 31 PSTs (22 female, 9 male) taking the course in 2020 (Group A) and 34 PSTs (26 female, 8 male) taking the same course in 2021 (Group B). Each participant was coded as A1, A2, A3, etc., and B1, B2, B3, etc., for anonymity. While none of the participants had had any formal teaching education before this TEFL Methodology course, a few had some previous teaching experience as online EFL teachers and private English tutors.

3.2 Data analysis

The data comprised 65 reflective essays written in English. Guided by the relevant literature (Cabaroğlu and Roberts 2000; Reynolds et al. 2021; Zheng 2009, among others), this study employed a step-by-step thematic analysis of the reflective essays. They were first read repeatedly by the researchers in order to obtain a holistic

sense of the data (Reynolds et al. 2021: 4). This step also involved highlighting the sections relevant to the present study, which were then classified into categories based on the recurrence of particular themes. The researchers compared their analyses multiple times to reach an agreement of the common themes and subthemes. While generating preliminary themes was guided by a series of questions related to the characteristics of different teaching methods from Larsen-Freeman (2011), the analysis of the data revealed a much wider range of recurring topics.

Two broad themes with five subthemes were identified (see Table 1). It should be noted here that it was sometimes difficult to categorize PSTs' statements as there was a degree of overlap among certain themes, which was expected given that PTSs' beliefs are often interconnected (Zheng 2009: 77).

Table 1. Main themes and subthemes identified in the data

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|--|
| Reflective essay content | Teacher | Reflections on the teacher's role |
| | | Reflections on an ideal teacher |
| | The Self | Reflections on the teacher's goals |
| | | Reflections on PSTs' professional development within the course |
| | | Reflections on teaching as PSTs' future profession |

4 Analysis and discussion

This section of the paper presents how PSTs' beliefs developed from MP 1 to MP 2, as described in their reflective essays. The term *teacher beliefs* is used "to embrace the complexity of teachers' mental lives" (Zheng 2009: 74), since it is often stressed that teacher beliefs, knowledge, attitudes are difficult to distinguish (Borg 2003; Farrell 2018; Reynolds et al. 2021; Zheng 2009) and represent "three points along the same continuum of meaning" (Farrell 2018: 5). The analysis of the data revealed that several factors might have had an influence on PSTs' beliefs in the present study (see Figure 1). It seems that PTSs' initial beliefs were mostly shaped by their own positive and negative learning experiences, which is in line with the relevant literature (Borg 2003; Reynolds et al. 2021; Roberts 1992, among many). Changes in beliefs mostly emerged due to their coursework, especially the theoretical part of the course and lesson planning, as well as peer microteaching. Several PSTs also had limited teaching experience, which was reflected in some of their beliefs. It can be expected that upon completing their teaching practice in the spring semester, PSTs' beliefs would undergo further change.

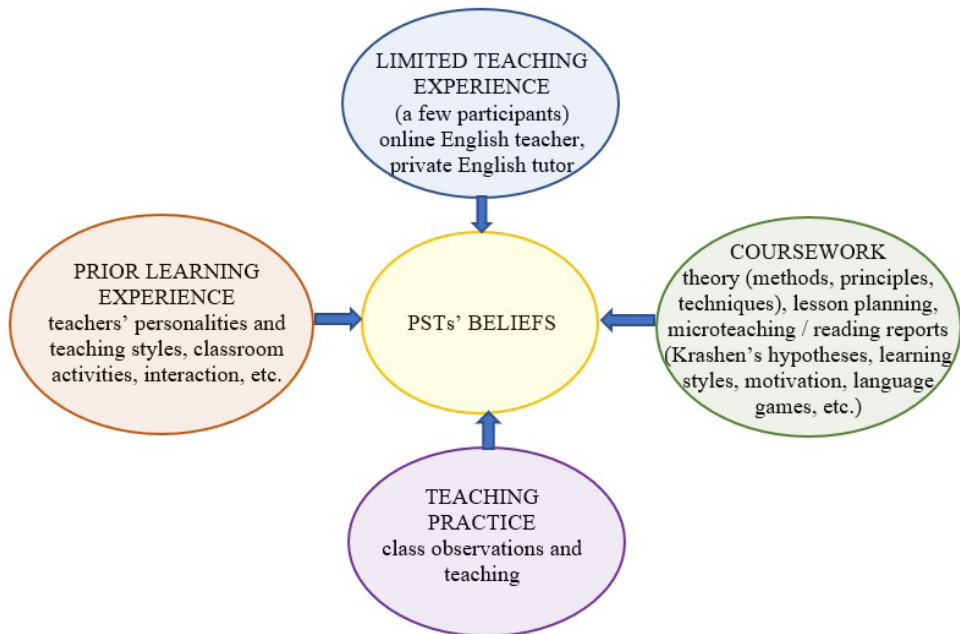


Figure 1. Factors influencing PSTs' beliefs

4.1 Teacher

One broad theme identified in the data is related to the characteristics of a teacher. It incorporates three subthemes which focus on the teacher's role and goals, as well as the characteristics of an ideal teacher.

4.1.1 Reflections on the teacher's role

A recurring subtheme in PSTs' reflective essays is related to the teacher's role. Based on some of PSTs' statements on this topic, it becomes clear that before the course they were unaware of how many different roles a teacher can assume, *from the teacher who almost does not speak at all trying to be the students' counselor (silent way), to the teacher who is students' authority and a model of a good language (audiolingual method)*¹, as B25 emphasizes. Clearly, their new views are rooted in theory (different methods they read about in the course textbook, in particular) as well as their new experience of *creating several lesson plans* (A22).

PSTs' reflective essays further suggest that their initial perception of the teacher's role was influenced by their previous schooling experience and their 'author-

¹ Following Yeşilbursa (2011: 108), all extracts provided in this paper are original in terms of spelling, punctuation and grammar.

itative' teachers. They initially thought of teachers only as authority figures who should be *respected and listened to* (A17) and who *created an insurmountable gap that prevented the students from even asking questions, let alone trusting the teacher* (A19). As A18 notes, at first, they thought that the teacher's role was *to simply lead the class*. However, their initial assumptions were gradually adjusted based on the methods and principles they learned during the course. The powerful effect of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) on PSTs' new beliefs can be observed in the following statements: *I view the teacher as a mediator and a partner in the process of learning* (A17); *The role of the teacher should be a facilitator; the teacher facilitates communication in the classroom* (B23).

PSTs' reflections also show that before the course, they had a vague idea of what being a teacher involved or they often *underestimated the role of the teacher* (A22). However, at the end of the course, their views on this topic became much more concrete and specific and they were able to go into detail when describing what the teacher's role assumes, such as *composing a lesson plan, picking interesting and creative activities suitable for their students, as well as facilitating and monitoring the class, and dealing with different problems that might arise during the class* (A10). Several PSTs emphasized that the teacher's role was more complex than they initially expected *because the teacher needs to think about many different things* (B25). For instance, a teacher has to *prepare effective lessons, grade student homework and most importantly the teachers offer helpful feedback to their students which helps them improve their skills and abilities* (B24). Reading and learning about different TEFL methods and principles, doing peer microteaching, and completing their reading reports has led to the integration of PSTs' new beliefs regarding the teacher's role and its components.

4.1.2 Reflections on an ideal teacher

PSTs further reflected on the qualities that an ideal teacher (or at least a good one) should have. This kind of thinking about an ideal teacher is seen as a powerful way for novice teachers "to move toward an identity they envision as positive for their future practice" (Beauchamp and Thomas 2010: 634). The data show that our PSTs' initial views were again sometimes drawn from memories of the teachers from their youth. Ideal teachers were the ones who made their language learning experiences positive. For instance, it was someone *who would replicate those things that helped [them] achieve this so-called 'native fluency'* (A1) and *someone who helps the students learn* (B24).

Throughout the course, PSTs' beliefs underwent some changes. In their reflections, they mentioned some personal and professional characteristics they now considered important for teachers. For instance, teachers are now seen as *the most careful people* (A18). Being a good teacher takes *a lot of patience and persistence* (A2) and it involves being *a good pedagogue, psychologist, sociologist* (A8). One way of making PSTs become aware of whether they possess these qualities or whether they need to work on improving them is reflection, which can help them in the construction of their future professional identities based on their ideal. Reflecting on an ideal teacher permits PSTs "to envision a future teaching self that would

inform their development” (Beauchamp and Thomas 2010: 634). As A18 wrote, *this is what I will be striving for if I ever get a chance to be a teacher.*

Finally, some PSTs concluded that *there’s no correct way of teaching* (B22) or that *there is no ultimate recipe to teaching whatsoever* (A23), even though some had expected to find it. In other words, our PSTs realized that the image of an ideal teacher is not a fixed concept. It changes as teachers gain more knowledge and experience. In other words, *as one grows into the role of a teacher, their principles will change and develop* (B22).

4.1.3 Reflections on the teacher’s goals

Issues of what the teacher’s goals are also emerged as important content of PSTs’ reflective essays. As Vosniadou et al. (2020) note, novice teachers often believe that “teaching mainly involves the transmission of knowledge and that the teacher is the dispenser of that knowledge” (3). This was true of several PSTs in this study at the beginning of the course. They initially believed that the teacher’s goal was *to pass on as much knowledge on to his/her students as possible* (B24). Teachers were seen as *mere vessels – used to transfer knowledge to the students* (B32). While PSTs had perceived teaching as a mere transmission of knowledge at the beginning of the course, they understood teaching to be a constructive activity at the end. Learners are not seen as *passive observers* (B24) anymore and the teacher’s goals become oriented towards encouraging learners *to learn on their own outside of the classroom* (A3). In other words, *teaching is not about the ‘transmission’ of knowledge from teacher to student, it is about creating conditions in which, somehow, students learn for themselves* (B23).

Our PSTs also emphasized the importance they placed on establishing effective relationships with learners and creating a safe and supportive classroom. They recognized the need to build a caring community as paramount for motivating learners to engage in the classroom activities. For instance, a teacher’s job is *to make the learning process as enjoyable as possible* (B21), thus making sure that learners *connect learning and school to something positive rather than something they dread* (A5). When describing their views regarding the teacher’s goals, PSTs expressed their desire to connect with learners by being aware of their *individuality* and catering to their *emotional needs [in order for learners] to feel comfortable, secure and relaxed in their learning environment* (B2). *An attentive teacher who respects, supports and understands [their learners]* (B2) is seen as central to the establishment of a warm and conducive atmosphere in the classroom.

Finally, when writing their reflective essays, some PSTs were quite idealistic, suggesting that the teacher’s goals should go beyond simple language teaching. Their goals should be reflected in providing guidance and counseling for their learners. Namely, a teacher should focus on *leading [their] students to the right life path [by helping their] students to achieve some bigger goals in life* (A24). As Maaranen et al. (2016) observe, such beliefs characterized by “inevitably idealistic notions of a good teacher, the ideal classroom and justice, all high aims and beautiful values” (80) are typical of novice teachers with no or little experience.

4.2 The Self

Another theme identified in our PSTs' reflections is *The Self*. This theme includes statements related to PSTs' professional development within TEFL Methodology 1 and their considering teaching as the future career.

4.2.1 Reflections on PSTs' professional development within the course

This subtheme revolves around PSTs' perception of the progress they made in developing teacher beliefs during TEFL Methodology 1 and changes in their ideas of what really constitutes a teacher's job.

Thinking back about MPI, our PSTs first were unpleasantly surprised by *how* they expressed themselves. Their negative reactions were directed at the length, style and terminology used: the answers *were too short and less formal* (A12); *too broad, too general* (A24); *the language and terminology [...] were not appropriate* (B12). A similar dissatisfaction was expressed as to the quality of the answers. In the beginning, PSTs found the questions in Larsen-Freeman's (2011) framework difficult. In retrospect, they stated the reasons they had felt that way: due to *the lack of experience in MPI, lack of knowledge about these methods and also lack of overall view of the learning experience in a real-life situation* (B11), or because they relied on the *previous experience in the role of the student and [the] idea about how one teacher (future me) should behave* (B12).

However, at the end of the course, PSTs were more satisfied with their answers, aware of the progress they had made: *... after a couple of months filled with hard work, I realized how much I actually had to say* (A24). Their answers were *more formal and professional* (A24). The better 'form' of the answers is attributed to the knowledge they acquired during the course: *Writing MP2 was easier than writing MPI because I have learned a lot and formed my opinions about these questions* (A15). Similar changes in the format and content of statements have been documented in Dumlao and Pinatacan (2019).

Our PSTs' beliefs about what constitutes a teacher's job also developed (see Section 4.1.1.), at the same time contributing to the development of their own professional self. In the beginning, their ideas were mostly influenced by their previous schooling or lay beliefs. Teaching was described as an easy job full of improvisation and vague plans: *activities were chosen at random, based on what the teacher wanted to do or what they found easy to do* (B16). Such "inappropriate, unrealistic or naïve" (Borg 2003: 88) beliefs are not uncommon in teacher trainees.

By the end of the course, their beliefs were drastically different. Having read substantial literature and done some teaching, PSTs realized that *it is work, and hard work* (A14) behind a successful class and that the teacher has to put a lot of time and effort into it – sometimes even at the expense of *all the other obligations in private life* (A8):

[L]anguage teaching is a hard and demanding process which requires thorough planning combining with various methods, procedures, activities, interactions,

monitoring, organizing, performing, predicting, and many other things a teacher goes through. (A6)

This change in the understanding of a teacher's job is recognized by our PSTs as a huge step in their professional development. However, they had different ideas as to what this change could be attributed to. Some believed that their development was influenced by the knowledge of methods. Most of them stressed that CLT taught them *to facilitate communication as a teacher, provide the students with activities and bring them close to real life situations so that they can feel that their language learning has a purpose (B3)*, while 'designer methods' taught them *to pay a lot of attention to student's feelings and finding the right environment for language learning (B13)*. Most frequently mentioned themes were motivation and learner differences: *Now, I am aware of the great role which motivation plays in the process of learning (A22)*; *Every student is unique. They differ in terms of age, aptitude, personality, cultural background, and capacity (A12)*.

Others, however, stress the practical activities (lesson planning and peer microteaching) as crucial for their development: *[I] realized the purpose of lesson planning when we started doing microteaching, it was something real, not just theoretical (B3)*, although they recognize that theory had some impact as well: *I have learned many useful things and concepts related to the teaching profession, but creating lesson plans made me realize how to use all of those things in practice (A3)*.

All these statements indicate that PSTs made considerable progress in their professional development. Starting with beliefs based on previous schooling (see 4.1.1.) and lay opinions, they changed their perspective completely basing new beliefs on the newly-acquired knowledge and the little practice they had.

4.2.2 Reflections on teaching as PSTs' future profession

Our PSTs reflected not only on the changes they had made during TEFL Methodology 1 but also on teaching as their future profession and what kind of teacher they would be, which Conway (2001) refers to as *anticipatory reflection*.

Quite a few PSTs admitted that they considered teaching as a career even before this course, while a number of them who had disliked the idea earlier started playing with it: *Before this course, I would never imagine myself being a teacher, but this course made me realize that it is nice to be able to teach (A15)*.

Describing themselves as future teachers, PSTs often mentioned the segments of the course that would inspire their teaching. They *would like to incorporate [Silent Way, Desuggestopedia, CLT] (B34)*. After realizing the role of motivation, they say they *would try to understand [their] students, to let them speak their minds and to try to overcome any of the difficulties they encounter while learning a language (A22)* and let them *experiment with different learning styles and strategies (B10)*.

Occasionally, PSTs state that becoming a teacher is a process and requires continuous professional development. They express hope that they will grow in the future, though it is not always clear whether they refer to future courses at university: *I will continue improving with time and practice (A13)* or once they get a job: *teaching and learning of the target language, is a process that will always need*

improvement. Even after we finish and get our bachelor's degree, that doesn't put a full stop to our journey (B8). Interestingly, only one PST mentions the importance of being a part of a larger community of L2 teachers (A17) for future development.

Most PSTs in our sample seriously considered teaching as a career and already had an idea of themselves as teachers. They stressed that different segments of the course had moulded that idea.

5 Limitations of the study and conclusion

The main aim of our study was to get “a more holistic picture of [PSTs'] belief structures” (Debreli 2012: 367). The corpus consisted of over 100 pages of *Reflective Essays* written by 65 PSTs, in which they described their own development from October to January.

The nature of the task (reflective essay) and the freedom given to PSTs to refer to what they found most significant seem to have provided the researchers with truthful and valid data, but at the same time posed two challenges: one, the form of the reflective essay made the classification of statements difficult since many topics overlapped (see 3.2.), and two, it was difficult to investigate what factors had crucially influenced the development of PSTs' beliefs (previous schooling, the course or something else).

As for the implications for teaching, the most important insight is how strong the beliefs developed by PSTs as learners are. Therefore, Niš English Department Methodology instructors should spend more time with PSTs discussing and (re) evaluating their previous schooling experiences in line with the objectives of the program.

Finally, the present study implies that changes in PSTs' beliefs were supported by their reflective practice. Reflection allowed PSTs to evaluate what they had learned during the course, critically analyse their previous learning experience, identify the qualities they considered important for teaching, examine their own professional growth, and provide clear justifications for their new beliefs. The study, therefore, shows that reflection should be incorporated in the curriculum before PSTs start their teaching practicum since it can facilitate their professional development even at that early stage of teacher education.

Bibliography

- Beauchamp, C. and Thomas, L. (2010). Reflecting on an ideal: Student teachers envision a future identity. *Reflective Practice*, 11(5), 631–643.
- Borg, S. (2003). Teacher cognition in language teaching: A review of research on what language teachers think, know, believe, and do. *Language Teaching*, 36(2), 81–109.
- Cabaroglu, N. and Roberts, J. (2000). Development in student teachers' preexisting beliefs during a 1-year PGCE programme. *System*, 28(3), 387–402.
- Conway, P. F. (2001). Anticipatory reflection while learning to teach: From a temporally truncated to a temporally distributed model of reflection in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17(1), 89–106.

- Debreli, E. (2012). Change in beliefs of pre-service teachers about teaching and learning English as a foreign language throughout an undergraduate pre-service teacher training program. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 46, 367–373.
- Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think: A restatement of the relation of reflective thinking to the educative process*. Boston: Heath and Company.
- Dumlao, R. P. and Pintacan, J. R. (2019). From practice to writing: Using reflective journal instruction in enhancing pre-service teachers' professional development. *International Journal of Instruction*, 12(4), 459–478.
- Farrell, T. S. (2013). *Reflective practice in ESL teacher development groups: From practices to principles*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Farrell, T. S. (2018). Operationalizing reflective practice in second language teacher education. *Journal of Second Language Teacher Education*, 1(1), 1–20.
- Hatton, N. and Smith D. (1995). Reflection in teacher education: Towards definition and implementation. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 11(1), 33–49.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. (2011). *Techniques and principles in language teaching* (3rd edn.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maaranen, K., Pitkäniemi, H., Stenberg, K. and Karlsson, L. (2016). An idealistic view of teaching: teacher students' personal practical theories. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 42(1), 80–92.
- Ončevska Ager, Elena. (2016). Pre-service teachers' cognitions regarding what goes on in the observed EFL classroom. *Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, 3(3), 53–60.
- Reynolds, B. L., Liu S., Van Ha, X., Zhang, X. and Ding, C. (2021). Pre-service teachers learning to teach English as a foreign language to preschool learners in Macau: A longitudinal study. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12. Available from: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.720660/full> [Accessed: September 11, 2022]
- Richards, J. C. and Lockhard, C. (1994). *Reflective teaching*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, L. P. (1992). Attitudes of entering university freshmen toward foreign language study: A descriptive analysis. *The Modern Language Journal*, 76(3), 275–283.
- Schön, D. A. (1987) *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Vosniadou, S., Lawson, M. J., Wyraa, M., Van Deura, P., Jeffries, D., and Darmawanb, I G. N. (2020). Pre-service teachers' beliefs about learning and teaching and about the self-regulation of learning: A conceptual change perspective. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 99. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0883035518322195> [Accessed: September 11, 2022]
- Yeşilbursa, A. (2011). Reflection at the interface of theory and practice: An analysis of pre-service English language teachers' written reflections. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 36(3), 104–116.
- Zheng, H. (2009). A review of research on EFL pre-service teachers' beliefs and practices. *Journal of Cambridge Studies*, 4(1), 73–81.

INTERCULTURALITY AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY IN BACHELOR THESIS WRITING: MENTORS' AND MENTEES' PERCEPTIONS

Mira Bekar
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
m.bekar@flf.ukim.edu.mk

This paper explores some aspects of the Anglo-centred (US-based and UK-based educational practices) academic literacy promoted in a non-native English academic context. It seeks to understand better how mentors who were trained and partly educated in an Anglo-centred settings, or never received education abroad, affect the bachelor thesis writing process of their mentees. Through several methods such as analysis of theses' structures written in L2 (English), surveys and semi-structured interviews with students and with their mentors in three fields, I will present the findings on how the student positioning is affected when they write a BA thesis in English, while simultaneously trying to cope with the transcultural instruction and the local institutional requirements. The thematic analysis also highlights a range of educational practices and understandings of the thesis writing process including, on one hand, how students build argumentation, distinguish between facts and opinions, become objective, avoid plagiarism following the Anglo-centred writing instruction and, on the other, a fluidity in how university professors use their diverse linguistic and educational resources for the same purpose, without challenging the dominating values of the L2 academic literacy.

Keywords: BA thesis writing, mentoring, L2 academic literacy, Anglo-centred writing, intercultural practices

ИНТЕРКУЛТУРАЛНОСТА И ИНТЕРДИСЦИПЛИНАРНОСТА ПРИ ПИШУВАЊЕТО ДИПЛОМСКИ ТЕЗИ: ВИДУВАЊА НА МЕНТОРИТЕ И НА МЕНТОРИРАНИТЕ СТУДЕНТИ

Мира Бекар
Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“ во Скопје
m.bekar@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Во фокусот на ова истражување се неколку аспекти на англоцентричниот пристап на академска писменост промовиран во неанглиски академски контекст. Целта е да се разбере подобро како менторите, кои се обучувани и делумно стекнале образование во странски образовни институции, како и оние што никогаш не биле дел од образовен процес во англофони средини, влијаат врз процесот на пишување дипломски трудови/тези од кандидатите што ги менторираат. Со помош на неколку научни методи, како што се анализа на структурата на трудовите напишани на странски јазик (англиски), анкети и интервјуа со отворени прашања со ментори и нивни студенти што ги менторираат, ќе ги презентирам сознанијата за тоа што влијае на позиционирањето на студентите преку академскиот дискурс додека пишуваат дипломски трудови на англиски јазик, а притоа, истовремено се трудат да се приспособат на транскултурните насоки за пишување како и на барањата за академско пишување на локалната образовна институција. Тематската анализа на собраните податоци укажува на широк опсег образовни практики и поимања за процесот на пишување дипломски трудови. Тука се вклучени, од една страна, аспектите за тоа како студентите градат аргументација, разликуваат факти од лични мислења, стануваат пообјективни, избегнуваат плагијати, следејќи ги принципите на англофоната академска писменост. Но, од друга страна, се покажуваат практиките кај универзитетските професори што ги употребуваат своите разновидни лингвистички и образовни ресурси за иста цел, без секогаш критички да ги доведат во прашање поставените доминантни англоцентрични вредности.

Клучни зборови: дипломски трудови, менторирање, академска писменост, англоцентрични принципи на пишување, пишување на втор/странски јазик, меѓукултурни практики

1 Introduction

The process of developing academic writing competence of students in their particular areas of practice, for particular contexts, involves what has been termed researching multilingually, i.e. researching the use of more than one language in research projects by students (e.g. the reading of the literature done mostly in English, providing data in the local language and in English. The examples provided by Holmes, Fay, Andrews & Attia (2013, 2016) describe students “collecting data in a language or languages different from that of the funding body, or in the case of doctoral students, that of the institution to which they belong, translating the data for the report, or thesis, not always aware of challenges of translation or the need for transparency.” The aim of this qualitative study is to understand: (1) what happens during the whole process of producing BA theses in L2, (2) how “rigorous” that process is in regard to the learning outcomes and confidence as local writers whose L1 (Macedonian) is different from the L2 (English), and who try to sound “international”, and (3) what the roles and perceptions of mentors who transfer the foreign academic literacy across borders are. The relevance emerges from the fact that while there has been extensive research on doctoral supervision, master and bachelor thesis supervision is comparatively much less researched (Anderson et al. 2006; Scholefield and Cox 2016), and findings from studies on doctoral supervision cannot be applied fully to the context of master/bachelor thesis writing, which is markedly different in several fundamental ways. Moreover, to my knowledge, relatively few studies have dealt with bachelor student experiences and perceptions of the context, where they are required to write in English (FL/L2), using the Anglo-centred approach (US-based and UK-based educational practices) in a local context (see Filippou et al. 2017).

In the paper, first, I outline some frameworks present in tertiary education in regard to mentoring and translanguaging practices; then, I analyse student theses' topics and structures written in L2 (English) and finally, I present the data analysis and findings of semi-structured interviews and surveys with four students and with their three mentors addressing various aspects of the thesis writing process in three fields: translation, literature and TESOL. The research encourages a more serious involvement into critical higher education, especially Anglo-centred writing literacy.

1.1 The Context

The institution where the participants in this study work as professors and mentors of student BA writing theses or are enrolled as undergraduate students operates mainly monolingually. This means that the language of instruction at this university is Macedonian except for the foreign language departments, where teaching is conducted mainly by Macedonian professors, some of whom have educational background at foreign universities. With the exception of some foreign language-oriented studies, mentoring and examination is also undertaken in Macedonian. This context inspired me to create a case for the position of translanguaging aspects in order to explore the institutional practices and the Anglo-centric influence (Edwards 2004).

The participants', both mentees' and mentors' primary and secondary education, as well as their BA degrees were all undertaken in Macedonia, where the L1 is Macedonian. The mentors involved in this study started learning English in private language schools at the age of 10, whereas students (mentees) started learning English in the second grade, which was a compulsory foreign language. Their first degree in English language and literature was taught in English. Thus, English was not just a foreign language (EFL) or their L2 (they consider it as such), but it was a language of academic study (EAP).

The first mentor (M1) has never had any official education abroad. One of the mentors (M3), did her MA in TESOL, in the UK, for a full academic year. The other one (M2) attended secondary school in the USA, for one semester and took undergraduate courses in the USA, twice for two months. Those that were educated abroad had the opportunity to explore the written discourse and the "required norms" international students should use when writing in English. This placed them in a context to research multilingually (Holmes et al. 2013; 2016). Specifically, they attended English-medium courses, read everything in English, and conducted research in English, but they also wrote literary pieces and research papers in Macedonian for Macedonian University Proceedings and Macedonian publishing houses. In the classes devoted to Academic writing, during their undergraduate studies, they were required to write compare and contrast essays, descriptions and narratives and produce some creative writing. They were not taught to build argumentation, incorporate sources nor develop rhetorical strategies. And back then, they were not required to write a BA thesis to show their writing skills in order to graduate, which is different from their mentees' graduation for which a 20-40-page long BA thesis is required.

The English Department where all the participants work or study provided *A Manual of Thesis Writing*, which gives clear guidelines about the format, layout font, font size, the length and number of copies, but it provides freedom in terms of content, structure and referencing style. It also requires a summary in Macedonian if the thesis is written in English (each Department of a foreign language allows students to write the thesis in the language they are majoring in). There are directions and suggestions for topic choice, avoiding plagiarism, and the structure. The suggested structure is Abstract, Main body and Bibliography. The Main body is described as a section which contains formulation of the problem, definition of the topic, description of the Methods, Data analysis with comments and Conclusion. But they are not stated as compulsory elements. The Manual does not provide distinctions that are discipline-specific.

1.2 Current BA thesis structures

The following three examples show how the structure, format and content of BA theses differ in the three subdisciplines mentioned, which is a result of the flexibility given by the Manual and the mentors:

a. Topic and the structure of Thesis 1 in Translation by S3:

This graduation paper provides a comparative analysis of the three Macedonian translations of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*.¹ The structure includes: Abstract, Introduc-

¹ The purpose of choosing this topic is to conduct a definitive research of these three translations and to determine their quality as well as answer the question of whether any progress has been achieved

tion, Translating poetry (theory), Methodology (Defining concepts and translation techniques such as calques, transposition, etc.), Loss and gain, (Un)translatability, Map of Deviations, The Beat Generation, Howl, Introducing the three different translations of Howl, Data analysis of excerpts, Conclusion, Summary in Macedonian, Bibliography.

b. The structure of the thesis 2 in Literature by S2:

The thesis analysed the psychological and moral development of the two protagonists Ged and Tenar, from Ursula Le Guin's novels *A Wizard of Earthsea* and *Tehanu*, respectively, and depicts their journey towards individuation. The structure includes: Abstract, Introduction, A Wizard of Earthsea (plot summary and Coming of age), Tehanu (plot summary and Stages of development according to the Myth of the Hero, according to the heroine's journey), Conclusion, Summary in Macedonian, and References.

c. The topic and the structure of thesis 3 in TESOL by S4

The aim of this thesis was to take a look at SEN students' school lives, i.e. (1) how many SEN students are enrolled in schools across the country, (2) how they learn English as a second language and the difficulties they face in the process, and (3) if (individualized educational plans) IEPs are available for and implemented by Macedonian teachers. The structure consists of: Abstract, Summary in Macedonian, Introduction, Literature review, Macedonian SEN students statistics, Research Methodology, Understanding and working with SEN students (SEN Students' experiences, SENs from a dialectologist's point of view), Key findings and discussion from the research questions, Conclusions and recommendations, References, and Appendix.

d. The topic and the structure of thesis 4 in Literature by S1

The thesis focused on *The Zoo Story*, a play by Edward Albee with the aim to contribute to its range of interpretations by analysing its existential aspects such as alienation, miscommunication, solitude, the meaninglessness of life etc.² A linguistic analysis of the play was encompassed to provide a substantial line of reasoning when it comes to disintegration of communication. The structure consisted of: Abstract, Introduction, Theory-Existentialism, Analysis, Conclusion, Summary in Macedonian, and Bibliography.

The common features of all BA theses' structures are: Abstract, Summary in Macedonian, Introduction, Theory (understood in the broadest sense from definition, to theoretical frameworks to literature reviews), Data analysis, Conclusion and References. The Methods and Research methodology differ significantly. In the TESOL thesis the research methodology follows the format of most frequently suggested structures for this section by Manuals and Reference books, whereas in

in the translation process in the almost forty years spanning between the first and last Macedonian translation of the poem.

² A mosaic by pinpointing the correlatives between the Theatre of the Absurd and Existentialism (narrowing down to Søren Kierkegaard, Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre as its pioneers), and place *The Zoo Story* within this framework was created.

the Translation and Literature theses the students were asked to define the concepts analysed and the plot summary along with the main features of the novels that are subject of research. In the translation thesis, the Methods section is about methods of translation, not about research methods. Moreover, in the Literature thesis there is no Methods section and the data analysis is about one concentration - the development of the main character, which makes the thesis more of a thematic analysis and a narrative. The theses in literature have no separate Results section, and the focus is on the analysis of excerpts about major concepts.

2 Research on international, translingual writing and thesis mentoring

To understand “internationalisation” we need to see different internationalisation-related educational practices of students and their mentors. As Donahue (2009) raised awareness that US scholars must reorient their discourses accepting the idea that their field is not the only source of writing theory in higher education, in a similar manner the mentors included in my study believed that the Macedonian writing practices do not always offer what mentees and scholars need for concise research and argumentation-based writing and oriented themselves towards the Anglo-centred one. Therefore, for the purpose of this research I use the concept of “internationalisation”, as a process in which one orients their discourse towards a foreign academic literacy that is “privileged”, but with the aim not to impose, and simultaneously support students to maintain some local writing practices such as less rigorous critical approach, a more balanced approach to argumentation and some emotion-driven analysis meaning that students’ relate to the thesis personally and objectivity of the analysis is affected by their emotions. There are views of some scholars and learners that the imposition of English is seen as a colonizing act at times, or as Donahue (2009) stated, “interestingly, more often by the English speakers doing the imposing,” especially with teaching of written English that in some non-US-based educational contexts is greatly influenced by US models because of certain political, ideological and pedagogical reasons. In this context, together with my colleague Fay we suggested that “dominant flows of expectations from privileged languages and academic contexts could be challenged” (Bekar & Fay 2020: 42). Operating within Kachru’s (1985:12) Concentric Circles Model framework, countries such as Macedonia are referred to as “Expanding Circle” countries that had zero to minimal colonial impact and history, whose varieties of English used are different from those found in countries where English is largely the “native”/ L1 language (“Inner Circle” countries such as the USA, UK, Canada, etc.) and from the “Outer Circle” countries with “institutionalized second-language variety of English” that has “a long history of acculturation.” Additionally, Canagarajah’s (2013) used the notion of “translingual practice” in connection with the challenges of designing language pedagogy in contemporary contexts, while Holmes et al. (2013) defined the concept of “researching multilingually” as “the ways in which researchers conceptualise, understand, and make choices about generating, analysing, interpreting and reporting data when more than one language is involved” (p. 297). The concrete translingual and transnational research aspects addressed in my study are: engagement with literature written in different languages, adopting and

adapting structures of thesis as a genre, which in the end are a combination of recommended IMRD structure (Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion) and preferred local structures, and finally, coping with the diverse linguistic reality in the process.

There has been extensive research on PhD thesis mentoring, master and bachelor thesis mentoring (Anderson et al. 2006; Scholefield and Cox 2016). However, bachelor thesis writing process is different in some significant aspects from master thesis or PhD thesis writing. Scholars have explored the importance of mentorship in guiding students' learning and promoting researcher development throughout the journey (Kobayashi, Grout, & Rump 2013), or they address the impact of relationship between mentors and mentees on the satisfaction with their studies (Ives & Rowley 2005; Mainhard et al. 2009). Supervision may be perceived as "a secret garden where student and mentor engage with little external scrutiny or accountability" (Halse 2011, p. 557) or an agonistic master-slave relation (Grant 2008). Others have tried to define 'good' supervision and the role of the mentor in regard to the successfulness of specific supervision methods (Grant 2008; Roberts & Seaman 2018). Only few comparative, cross-country and cross-disciplinary studies were conducted (e.g., Sidhu et al. 2014, Hu et al. 2016).

The relationship between the mentor and the mentee in bachelor and master contexts reflects a situation in which mentees rely on their mentors too much, but at the same time they feel the need to show that they can do their own research, while being allowed to decide on their own (e.g. Filippou et al. 2017). Other scholars such as Bekar and Yakhontova (2021) showed that *the self* of the thesis writer consists of four major dimensions: uncertainty of competence as academic writers, emotionally loaded situations affecting writing, supervisory relationships, and personal efforts to overcome difficulties. Mentors should teach students to question "the givens" involved in an educational situation. If a critical action seeks to be transformative (see Freire 1970, 1973; Pennycook 2010), the individual should problematize the genesis and the givens of the action possibilities they perceive in the particular educational context. Considering everything mentioned above the complexity of the relation between the mentors, the mentees and the specific aspects of the thesis writing process will be addressed further.

3 Methods

3.1 Instruments and participants

The instruments used in this study included a survey, semi-structured interviews and thesis structure analysis. A survey consisting of 18 questions was distributed to three mentors in the fields of Literature, Translation and Applied linguistics (TESOL). Another survey consisting of 22 questions was distributed to their four mentees who defended their theses in the period between 2017 and 2020. Both surveys covered the following areas: demographics, educational background with the emphasis on the exposure to Anglo-centred education, formatting, structuring of the thesis and the process of making decisions about it, the awareness of the differences of the English and local academic literacies, the specific language used, and

reflecting on issues such as objectivity, distinguishing between facts and opinions, and avoiding plagiarism by acquiring other skills. Additionally, I used semi-structured interviews with some of the participants for further explanation and details, in cases when the answers were not addressing the issues required. The analysis of the student theses meant analysis of the choice and spectrum of the topic, the structure and the linguistic elements used.

Three professors and four students were involved. The professors were colleagues of the researcher, whereas the students used to study at the same Department where the researcher works. However, the researcher was not involved in the supervision process. The three professors, at the time of the survey, were at the rank of Assistant and Associate professors at a local public university. They all work for the English department and prepare students to become English teachers, translators and interpreters. The fields they obtained their PhDs in are British and American literature, TESOL and Translation/Interpreting from English into Macedonian and vice versa. They reported on the length of mentoring bachelor thesis writers, six to eight years, and on the years of teaching writing - 10-15 years. English was a compulsory subject in the elementary public schools they attended. After all that exposure to English, along with the fact they do multilingual research and publish in English, it (English) is even more than just a foreign language. Thus, we can say that the professional context of the mentors is transcultural.

The four mentees, aged 21-23 at the time of the graduation, all studied at the Department of English Language and Literature, defended their theses between 2017 and 2020, in the areas of British and American literature, TESOL and Translation/Interpreting. Their primary, secondary education, as well as their BA degree were all undertaken in Macedonia, where the language of instruction was Macedonian, while at the university, both English and Macedonian were used. None of them spent any time abroad for academic purposes, but their exposure to English was immense considering that they belong to the Internet age and English is a compulsory subject throughout their whole elementary education. Additionally, they took private English classes to develop their speaking, reading and writing competences. The answers to the surveys are deeply grounded in this heavy exposure to English.

4 Data Analysis and Results

The surveys were not exactly the same but they addressed same major issues. The method thematic analysis was used. It is a highly inductive method, meaning that the themes came to light from the data, and patterns of meaning were identified and explained. I have categorised the responses into thematic units such as greatest challenges for translingual writers, Anglo-centred academic literacy practices, and thesis formatting and structuring related issues.

4.1 Greatest challenges

Mentors were asked to reflect on the greatest challenges in the process of mentoring thesis writing in another language. They pointed out the struggle they experience

when they explain the balance or what should be transferred from L2 (English) into the local academic writing culture. More specifically, they described the difficulties they face teaching BA thesis writers to avoid transfer from their L1 writing, and the hard time they experienced in deciding what kind of feedback would benefit the students, and not only teach them the format but “the rationale behind the format of their graduation papers”, as one of the mentors (M3) stated. Mentor 1 (M1), unlike the other two, has never spent any time educating himself in an Anglo-centred environment, and they mentioned the following:

“The biggest challenge that I face when mentoring BA thesis is how to ensure that the students follow the standard academic practices in structuring the thesis, providing solid and substantiated arguments, following the citation and referencing rules, as well as maintaining the language level required for academic writing.” (M1)

The quote shows the challenges, which local mentors observe, perhaps as a result of their full immersion in the local writing practices throughout their education, and never having formal academic experiences in an English-speaking country. Their instruction for teaching academic writing practices was acquired through Manuals, written materials and online sources. Their publications were only for local or regional publishing venues.

I further asked the mentors to reflect on how exactly and in which areas they helped their mentees gain or develop writing-related skills and how much that instruction was based on the Anglo-centred norms of thesis writing. All mentors mentioned the issue of defining concepts and avoiding plagiarism with proper paraphrasing, summarizing and citing. Two of them pointed out the challenges of teaching students to provide arguments and counter arguments as well as to distinguish between facts and opinions. Only one mentor mentioned the issue of teaching mentees to be objective. The “further explanation with arguments and counter arguments” and the awareness of the importance of “providing context in argumentation” is what exactly was challenging in regard to “proper” argumentation. In regard to the aspect of defining concepts, mentors reflected on their feedback activities, stating that they try to challenge the given definitions presented in the literature in such a way as to negotiate more between themselves about what is relevant and what is not for the thesis’ purposes. Students did not have this practice during their previous education. Mentors’ comments pushed the mentees to clarify the notions they write about, first to themselves, then to the readers. The mentors who were educated abroad have learned the skill of developing a working definition of the major concept they are exploring, a skill that is not that much encouraged in the Macedonian context, since the respect for the important scholars is the frequently accepted instruction.

“I have pointed out that it is useful for the readers to know which concepts are going to be discussed in the thesis and applied to the selected literary works. I have therefore suggested to the student to define and explain them from the beginning, i.e. in the Introduction to the thesis rather than later, and then apply them to the specific works.” (M2)

Students reflected deeper on the same issue – the challenges of the whole writing process, what they felt comfortable with, and what they most needed help with. What they mostly enjoyed was: how collaborative the whole process was (referring to the mentor's engagement) and the brainstorming sessions about the title and argumentation (S1); being allowed to work on something you have “immense personal interest in” and being disciplined (S3). The biggest challenges for the mentees were: “keeping a fine balance between creative input and building argumentation based on previous research”; writing the main claims (reported by S1); pushing oneself to start writing, long quotations (S2); gathering more material increases the difficulty of distinguishing what is truly important, length, as reported by S4, who is grateful to her mentor deciding for her which paragraphs could be cut out. Interestingly, students reported that avoiding plagiarism and distinguishing between facts and opinions was something they were familiar with because of the practice in the writing classes, whereas mentors stated that these aspects present great challenges for them to be properly taught to the students, due to the fact that in the Macedonian educational system no serious attention is paid to plagiarism.

One of the three mentors (M3) mentioned objectivity as a challenge when mentoring, and one of the students described this challenge precisely, stating: “One of the translations I was analysing was done by one of my professors, who I greatly admire. So, it's a little more difficult to write and judge, in a way, the work of someone you know and respect professionally, than of some other, “faceless” person” (S2). Their feeling is that it is harder to be objective in Macedonian than in English. Another student, S4, who is a mentee of M3, admitted that she was not being fully objective and was told this by her mentor; the reason being the level of loaded emotions related to the topic of students with special needs (SEN).

To sum up, challenges are of different nature but those that dominate for mentors and mentees are “defining of the main claim” and “being objective”, which are skills not addressed in Macedonian academic writing but are rather learned through the process of internationalisation, i.e., accepting the Anglo-centred strategies for developing these skills.

4.2 Anglo-centred literacy practices

The second example is about mentors' and mentees perceptions of the Anglo-centred academic literacy, which is the preferred one at the English Department, at Ss. Cyril and Methodius university in the Republic of N. Macedonia. M1 (Translation mentor) understands the notion of “import” of foreign academic practices as borrowing “strategies of objectivity, argumentation and reliable facts and opinions.” Similarly to him, M2 (Literature mentor) believes that what she “imported” is “to teach students that writing a bachelor theses means to write directly, conveying the main points straight away from the beginning; to distinguish between more and less relevant information and select only what is directly related to their thesis; and to check information from multiple sources.” Along that line of thinking, M3 (the TESOL mentor) emphasised the fact that what she lacked with the Macedonian writing, which she consulted before going abroad “didn't fill [her] with confidence in regard to research rigour, organization of ideas, strength of argumentation, clar-

ity of expression.” Therefore, she adopted international academic practices. When asked to comment on this further, especially if students sometimes combine the two (L1 and L2) writing practices, M1 admitted that combining is crucial due to the fact that “our students have come through our educational system and have arrived to their studies with already formed academic and writing habits.” The other mentors were strongly against this, stating that they “mainly convey to students the Anglo-centred/English-based approach” because they themselves have been exposed to it, they practice it for their teaching and publishing purposes, and want to prepare their mentees for the international reader.

Here, the dual perception of the mentees is worth mentioning. They believe strongly in all aspects of Anglo-centred writing, except for some points related to division of sections, and at the same time do not see this academic style as “privileged”, as critical pedagogues perceive it. For instance, M1 believes that the “privilege” is in the opportunity of students to learn about other writing practices apart from the local ones. For M3, the perception of “privileged” is that “Anglo-centred practices appear to be fit for purpose.” Similarly to M3, the literature mentor (M2) sees the use of English and American writing models just as a logical and expected tool or as she put it “since my students are students at the Department of English Language and Literature and study this field, they are mainly exposed to the Anglo-centred set of understandings of genre, argumentation and logic, so I wouldn’t say that this is the privileged or dominant form in general at university level.”

Students’ perceptions about the academic language required for BA theses were slightly different. Two of them (S1 and S4) were confident since the Academic writing courses they took at the university prepared them well for the academic tone and discourse. S2 stated that they “became more aware of the linguistic patterns and the overall structure after the first draft was revised by the mentor.” S3 felt that writing academically in English just “comes naturally when you study the language so long.” All four mentees mentioned that they learned how to paraphrase, summarise and cite from the professors who taught them these skills and from their mentors. Only S4 added that the books and excerpts she used during the process affected her writing, too. This implies that students rely heavily on and have full trust in their mentors’ writing practices. Mentees do not perceive anything as being imposed on them nor challenge the preferred practices of mentors.

What follows are some exact linguistic structures I noticed in their theses such as use of pronouns, academic register choices, Anglicism, sentence length etc. Students confirmed they learned them from the “typical English writing” to make them sound “more confident” in English:

(1) “The backbone of the theatre of the absurd is Existentialism; and, since Existentialism has many representatives both in philosophy and in literature, for the purpose of my thesis I shall limit to its founding fathers: Søren Kierkegaard, Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre, respectively.” (S1)

(2) “An equally significant aspect of...”; “it should be noted...”; “interesting is the fact that...”; “this thesis is grounded upon the insights of..” (S2)

(3) “Through the exercises and conversations we had mostly in English and tailored to their proficiency level, I gained immeasurable information about SEN students’ foreign language learning.” (S4)

Another linguistic feature that is not typical of the Macedonian academic writing is the use of first person singular. In our writing tradition the inclusive pronoun “we” is recommended because it includes the audience. However, all four students were allowed and even encouraged to use “I” by their mentors, who themselves acquired this strategy by the exposure to the Anglophone writing. Only one student used a combination of “I” and “We.” “I” was predominantly used by her when “expressing a really strong personal opinion.” Students believe that “1st person singular increases accountability.” S4 combined the use of “I” with passive forms because for some instances the passive “sounded more professional” at certain points.

Further on, students defined the major differences between academic literacy in Macedonian and in English, more specifically in regards to the following:

(1) Macedonian sentences being significantly longer and “more flowery in terms of language”; (2) Macedonian writing lacking structure due to “frequent digression and comparisons with other works” (S2);

(3) English sounding more academic, which is the reason for many accepted Anglicisms that “significantly changed the Macedonian academic writing style” (S2);

(4) The academic writing in English being “more clear, better structured and just more succinct in general, while Macedonians like to over-explain” (S3), and

(4) “bi-lingual writers reflecting on personal thoughts, feelings and sentiments more heavily when they write in Macedonian, and they are more factual when writing in English” (S4).

Students in this study as bi- and multilinguals do approach critically the differences between “typical” Anglo-centred and Macedonian academic literacy and seem to be fully aware of: the dominance of narration in Macedonian versus conciseness in English; over-elaboration of certain concepts by using much longer sentences in Macedonian; and emotion-driven research in Macedonian, which may lead to missing out important details - not a feature of objective focused academic writing in the Anglo-centred writing tradition.

4.3 Formatting and structuring of the thesis

Mentors and mentees work hard on formatting and structuring the BA theses. At the Macedonian university there is no standardised style for formatting the BA theses nor for citing sources; therefore, the English Department proposes APA or MLA citations styles, accepted in linguistics and literature fields. However, the other professors who come from different educational and disciplinary backgrounds use different citation and formatting systems (e.g. French, German, Russian educational backgrounds). The need for local writing cultures is recognised and appreciated, and often the dominance of APA style is challenged. The lack of standardised, required structure, format and the variety of options for the referencing styles provide both mentors and mentees some freedom in choosing what to borrow from international academic writing practices and what to keep from the local ones.

For instance, in my research, the literature mentor explicitly stated that for her it is more important that students “provide a historical overview and compare literary works from different aspect than to have a Results section” (M2). “The focus should be on the analysis”, she added. Similarly to this, M1 (the translation/inter-

pretation mentor) stated that “the focus is more on the analysis and critical discussion than on the structure of the thesis.” The TESOL mentor (M3) does not “insist on students formulating hypotheses because they clash with how [she] understands research,” additionally, she believes that “any inquiry is best approached with an open mind, rather than with an explicitly formulated ‘agenda’ of sorts.” For her, content is more important than structure.

Such comments sound liberating, because research showed that L2 writers of English feel anxieties to meet requirements of thesis production at foreign universities. They perceive that those professors who strictly follow Anglo-centred norms such as accurate usage of formatting, citation and punctuation style affect negatively the positioning of the students as an aspiring young scholars (e.g. “I was quite anxious at the start of the process” or “Formal instructions were lacking, what I had was a piece of advice and instructions shared by my mentor over a cup of coffee”). In this sense, the flexibility of the mentors’ comments such as the ones above are not discouraging for the mentees when producing their first complex academic task, and are not promoting an ethnocentric approach, which may make them feel like they are not adequate for the task, in this case, not graduating just on the basis of not knowing the Anglo-centred academic writing conventions. All mentees agreed that they used the format and structure by combining the basic instructions provided by the institutions, but fully adopted the suggested structure by the mentors. The templates from previous students worked for three mentees, but not for one. Basically, students benefitted most from the templates given to them to follow.

Questioning the Anglo-centred approach to academic writing did not occur, but questioning of the local (Macedonian) approach did happen, both by professors and students. More specifically, they promoted the Anglo-centred practices (as presented in many Manuals, Guidebooks and writing courses), and criticised the local ways of: writing of the main claim, providing arguments and counter arguments, defining concepts, distinguishing between facts and personal opinions, developing a critical stance, and avoiding plagiarism with proper paraphrasing, summarizing and citing that is expected in one educational context. However, although they promoted them as they reported, they did not force these practices.

5 Discussion of findings and conclusion

This study explored the experiences of mentors and mentees in the process of writing BA thesis in the English language, used by the participants as L2 and for academic practices (EAP). The exposure to the English-medium instruction in regard to academic writing was seen as a positive experience by all participants. The understanding of the BA thesis as a genre, building argumentation, using sources, writing precise and shorter sentences, being objective, all of which were promoted through the Anglo-centred values, were not considered privileged, but just seen as tools that are fit for the purpose of thesis writing. There were fewer Macedonian-centred understandings of the above mentioned concepts.

My intention was to show which choices were more dominant in the English-based academic rhetorical and linguistic “norms”, how those benefit or disadvantage students and whether the participants challenge any of those understand-

ings and choices. After analysing students' theses in terms of structure, content, formatting and language used, and after performing a thematic analysis of the surveys and semi-structured interviews findings showed that Macedonian mentors and mentees who work and study in the field of English language and literature do not challenge the Anglo-centred writing practices, but rather see them as something that comes naturally as a result of a long exposure. But they challenged the Macedonian writing practices even though the exposure to them has been much longer. This can be described as a process of acquiring "survival skills for the academic world", as defined by Bekar and Fay (2020). Both L2 mentors and mentees learn how to adapt skilfully to the expectations of readers of BA theses according to the requirements of the Macedonian institution. Additionally, mentees learn to embrace, without questioning, the requirements of the Macedonian mentors who practice the Anglo-centred academic strategies while accepting "internationalisation" and interculturality.

What looks concerning, and you may (dis)agree with me is that these experiences, situated in a peripheral setting, in terms of academic and language status, highlight the fact that dominating languages, dominating contexts are adopted with less criticality. Mentors do not approach critically the normative values except in a sense of replacing the local with the foreign because it serves the purpose better. Mentees do not even challenge the directions given by their mentors and seem to align easily, because they treat their mentors as experts. This might be due to the fact that in "expanding circle countries academic English has not been "institutionalized" and there has not been "a long history of acculturation", to use Kachru's concepts. Being critical involves "contesting mythological and ideological values, concepts, principles, and the ways knowledge is produced and reproduced" (Simpson, 2020). but why only towards the local writing practices? In his sense, translingual and international young scholarship is the one which will benefit from contesting of the ideological values and bringing the international voice in, particularly the aspiring scholars who are less familiar with the methods of performing criticality in education research.

Bibliography

- Bekar, M., and Fay, R. (2020). Developing Anglo-centric literacy: Problematizing understandings of criticality. In A. Simpson, and F. Dervin (Eds.), *The meaning of criticality in education research: Reflecting on critical pedagogy* (pp. 23-45). Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- Bekar, M., and Yakhontova, T. (2021). Dimensions of student writers' self in qualitative research interviews. In L. M. Muresan and C. Orna-Montesinos (Eds.) *Academic Literacy Development: Perspectives on Multilingual Scholars' Approaches to Writing*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. London: Routledge.
- Delcambre, I, and Reuter, Y. The French Didactics Approach to Writing, from Elementary School to University. In B. Daunay, I. Delcambre, Y. Reuter and V. d'Ascq (Eds.), *Didactique du Français: Le Socioculturel en Question*. Presses Universitaires de Septentrion.
- Donahue, C. (2009). Internationalization' and Composition Studies: Reorienting the Discourse. *College Composition and Communication* 61(2): 212-243.

- Edwards, V. (2004). *Multilingualism in the English-speaking world*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Filippou, K., Kallo, J., & Mikkilä-Erdmann, M. (2017). Students' views on thesis supervision in international master's degree programmes in Finnish universities. *Intercultural Education*, 28(3), 334–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2017.1333713>
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York: Seabury.
- Grant, B. M. (2008). Agonistic Struggle: Master slave dialogues in humanities supervision. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 7(1), 9–27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022207084880>
- Halse, C. (2011). Becoming a supervisor': The impact of doctoral supervision on supervisors' learning, *Studies in Higher Education*, 36(5), 557-570, DOI: [10.1080/03075079.2011.594593](https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2011.594593)
- Holmes, P., Fay, R., Andrews, J., and Attia, M. (2013). Researching multilingually: New theoretical and methodological directions. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), 285–299.
- Holmes, P., Fay, R., Andrews, J., and Attia, M. (2016). How to research multilingually: Possibilities and complexities. In H. Zhu (Ed.), *Research methods in intercultural communication: A practical guide* (pp. 88–102). London: Wiley.
- Hu, Y., van der Rijst, R. M., van Veen, K., and Verloop, N. (2016). The purposes and processes of master's thesis supervision: a comparison of Chinese and Dutch supervisors. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 35(5), 910–924. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2016.1139550>
- Ives, G., and G. Rowley. (2005). "Supervisor Selection or Allocation and Continuity of Supervision: Ph.D. Students' Progress and Outcomes." *Studies in Higher Education* 30: 535–555.
- Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk and H. Widdowson (eds.). *English in the world: Teaching and learning of language and literature*, 11-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kobayashi, S., B. Grout, and CØ Rump. (2013). "Interaction and Learning in PhD Supervision—a Qualitative Study of Supervision with Multiple Supervisors." *Dansk Universitetspædagogisk Tidsskrift* 8: 13–25.
- Mainhard, T., R. van der Rijst, J. van Tartwijk, and T. Wubbels. (2009). "A Model for the Supervisor–Doctoral Student Relationship." *Higher Education* 58: 359–373.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Critical applied linguistics: a critical introduction*. London, Routledge.
- Roberts, L. D., and Seaman, K. (2018). Good undergraduate dissertation supervision: perspectives of supervisors and dissertation coordinators. *International Journal for Academic Development*, 23(1), 28–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1360144X.2017.1412971>
- Scholefield, D., and Cox, G. (2016). Evaluation of a model of dissertation supervision for 3rd year B.Sc. undergraduate nursing students. *Nurse Education in Practice*, 17, 78–85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nepr.2015.11.006>
- Sidhu et. al. (2014). Postgraduate supervision: Comparing student perspectives from Malaysia and the United Kingdom. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 123, 151-159.
- Simpson, A. (2020). Introduction: Beyond impotent criticality in education research? In A. Simpson, and F. Dervin (Eds.), *The meaning of criticality in education research: Reflecting on critical pedagogy* (pp. 23-45). Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.

THE EFFECT OF DISTANCE LEARNING ON STUDENT EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING IN A PANDEMIC CONTEXT

Milena Sazdovska-Pigulovska
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
milena.sazdovska@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Distance learning signifies a transformation in the sphere of education, characterized by use of technology as well as new ways of learning and cooperating. Despite the multitude of international scholarly conferences and panel discussions on how to improve the quality of online education, students were seldom consulted on how they personally coped with or felt about the introduced changes and whether they experienced emotional and social consequences from the shift to distance learning. This creates a strong need to investigate how distance learning affects student emotional and social well-being. Emotional well-being can be conceptualized as the balance of experienced feelings (positive and negative) and the perceived feelings (happiness and satisfaction) and is strongly connected to psychological well-being (personal growth, environmental mastery, autonomy) and social well-being (social integration and contribution) (Keyes 2007). The purpose of this study is to explore whether distance learning has an impact on student emotional and social well-being. Online survey research was conducted among 60 translation and interpreting students in North Macedonia, which results suggest that students are highly impacted from an emotional and social point of view. A variety of emotional intelligence-related activities can be integrated to improve specific areas from both academic and personal point of view, such as self-awareness, self-management, motivation and empathy as generic competences of key importance during isolated distance learning as well as for a future profession as translators and interpreters.

Keywords: emotional and social well-being, emotional intelligence, distance learning, emotions

ЕФЕКТОТ НА УЧЕЊЕТО НА ДАЛЕЧИНА ВРЗ ЕМОЦИОНАЛНАТА И СОЦИЈАЛНАТА БЛАГОСОСТОЈБА НА СТУДЕНТИТЕ ВО ПАНДЕМИСКИ КОНТЕКСТ

Милена Саздовска-Пигуловска
Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“ во Скопје
milena.szadzovska@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Преминот кон учење на далечина претставува трансформација во областа на образованието и се карактеризира со примена на технологија и нови начини на учење и остварување соработка. И покрај големиот број меѓународни научни конференции и панел-дискусии посветени на подобрување на квалитетот на онлајн-образованието, студентите ретко се консултираат за мислење како тие лично се справуваат со новитетите, односно дали се соочуваат со емоционални и социјални последици како резултат на учењето на далечина. Ова создава потреба да се испита како учењето на далечина влијае врз емоционалната и врз социјалната благосостојба на студентите. Емоционалната благосостојба се дефинира како рамнотежа меѓу доживеаните (позитивни или негативни) и осознаените чувства (среќа и задоволство), при што емоционалната благосостојба е тесно поврзана со психичката благосостојба (личен развој, владеење со околината, автономија) и социјалната благосостојба (социјална интеграција и придонес) (Keyes 2007). Целта на овој труд е да се истражи дали учењето на далечина влијае врз емоционалната и врз социјалната благосостојба на студентите. Спроведено е истражување меѓу 60 студенти на студиите по преведување и толкување во Република Северна Македонија, при што резултатите покажуваат дека учењето на далечина има голем ефект врз студентите од емоционален и од социјален аспект. Во таа насока може да се применат низа активности од областа на емоционалната интелигенција, со цел подобрување на конкретните слабости од академски, но и од личен аспект, како самосвесноста, управувањето со сопствените емоции, мотивацијата и емпатијата. Се работи за генерички компетенции, кои имаат огромна важност за време на изолацијата при учењето на далечина, како и, воопшто, за идната професија преведувач и толкувач.

Клучни зборови: емоционална и социјална благосостојба, емоционална интелигенција, учење на далечина, емоции

1 Introduction

Distance learning is an educational format that has become increasingly popular in recent years due to its many advantages, especially in the pandemic context. However, due to its unique characteristics, it is reasonable to expect that distance learning has emotional and social implications for students. Hence, it is necessary to examine both the benefits and risks of distance learning in the academic environment. Numerous academics have explored the effect of distance learning on student satisfaction (Kerzič et al. 2021), its effect on student mental health (Lischer, Safi and Dickson 2021) and on different aspects of student life (Aristovnik et al 2020), whereas many authors determine that students experienced emotional stress during online education (Zapata-Ospina 2021) as well as discouragement, boredom, confusion, and worry (Baltà-Salvador et al. 2021), etc.

Even though previous studies focus on the impact of e-learning on student well-being (Butnaru et al. 2021; Popescu et al. 2021; Clabaugh Duque and Fields 2021), emotional and social implications of distance learning continue to be issues of secondary importance and there is a research gap that needs to be filled especially in the field of interdisciplinary studies, such as translation and interpreting. Namely, conducting online translation and interpreting education is particularly challenging (Hubscher-Davidson and Devaux 2021; Sazdovska-Pigulovska 2021). Therefore, the main goal of this paper is to investigate the link between online translation and interpreting education and emotional and social well-being in an academic context. Online survey research was conducted in 2022 among 60 translation and interpreting students from North Macedonia, whereas the author concludes that distance learning results in significant emotional and social implications for students.

2 Theoretical background

Well-being is a wide-ranging term for physical and emotional safety and a feeling of belonging, sense of purpose, achievement and success, whereas five main types of well-being can be distinguished, such as emotional, physical, social, workplace and societal well-being (Davis 2019). Keyes (2002) suggests a multidimensional approach which includes emotional well-being, psychological well-being and social well-being.

In particular, Davis (2019) defines emotional well-being as the ability to be resilient, manage one's emotions and generate emotions that lead to good feelings. Emotional well-being can be conceptualized as the balance of experienced feelings (positive and negative) and the perceived feelings (happiness and satisfaction) and is strongly connected to psychological well-being (personal growth, environmental mastery, autonomy) and social well-being (social integration and contribution) (Keyes 2007). Emotional well-being includes a positive balance of pleasant to unpleasant affect and a cognitive appraisal of satisfaction with life in general (Keyes 2003).

Initial research already suggests that higher well-being is associated with better mental and physical health, higher self-esteem, self-efficacy and effective coping

strategies (Brett, Mathieson and Rowley 2022). Furthermore, evidence shows a possible link between well-being and academic achievement (Gräbel 2017; Cheng et al. 2021) as well as between psychological well-being and student achievement (Ryff and Singer 2008). It is therefore valuable to explore potential emotional and social implications of distance learning. It can be initially assumed that students are not only affected by virtual learning platforms, but also by their personal experiences and emotions.

3 Research questions and hypotheses

Two research questions are discussed in this paper, as follows:

1. Does distance learning have emotional and social implications for university students?
2. Do students experience emotions during distance learning, which influence their behaviour?

The research questions result in the following two hypotheses:

H1. Distance learning has emotional and social implications for university students.

The first hypothesis is based on the author's findings from a previous research conducted in 2021 showing that many students experienced hardship during distance learning in the current pandemic context, visible through frequent absence from online classes and assignments, dropout, changes in emotional behaviour, such as low confidence and demotivation during online classes, lack of empathy and interest in teamwork, etc. Hence, to assess emotional and social well-being of surveyed students, the PERMA theory of psychological well-being was applied (Seligman 2011), which is founded on five elements, as follows:

- positive emotion (from past and present experiences);
- engagement (involving full deployment of students' skills and attention);
- relationships (connections to others are fundamental to well-being and to adaptation, and are enabled by one's capacity for compassion, empathy, teamwork, cooperation);
- a sense of meaning (which is obtained through a feeling of belonging); and
- accomplishments (implying achievement, success and mastery).

The PERMA model is a theoretical approach that is frequently applied for assessment of key elements of happiness and well-being, which can be used to identify stressors in the environment and thus help find ways for improvement of student well-being.

H2. Students experience a number of emotions during distance learning, which influence their behaviour.

The second hypothesis is made bearing in mind that emotions do not function independently, as emotion and cognition are reciprocally affected (García 2012), and that emotions are significant factors in student engagement during online learning (Pentaraki and Burkholder 2017) as well as that positive emotions support academic performance, whereas negative emotions (anger, shame, anxiety and boredom) are more associated with lower levels of performance (Pekrun et al. 2011).

4 Methodology

For the purposes of this research, a cross-sectional survey study was conducted in the first half of 2022 to assess the overall distance learning experience of 60 undergraduate students who spent four semesters of online classes at the Department of Translation and Interpreting within the Faculty of Philology in Skopje, North Macedonia. The respondents' age range was between 20-24 years. Considering that it is not possible to assess emotional aspects with mathematical precision, qualitative survey design was applied by constructing an online questionnaire with 10 open-ended questions with descriptive explanations.

The emotional and social aspects of distance learning were analysed on the basis of the five elements under the PERMA framework. For the purpose of this research, the author constructed a list of questions to determine whether students experienced positive or negative emotions, sufficient engagement in the new e-learning environment, and whether surveyed undergraduate students experienced social connectedness, a sense of belonging to a community and academic accomplishments during distance learning.

5 Procedure

To analyse the qualitative data collected via the online questionnaire, a thematic iterative analysis was conducted. The results concerning the first hypothesis were obtained by identifying patterns in students' explanations and subsequently analysing collected data by common themes which provide insight into factors to student well-being. In relation to the second hypothesis, the results were attained through conducting a sentiment analysis which implies searching for emotional responses among student explanations on the questionnaire. This helps understand the intents and emotions of responses that were classified into three groups as emotionally charged positive or negative words or emotionally neutral words. The sentiment analysis helps identify the emotional state of students during online classes and experienced emotions.

5.1 Results

The results initially show that although distance learning has a number of advantages, many students experienced some form of distress. Students mainly experienced physical distress (37.8%) during online education (sore eyesight, fatigue and tiredness, depression, etc.) as well as emotional distress (stress, anxiety, insecurity, fear, low confidence, demotivation), which was reported by 32.2% of surveyed students. Environmental distress (difficult learning platform, inadequate schedule or technical problems) was experienced to a lesser extent, namely 28.9%. Figure 1 shows initial signs of the emotional implications of distance learning.

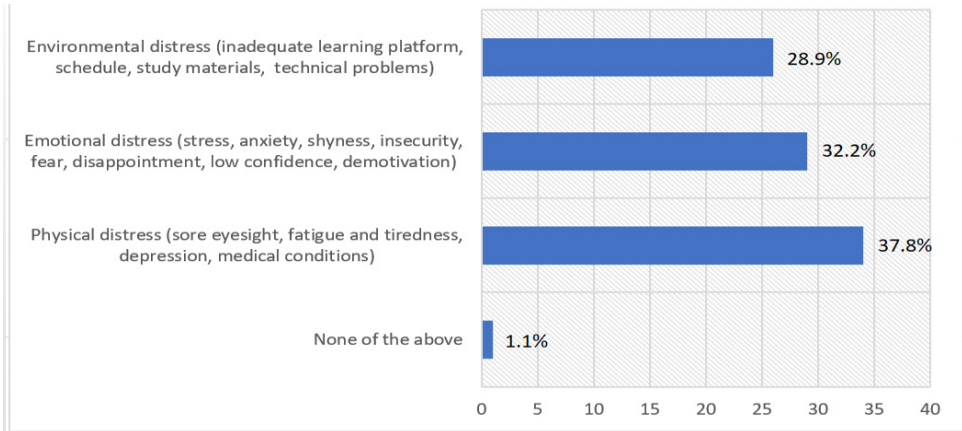


Figure 1. Types of Distress Experienced During Distance Learning

5.1.1 Emotional and social implications of distance learning

The surveyed students were asked to further elaborate on the reasons for their personal experiences, and their responses were analysed by conducting thematic analysis. Firstly, five preliminary codes were assigned to collected data, which served as grounds for mapping five common themes which reveal common patterns in students' responses in relation to their experiences with distance learning: convenience, accomplishments, relationships with others, personal interest and digital advantages. These results show that the main benefits of distance learning involve being in one's comfort zone, which is related to a students' psychological state experienced in a familiar and controlled environment. This was followed by convenience of online education (experienced through better time management) and personal accomplishments (higher efficacy of e-learning and improved digital skills). Less commonly specified benefits include opportunity for collaborative student work (sufficient level of online student engagement).

Six preliminary codes were assigned to the collected data, on the basis of which negative themes were mapped. These themes reveal common patterns in students' negative experiences: physical contact, socialisation, collaboration, accomplishments, motivation and stress. On the other hand, the identified themes show the main risks of distance learning: social distancing, low collaboration and stress, followed by less socialisation with peers and increased use of technology, smaller efficacy of online education and lack of motivation and focus, which expressed negative aspects of distance learning.

The results show social factors as the main disadvantage of distance learning, affecting connectedness (or social distancing from teachers and peers) and relationships (less socialization with peers and low student-teacher collaboration) followed by emotional factors, such as stress and lack of motivation during distance learning, and other environmental or personal factors related to ac-

accomplishments (smaller efficacy of e-learning). This leads to the conclusion that the main risks of distance learning are predominantly associated with social and emotional aspects.

The second part of the questionnaire focused on the social dimension of distance learning. Relationships imply connections to others and are fundamental to well-being and for adaptation, and they are enabled by one's capacity for love, compassion, kindness, empathy, teamwork, cooperation (Seligman 2011). One half of respondents indicated that little focus was put on student-student interactions and on teacher-student collaboration, which resulted in demotivation or monotony. One of the main risks of distance learning include lack of face-to-face interaction with instructors and peers. The lack of physical contact and social interaction instigate a sense of isolation and demotivation, which affects the learning experience and thus has a negative effect on student social and emotional well-being.

Furthermore, 72.3% of surveyed students responded that they felt a need for psychological support from teachers or another professional and indicated a need for both academic advising from their faculty and social support from peers. Respondents explained that they felt isolated and disconnected, with many describing emotional signs of stress, such as health-related fear, fear of the unknown and anxiety during distance learning.

Research strongly suggests that social connection is a key factor in dealing with stress (Matos 2021). It is therefore understandable that the absence of social connection greatly affects students mental health. Moreover, 48% of surveyed students were not satisfied with their accomplishments during distance learning. The above results demonstrate that distance learning can be challenging for students due to its social elements.

5.1.2 Experienced emotions during distance learning affecting student behaviour

Emotions are psychological states with important social and adaptive functions (Ekman et al. 1972; Izard 1977). Research indicates that positive emotions are associated with students' attention, concentration, engagement and persistence in learning activities which positively correlate with academic achievements (Eccles 2005) and trigger upward spirals toward emotional well-being (Fredrickson and Joiner 2002). Negative emotions negatively affect performance and academic achievements (Madigan and Curran 2020).

To assess students' emotional experiences with distance learning, words and phrases of emotional tone were analysed in students' responses, and then counted and labelled using three code categories of emotion terms: positive, negative and neutral emotions, as presented on the next two figures. The results on Figure 2 demonstrate that students used a variety of emotionally charged words to indicate positive emotions experienced.

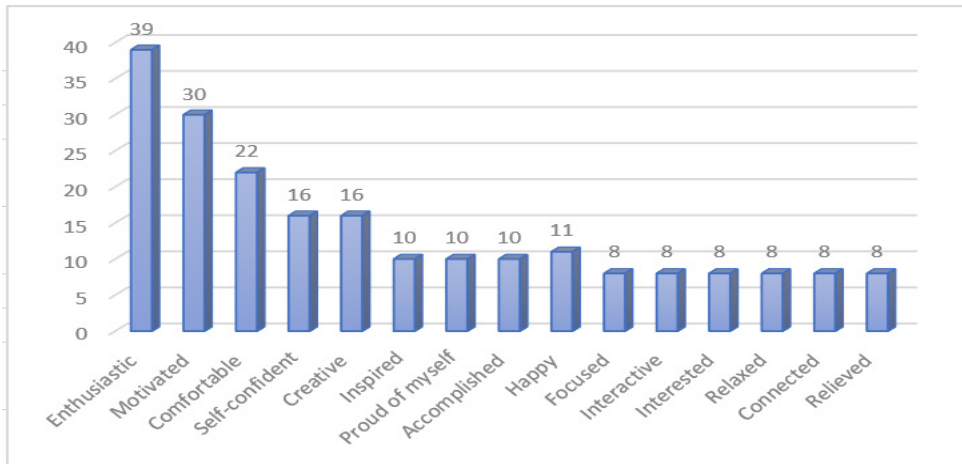


Figure 2. Dominant Positive Emotions Experienced During Distance Learning

As high as 97.5% of surveyed students felt enthusiastic during online education, with 75% feeling motivated and 55% feeling comfortable. However, as for other positive emotions experienced, only 40% of students felt confident during distance learning and 25% felt accomplished, with only 20% feeling focused and relaxed respectively.

Furthermore, the results in Figure 3 below demonstrate that students also used a variety of emotionally charged words to indicate negative emotions experienced during distance learning. Namely, the word stressed was the most frequently used to describe student feelings during online education (92%, 46 out of 50 students) followed by demotivated (90%, 45 students), bored (54%, 27 students), afraid (36%, 18 students), anxious (26%, 13 students), etc. If one compares the results of Figures 2 and 3, it is evident that negative feelings dominate (e.g. stressed and demotivated), which occur more frequently in students' responses than the dominant positive feelings enthusiastic and motivated. Stress is often a source of anxiety for some students and leads to lack of confidence, attention and engagement, and such a wide range of negative feelings experienced affects students' emotional well-being. Moreover, these results show that many respondents experienced emotional insecurities such as low self-confidence, low motivation, anxiety and fear, insecurity and uncertainty.

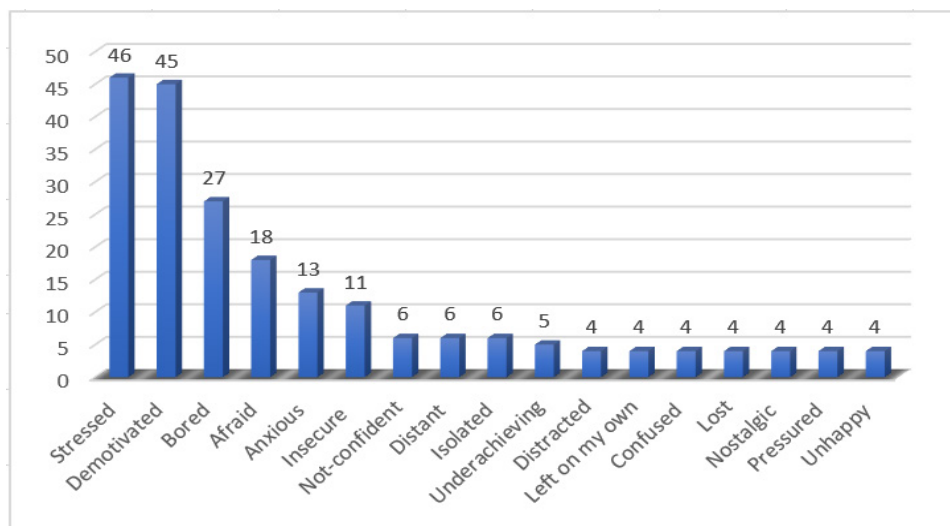


Figure 3. Dominant Negative Emotions Experienced During Distance Learning

The results in Figure 3 demonstrate that distance learning at interdisciplinary translation and interpreting studies is particularly challenging due to social elements, such as a feeling of isolation and physical distance, but it also has significant emotional implications for students, such as, increased stress, personal insecurity, demotivation and lack of enthusiasm. Such psychological states can only be overcome by a learning environment where positive emotions are stimulated. The results also show that online exams are a particular source of anxiety which contributes to low self-confidence and low motivation. According to D'Errico et al. (2016), positive emotions during exam preparation strongly correlate with students' motivation and support the learning process and learning outcome. To conclude, teachers need to be aware of students' emotions in the classroom. For that purpose, teachers must be familiar with the pedagogical strategies that will help their students modulate their emotions (Rippé, Weisfeld-Spolter, Yurova and Kemp 2021).

6 Discussion and conclusions

The discussion needs to be centred around how to improve future education, with special focus on translation and interpreting education, by taking into account students' emotional and social well-being and not only their cognitive well-being. Education is undergoing a digital transition and some form of distance learning will be retained even in the future with the growing use of technology. Therefore, significant changes and improvements that extend beyond the learning environment and put students' well-being in the focus will be required. It is crucial to emphasize three points in the discussion.

Firstly, although teachers cannot act as psychologists, they can and need to create a positive environment for students where positive emotions are stimulated. The survey results suggest that soft skills must be included in formal curricula, because

students' overall well-being can be improved by building on emotional and social skills, such as emotional awareness, managing emotions, self-confidence, empathy, motivation and adeptness in relationships which fall under the broad domain of emotional intelligence. Students express interest to work on such skills and to engage in motivation-boosting and self-confidence-boosting activities.

Secondly, this study aims to emphasize the importance of emotional and social well-being in order for students to achieve a positive experience in the higher educational process. Informal skills and competencies are mainly disregarded during distance learning because teachers mainly focus on organisational and digital issues and put student well-being in the background. For that reason, during the pandemic, author has increasingly focused on generic competencies by integrating emotional intelligence-related activities that help students recognize their emotions and manage such emotions during challenging times, such as distance learning in the pandemic context and in a simulated professional context. Social skills were also tackled (through team work and empathy) and motivation (through activities that improve self-confidence and self-motivation) in order to more efficiently deal with the challenges of distance learning.

Finally, emotional intelligence-related activities help students use their personal experiences (positive or negative) to understand the inter-relation between student emotions and actions. Emotional intelligence relies on understanding our own emotions and emotional reactions as well as on identifying the experiences of different feelings and sentiments (Bliss 2006).

Bibliography

- Aristovnik, A., Keržič, D., Ravšelj, D., Tomaževič, N. and Umek, L. (2020). Impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on life of higher education students: A global perspective. *Sustainability*, 12(20), 8438.
- Baltà-Salvador, R., Olmedo-Torre, N., Peña, M. and Renta-Davids. (2021). A. Academic and emotional effects of online learning during the Covid-10 pandemic of engineering students. *Education and Information Technologies*, 26, 7407-7434.
- Bliss, S. E. (2006). The affect of emotional intelligence on a modern organizational leader's ability to make effective decisions. *Unpublished Master's Thesis (Online)*. Available from <http://eqi.org/mgtpaper.htm>.
- Brett, C. E., Mathieson, M. L., Rowley, A. M. (2020). Determinants of wellbeing in university students: the role of residential status, stress, loneliness, resilience and sense of coherence. *Current Psychology* (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-03125-8>.
- Butnaru, G. I., Haller, A., Dragolea, L., Anichiti, A., Tacu Hârșan, D. (2021). Students' wellbeing during transition from onsite to online education: Are there risks arising from social isolation? *Int J Environ Res Public Health*, 18(18), 9665.
- Cheng, T. J., Jin, J. and Cheng, J. (2001). Demystifying subjective well-being of academically at-risk students: case study of a Chinese high school. Inequity and inclusion in schools. *Soc. Incl.* 9, 36–46, doi: 10.17645/si.v9i4.4572
- Clabaugh, A., Duque, J. F., Fields, L. J. (2021). Academic stress and emotional well-being in United States college students following onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Front Psychol*, 2021 (12), 628787.

- Davis, T. (2019). What is Well-Being? Definition, Types, and Well-Being Skills. *Psychology Today* [Online], 2 January. Available from: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/click-here-happiness/201901/what-is-well-being-definition-types-and-well-being-skills> [Accessed: 30 June, 2022].
- D'Errico, F., Paciello, M., Cerniglia, L. (2016). When emotions enhance students' engagement in e-learning processes. *Journal of E-Learning and Knowledge Society*, 12(4), 9-23.
- Eccles, J. S. (2005). Subjective task value and the Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices. In A. J. Elliot & C S. Dweck (Eds.). *Handbook of Competence and Motivation*, 105-121. Guilford Publications.
- Ekman, P., Friesen, W., Ellsworth, P. (1972). *Emotion in the Human Face: Guidelines for Research and an Integration of Findings*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Fredrickson, B., Joiner, T. (2002). Positive emotions trigger upward spirals toward emotional well-being. *Psychological Science*, 13(2), 172-5.
- García, J. (2012). The emotional intelligence, its importance in the learning process. *Rev. Educ.* 2012 (36), 97–109.
- Goleman D. (1998). *Working with Emotional Intelligence*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Gräbel B. F. (2017). *The Relationship between Wellbeing and Academic Achievement: A Systematic Review*. New York, NY: BMS.
- Hubscher-Davidson, S., Devaux, J. (2021). Teaching translation and interpreting in virtual environments. *Journal of Specialised Translation*, (36), 184-192
- Izard, C. E. (1977). *Human Emotions*. New York: Plenum
- Keržič, D., Kalariparampil, J. A., Alvarado, R. P. B., da Silva Bezerra, D., Cheraghi, M., Dobrowolska, P., Fagbamigbe, A. F., Faris, M. E., Franca, T., Gonzales-Fernandez, B., Gonzales-Robledo, L., Inasius, F., Kar, S. K., Lazanyl, K., Lazar, F., Machin-Mastromatteo, J., Maroco, J., [...], Aristovnik, A. (2021). Academic student satisfaction and perceived performance in the e-learning environment during the COVID-19 pandemic: Evidence across ten countries. *Journal PLoS ONE*, 16(10), 1-23.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2002). The mental health continuum: From languishing to flourishing in life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 43(2), 207–222.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2003). Complete mental health: An agenda for the 21st century. In C. L. M. Keyes & J. Haidt (Eds.), *Flourishing: Positive psychology and the life well-lived* (pp. 293–312). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2007). *Promoting and protecting mental health as flourishing: A complementary strategy for improving national mental health*. *American Psychologist*, 62: 95–108.
- Lischer, S., Safi, N., Dickson, C. (2021). Remote learning and students' mental health during the Covid-19 pandemic: A mixed-method enquiry. *Prospects (Paris)*, 2021, 1-11.
- Madigan, D. J. and Curran, T. (2021). Does burnout affect academic achievement? A meta-analysis of over 100,000 students. *Educational Psychology Review*, 33(4), 387-405.
- Matos, M., McEwan, K., Kanovský, M., Halamová, J., Steindl, S. R., Ferreira, N., Linharelhos, M., Rijo, D., Asano, K., Vilas, S. P., Márquez, M. G., Gregório, S., Brito-Pons, G. [...], Gilbert, P. (2021). The role of social connection on the experience of COVID-19 related post-traumatic growth and stress. *PLoS ONE*, 16(12).
- Pekrun, R., Goetz, T., Frenzel, A. C., Barchfeld, P., Perrye, R. P. (2011). Measuring emotions in students' learning and performance: The achievement emotions questionnaire (AEQ). *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 36(1), 36-48.
- Pentarakaki, A., Burkholder, G. (2017). Emerging evidence regarding the roles of emotional, behavioural, and cognitive aspects of student engagement in the online classroom. *European Journal of Open, Distance and E-Learning*, 20(1), 1-21.

- Popescu, E. F., Tatucu, M., Dobromirescu, V. (2021). Students' well-being in online education in Covid-19 context. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 9(2), ISSN: 2411-5681
- Rippé, C.; Weisfeld-Spolter, S.; Yurova, Y.; Kemp, A. (2021). Pandemic pedagogy for the new normal: Fostering perceived control during COVID-19. *ZDB-ID*, 43(2), 260-276.
- Ryff, C. D. and Singer, B. (2006). Best news yet on the six-factor model of wellbeing. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 35, 1103–1119. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2006.01.002.
- Sazdovska-Pigulovska, M. (2021). Integrating experiential learning in the virtual translation classroom. *The Roles and Identities of Interpreters and Translators in an Ever-Changing World: Proceedings of the International Conference*, (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), 43-53. South Korea, Seoul
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). *Flourish: A visionary new understanding of happiness and well-being*. Free Press.
- Zapata-Ospina, J.P, Patiño-Lugo, D.F., Vélez, C.M., Campos-Ortiz, S., Madrid-Martínez, P., Pemberthy-Quintero, S., Pérez-Gutiérrez AM, Ramírez-Pérez, P.A., Vélez-Marín, V.M. (2021). Mental health interventions for college and university students during the COVID-19 pandemic: a critical synthesis of the literature. *Rev Colomb Psiquiatr*, 50(3), 199-213.

CARDENIO'S VARIOUS FORTUNES

Igor Popovski
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
igor.popovski@flf.ukim.edu.mk

This paper revisits a presumably lost Jacobean play, *The History of Cardenio*, attributed to John Fletcher and William Shakespeare. This adaptation of Miguel de Cervantes' story featured in the first part of *Don Quixote* has been the subject of many conjectures and hypotheses throughout the centuries, primarily because of Lewis Theobald's 1728 *Double Falsehood*, which he claimed was the lost play in question. Following Stephen Greenblatt's work on cultural poetics and cultural mobility – concerning issues of authorship, mobility of ideas and texts, the relationship between society and literature – we will first retrace the trajectory of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* from Spain to England in the early XVII century and examine its reception among the writers of the time. We will then focus on several notices that an adaptation of a story featured in *Don Quixote* was performed in the English playhouses of the time, a play later attributed to Fletcher and Shakespeare, which was never published and was considered lost up until the XVIII century and the publication of *Double Falsehood*. Finally, we will give a brief critical analysis of the several texts in circulation, a notice of the most recent findings and conclusions on the Cardenio issue, and an account of the XXI century adaptations of the play around the world, a project carried by Stephen Greenblatt.

Keywords: cultural poetics, reception, adaptation, Shakespeare, Cervantes

МНОГУТЕ ЖИВОТИ НА КАРДЕНИО

Игор Поповски
Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“, Скопје
igor.popovski@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Во овој труд се преиспитува прашањето за наводно изгубената јакобинска драма *The History of Cardenio*, која им се припишува на Џон Флечер и на Вилијам Шекспир. За оваа адаптација на приказната за Карденио од првиот дел на *Дон Кихот* на Мигел де Сервантес се поставувале многу хипотези низ вековите, главно поради *Double Falsehood* (1728) на Луис Теобалд, кој тврдел дека тоа дело е токму изгубената драма. Следејќи ги постулатите на Стивен Гринблат за поетиката на културата и на културната мобилност – кои опфаќаат прашања за авторството, за мобилноста на идеите и на текстовите, за врската меѓу општеството и книжевноста – прво ќе ја трасираме траекторијата на *Дон Кихот* на Сервантес од Шпанија во Англија на почетците од 17 век и ќе ја истражиме рецепцијата кај писателите од тоа време. Потоа ќе се осврнеме на неколку показатели дека драмска адаптација на приказна од *Дон Кихот* била изведувана во англиските театри, драма што потоа ќе им биде припишана на Флечер и на Шекспир, но не била објавена и се сметала за изгубена сè до 17 век и објавата на *Double Falsehood*. Најпосле, ќе направиме кус критички осврт на неколкуте постојни текстови, ќе дадеме извештај за најновите истражувања и заклучоци за оваа проблематика, како и податок за адаптациите на оваа драма во светот во 21 век, проект предводен од Стивен Гринблат.

Клучни зборови: поетика на културата, рецепција, адаптација, Шекспир, Сервантес

1 Introduction

For Renaissance studies, the mobility of the text of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* is a veritable "swerve" in world literature, and in the context of England, Cervantes' novel leaves all sorts of traces from the very onset, especially in the theater. Stephen Greenblatt points out that the novel "must have been a literary sensation in London in 1613, when Shakespeare and Fletcher's play was first performed" (2009: 80). Proof of this is Randall & Boswell's 2009 compilation of Cervantine references that spans over 700 pages. It seems that the many adventures narrated in Cervantes' novel captivated the reading public of the time, whether for the adventure, the humor, the tragedy, the moral, or, perhaps more subtly, for the "attempt [...] of the individual mind to produce a vision and a system of its own, in a world that often seems to have lost a universal frame of reference and a fully satisfactory sense of the value and meaning of action" (Mack *et al* 1992: 1822). However the book was perceived, it certainly left a lasting, tangible impression in literature, language, and culture in general.

2 Ur-Cardenio

Several months after the publication of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, in August 1605, a curious copy made its way into the Oxford University library. The acquisition was made possible thanks to a donation to buy Spanish books by none other than Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (Randall and Boswell 2009: 1), the man whose life is inseparable from Shakespeare's biography. He was, as Ardila suggests, one of his "many friends who relished things Spanish" (2009: 6). Shakespeare must have at the very least heard of Cervantes much earlier than the publication of the first translation of *Don Quixote* into English in 1612 by Thomas Shelton, who based his translation on the 1607 Brussels edition of the Spanish original. Curiously enough, 1612 seems too late a date to start tracing the trail *Don Quixote* left. As early as 1607 we encounter a curious reference to fighting with windmills in George Wilkins' *The Miserie of Enforced Marriage*, as well as in Thomas Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* and several others (*ibid*, 3), especially in the plot of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, dated from the same year (Fuchs 2013: 39-54). This might be explained by the fact that Shelton had translated the book several years before he gave it to the printer, as stated by himself in the prologue to the first edition of the translation, and it had probably circulated in manuscript form among friends and in literary circles ever since. Exactly how and when Shakespeare was first acquainted with the adventures of Don Quixote cannot be pinpointed, but all the historical evidence seems to support the claim that Shakespeare had first heard of Cervantes and his knight quite recently upon the publication of the book in Spanish.

To the many literary references to *Don Quixote* we may add the following: in 1613, a play called either *Cardenno* or *Cardenna*, author unknown, was performed twice on festive occasions in Shakespeare's theater company, The King's Men. The name of the play, although uncertain, points to the story of Cardenio in the first part

of *Don Quixote*. Someone had, obviously, made a theatrical adaptation of Cervantes' story, the text of which is missing. Then the trail goes cold for forty years, up until 1653, when a play called *The History of Cardenio* was registered to be printed by Humphrey Moseley. This time, though, the title had two authors attached to it: "Mr. Fletcher & Shakespeare." (Chartier 2013). The co-authorship with John Fletcher should come as no surprise, as two other plays, now proven to be written in collaboration with that author, have passed down to us: *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. What is surprising, however, is that the manuscript for this play had been lost for so many years and had suddenly appeared ready for printing. The story becomes even more bizarre if we scrape further through these documents, only to find that the same register attributes even more plays to Shakespeare in 1660. This makes Moseley's account particularly unreliable and weakens the case for *Cardenio*. Further proof is that all these later additions to the canon of Shakespearean apocrypha were never printed and are lost, for reasons unknown. *Cardenio*, for what it's worth, appeared in neither Shakespeare's nor Fletcher's oeuvre.

3 'As I pronounced it to you'

What might have seemed a dead end in the search for Cardenio proved to be just the beginning, as the real story was about to unfold. Lewis Theobald, an 18th century erudite, published a play titled *Double Falsehood; or The Distrest Lovers* in 1728, claiming to be "Written Originally by W. Shakespeare", and that he only "revived and adapted" it. Prior to publication, in 1727, the play was successful on the London stage. Its plot: the story of Cardenio, adapted from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

Theobald, a fervent philologist, one of the earliest editors of Shakespeare, had proven to be careful when tackling texts, collating manuscripts and sifting through errors. His seven-volume edition of the works of Shakespeare was unparalleled at the time and surpassed Alexander Pope's edition, which Theobald had harshly criticized. But a play called *Double Falsehood* does not appear in any theater's or printer's registry. This title appeared out of the blue, ushering in skepticism even from Theobald's contemporaries. He replied to these comments in the preliminaries of the edition of the play: to those who said that he was the author, he replied that they were "blinding paying Me a greater Compliment than either They design, or I can merit [...] I should esteem it some Sort of *Virtue*, were I able to commit so agreeable a Cheat" (Graham 1920: 27). Indeed, it was Pope himself who had accused him of forgery, although later admitted that he thought the play was indeed from Shakespeare's time (ibid, 10).¹ In the preface, Theobald claims possession of three manuscripts of the play. Furthermore, he responds to objections concerning chronology – some had said that it was impossible for Shakespeare to have known about the story of Cardenio, but Theobald pointed to the early edition of Shelton's translation. Another comment had to do with "the *Colouring, Diction, and Character*" being nearer to Fletcher than to Shakespeare, but Theobald leaves that to "the

¹ In a letter to Hill, Pope writes: "What you have observed in your letter I think just, only I would acquit myself in one point ; I could not have the least pique to Mr. Theobald in what is cited in the treatise of the Bathos, from the play which I never supposed to be his. He gave it as Shakespear's, and I take it to be of that age" (*The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, X, p. 53).

Determination of better Judgements” and acknowledges that his wish for it to be Shakespeare’s might have made him partial (ibid, 30).

What makes the case all the more interesting is the lack of consensus on whether Theobald had any knowledge of Moseley’s records. Chartier says it is “unlikely” – if he had known about the record, he would have used it to further corroborate his claims. But, if Theobald knew nothing of the Moseley ascription, it would be a wild, almost impossible coincidence, that he picked that exact story from *Don Quixote*, forged it, made some of it pass as Shakespeare’s (rather convincingly), with a hint of Fletcher’s (again, convincingly) for no particular reason.² For all intents and purposes, it does seem that Theobald had a manuscript of some sorts that contained a version of the Cardenio story. Whose pen exactly wrote (most of) it and what role did Theobald (and the theater people he worked with) play in the final version he named *Double Falsehood* has puzzled scholars for centuries.

4 ‘These fragments’

The question of authorship remains open and is still being researched, but the claim that Shakespeare did, in fact, author at least some parts of the play has been gaining momentum. Recent corpus-based studies have suggested that the “psychological signature” of all three authors – Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Theobald – is present in the play, and that Shakespeare’s signature is prevalent (Boyd and Pennebaker 2015).³ For the *Norton Shakespeare*’s one-page chapter “Cardenio: a brief account”, as well as for past editions of the *Oxford Shakespeare*, the Oxford editors had concluded that “most of the dialogue seems un-Shakespearean. Though the play deserved its limited success, it is now no more than an interesting curiosity” (Greenblatt *et al.* 1997: 3109). However, the most recent Oxford edition, *The New Oxford Shakespeare* (2016), includes fragments of the play, meticulously edited by Gary Taylor, thereby settling the debate for the time being: the consensus seems to be that parts of the manuscript that became *Double Falsehood*, the Jacobean adaptation of Cervantes’ story of Cardenio, are indeed by Fletcher and Shakespeare. This new edition literally picks up the pieces of the lost manuscript, excluding large chunks of text from the posterior edition that are believed to be the work of Theobald or his colleagues. The reader is left with a skeleton, bits and pieces of text followed by many empty spaces – a veritable post-modern text that silently invites the reader to fill in the gaps and be the co-creator. Indeed, as far as *Cardenio / Double Falsehood* is concerned, this is where the story leaves us today, in the realm of adaptations.

² Gary Taylor has penned a lengthy criticism of the Theobald-as-forger theory, concluding: “If Theobald wrote these lines [an extract of *Double Falsehood*], we must recognize him as one of our greatest dramatic poets, the greatest literary chameleon of all time, and the only forger in history who perfectly copied the style of a writer who had been dead for more than a century. I find it simpler to assume that these lines, and others like them scattered throughout the first half of *DF*, are the remains of Shakespeare’s contribution to a play performed by the King’s Men in 1613.” (Bourus and Taylor 2013: 161).

³ Whether problems of this kind can be successfully and unequivocally resolved by computer analysis of pure text, disregarding all other aspects, is debatable. Of the 54 texts used in the corpus, the vast majority are by Shakespeare. What this means for the conclusion of the study is a question that exceeds our expertise and the scope of this paper. Also, Deborah C. Payne notes that, in analyses of this kind: “[p]lot and dramatic design, with a couple of notable exceptions, tend to be ignored” (in Payne 2016: 124).

Such question of authorship certainly did not bother Shakespeare's audience or contemporaries that much. They were used to collaborations of all sorts. They were used to picking up plots left and right. The concepts of authorship, literature, culture, were all very different from the ones we know today.

5 The nature of culture

Shakespeare and his contemporaries were partial to adaptation and collaboration, or what Stephen Greenblatt has broadly termed "cultural mobility". He seeks to deconstruct the idea that culture is something fixed and stable by analyzing how patterns of thought and behavior have been constantly revisited throughout human history. Humanity, for most of its history, has thrived thanks to both metaphorical movements of ideas and physical movements of people, phenomena that are inevitably linked. In other words, the precedence that recent human history has given to "ethnocentrism, racism, and nationalism" (Greenblatt 2009: 6) has artificially fixed the hierarchical superposition of native versus nomad. However, cultures have always been in constant "languid motion", as Montaigne says (*ibid*, 5), and Greenblatt sketches the way Rome was transported and transformed into its successors, or the hermeneutic interpretations of *figurae* in the Bible that helped link the Old and the New Testaments. For these interpretations, he argues that they "left things standing in place and at the same time emptied them out, in order to claim that a full actualization of the precious cultural resource – in this case, the religion of Israel – could only be realized in the religion that had come to displace and triumph over it" (*ibid*, 13). And in literature, the concept of cultural mobility is inextricably linked to Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur*, his "canny insight into the restless process through which texts, images, artifacts, and ideas are moved, disguised, translated, transformed, adapted, and reimagined in the ceaseless, resourceful work of culture" (*ibid*, 4). Thus, the concept of mobility has been always around, in society, religion, literature, culture in its integrity – it is only the general acceptance of the concept that has had ebbs and flows throughout human history. For this reason, Greenblatt proposes a manifesto for cultural mobility studies (*ibid*, 250-253), with the idea of, roughly put, seeking the global in the local, and vice versa.

The idea of non-exclusivity is a constant in Greenblatt's work in the field of cultural poetics, and the inclusion of "cultural mobility" only broadens the scope of the initial design. Cultural phenomena exist in circulation and are mutually inclusive, so that all things that shape our existence seem reflected in each other, and their interplay constitutes what Greenblatt calls "cultural poetics". Art is dependent on society and vice versa, which implies that the analysis of any one of them must take into account the other. Greenblatt defines the work of art as "the product of a set of manipulations" (2007: 212), personal and communal, internal and external, "the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society" (*ibid*, 213). If we define art in this fashion, we get a clearer image of the undertaking that led to *The History of Cardenio*, *Double Falsehood*, and all posterior *Cardenios*.

6 The many faces of Cardenio

Cervantes was, above all, a storyteller, and in all his novels tended to interpolate stories within the frame narrative. The first book of *Don Quixote* features several such stories seeped in reality, which perhaps function as an antidote to Don Quixote's illusory world. One of the stories, a tale of intrigue and deception, has to do with Cardenio, an Andalusian, who has taken to the mountains on the verge of madness because of a series of unfortunate incidents. He tells of his love for Luscinda and how he was deceived by Fernando, who had also fallen in love with her and had arranged to marry her. Cardenio was not the only one deceived by Fernando: he had lied to a farmer's daughter, Dorotea, by promising that he would marry her if they slept together, only to leave her afterwards. On the wedding day of Luscinda and Fernando, her planned suicide is thwarted by a sudden fainting. She has a letter saying that she cannot be anybody but Cardenio's wife, but Cardenio escapes before witnessing the outcome. Dorotea disguises herself as a shepherd, and Luscinda goes to a monastery.

The story is narrated almost as a four-act play and is full of dramatic potential. Cardenio tells the first part of his tale to Don Quixote and Sancho, but is interrupted – after asking explicitly not to be – and leaves in a fury. He then meets Sancho, the priest and the barber, who hear the rest of his story. Then follows Dorotea's account of Fernando's deception and the aftermath. Finally, a happy end in an inn (preceded by the priest's story of the Curious Impertinent): all four meet there, Fernando repents and will marry Dorotea, and Cardenio and Luscinda end up together at last.

The plot of *Double Falsehood* oversimplifies or exaggerates the story and eliminates the context. The names have been changed, in all probability by Theobald and the editors of the edition: Cardenio is now Julio, Luscinda is Leonora, Fernando is Henriquez and Dorotea is Violante. Julio and Violante are indeed deceived by Henriquez, but in this story, Henriquez rapes Violante and, although feeling remorseful, woos Leonora and wants to marry her. The marriage attempt fails in a similar fashion as in Cervantes' story, after which all three – Julio, Leonora and Violante – leave the place. A major addition is the importance given to the fathers of the three characters, as well as to Roderick, Henriquez's older brother. In the end, it is Roderick who manages to get all of them back together to resolve the conflict. Theobald's adaptation has left us this version of the *History of Cardenio*, which, to any well-read eye, does seem weirdly simplistic for a play of its period. There are no subplots, many threads are left loose, and it is plagued by a jumble of different styles.

Gary Taylor's version in the *New Oxford Shakespeare* (2016: 3133-3177)⁴ is a commendable editing effort. He restores the original title of the play, *The History of Cardenio*, by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare (in that order), and tentatively restores the original names of the characters, except for Violante's,⁵ which should be Dorothea, as in Shelton's translation, just like Luscinda has been adapted

⁴ It is preceded by his complete adaptation of the play, published with explanatory notes to the editing, 'unadapting', and creative processes, in *The Creation and Re-Creation of Cardenio* (2013).

⁵ Elsewhere, Taylor explains: "Violante would be another example. For its associations with flowers, violence, and deflowering, see Leigh 2012, 258-259. These associations are even clearer if we adopt the odd spelling of the name that occurs twice in the first editions of Shakespeare's plays, 'Violenta' (*All's Well that Ends Well* 3.5.0.1, *Twelfth Night* 1.5.160.1). Moreover, unlike Dorotea, 'Violenta'

to Lucinda. *Double Falsehood*'s duke Angelo is now simply an unnamed 'duke of Andalusia in Spain'. Furthermore, he identifies the characters of Fabian and Lopez, which appear in Act 2, scene 2, as "possibly originally Quixote and Sancho?" (ibid, 3137), with the explanation that "their speeches here closely resemble those in *Don Quixote*, when Quixote and Sancho encounter the mad Cardenio, and the adaptation seems to have used material from a scene later in the original play" (ibid, 3145). Similarly, the two unnamed gentlemen that appear in Act 4, scene 2 alongside Julio/Cardenio have been tentatively identified as the curate and the barber, with the assumption that "the Jacobean play was closer to the novel, where these two characters are prominent" (ibid, 3166). Also included are three songs by Robert Johnson, the composer who wrote songs for some of Shakespeare's later plays: "For ever let thy heavenly tapers", "With endless tears that never cease", and "Woods, rocks, and mountains, and ye desert places". Many comments by the editor point to discrepancies, misplaced lines, possible censorship of innuendoes, and additions that seem out of place or character. Taylor 'unadapts' Theobald's *Double Falsehood* by stripping everything that the editor deemed un-Shakespearean or un-Fletcherian.

The result of this striking editorial undertaking is not necessarily discouraging. It is simply an invitation to consider new ways of reading and performing Shakespeare, an approach that has been practiced even with this canonical works for decades. It points to the fact that Theobald and his colleagues did the same – they adapted the manuscript to the horizon of expectations of their time.

Of the several adaptations of *Cardenio* that have been made within the last two decades, Stephen Greenblatt's "The Cardenio Project", explained as "an ongoing experiment in cultural mobility" ("The Cardenio Project", web), deserves special mention. It was inaugurated with Greenblatt and Mee's adaptation of *Cardenio*, with the main idea being to let the process, not their actual adapted text, travel around the globe, in order to see how it would work in different settings and cultures. Greenblatt and Mee's *Cardenio*, set in modern Umbria, gathers up the remnants of anything Shakespearean-ish from *Double Falsehood* and presents it as a play-within-a-play, wrapped in the main story which is a modern adaptation of the "Curious Impertinent" from the same novel. Adaptations have been written and performed in Brazil, South Africa, Spain, Poland, Croatia, Serbia, Turkey, Egypt, India, and Japan. Spain's metatheatrical production is particularly interesting because of the provenance of the original story and the inclusion of the characters of Quixote and Sancho, with quotations from the novel, a decision Fuchs subtly criticizes (2013: 109-114). Other productions, like the Japanese *Motorcycle Don Quixote*, are more playful with both the process and the story – as Greenblatt himself analyzes the play, it is not so much about negotiation or appropriation, but about cultural misunderstanding (2009: 90-95).

Regardless of the decisions made by the playwrights that participated in this project, the "experiment" of cultural mobility has put forth thought-provoking results that reflect on the very beginning of this story. The idea of cultural mobility is the background on which Shakespeare, Fletcher and their contemporaries worked. Similarly, it is the background of Cervantes' works – a tapestry of many cultures

echoes the other three lovers' names: -enta, -inda, -den, -nando, the 'l' in 'Lucinda', the associated V- and F-." (2016b: 363).

finely tuned to the Spanish horizon of expectations. The works of these writers would go on to 'conquer' the cultural world, as it were, bringing back the influences, projections and expectations to their roots and creating something new, a fresh perspective that paves the way towards a new cycle of the process.

We have traced the beginnings of the story of Cardenio, interwoven in Don Quixote's whimsical world of lost manuscripts, authors, editors, translators, and even a forgery. Cervantes playfully puts Don Quixote's world in the words of Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab writer whose manuscript he accidentally stumbles upon and has it translated. The story of Don Quixote is written, lost and found, translated, commented, adapted, and forged, both within and without the realm of fiction. How suitable that a Jacobean play, directly inspired by this book, has had a similar fortune throughout the centuries. Even today, the open nature of the text leaves room for new adaptations, new translations, and new takes on the story of Cardenio.

Bibliography

- Ardila, J. A. G. (ed.). (2009). *The Cervantean heritage: Reception and influence of Cervantes in Britain*. New York: Legenda and MHRA.
- Bourus, T. and Taylor, G. (eds.). (2013). *The creation and re-Creation of Cardenio: Performing Shakespeare, transforming Cervantes*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Boyd, R. L., and Pennebaker, J. W. (2015). Did Shakespeare write *Double Falsehood*? Identifying individuals by creating psychological signatures with text analysis. *Psychological Science*, 26, no. 5, pp. 570–582.
- Chartier, R. (2013). *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The story of a lost play*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fuchs, B. (2013). *The poetics of piracy: Emulating Spain in English literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Graham, W. (ed.). (1920). *Double Falsehood*. *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, Literary Section Supplement.
- Greenblatt, S.; Cohen, W.; Howard J. E. and Maus, K. E. (eds.). (1997). *The Norton Shakespeare*. New York & London: WWNorton.
- Greenblatt, S. (2007 [1990]). *Learning to curse*. New York & London: Routledge Classics.
- Greenblatt, S. (ed.). (2009). *Cultural mobility: A manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mack, M., Knox, B. M. W., McGalliard, J. C., Pasinetti, P. M., Hugo, H. E., Spacks, P. M., Wellek, R., Douglas, K. and Lawall, S. (1992). *The Norton anthology of world masterpieces*. 6th ed, vol. 1. New York & London: WWNorton.
- Payne, D. C. (ed.). (2016). *Revisiting Shakespeare's lost play: Cardenio / Double Falsehood in the eighteenth century*. Washington: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Randall, D. B. J. and Boswell, J. C. (2009). *Cervantes in seventeenth-century England: The tapestry turned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, G., Jowett, J., Bourus, T. and Egan, G. (eds.). (2016a). *The new Oxford Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, G. (2016b). Fake Shakespeare. *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, n. 5, pp. 353-379.

Web

"The Cardenio Project", Retrieved 29 July 2021, from <https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~cardenio/>

PROBLEMS IN INTERPRETING COLLOCATIONS FROM MACEDONIAN INTO ENGLISH AND VICE VERSA

Magdalena Simionska
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
magdalenasim@flf.ukim.edu.mk

This paper talks about language propensity to transfer information and connect it to the act of interpreting, explaining what interpreting is and distinguishing between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. It goes on to introduce the concept of collocations by defining and classifying them, and providing examples for each type so as to make the distinction clearer. It connects proper use of collocations and better language user competence, imperative for interpreters. Then it presents and covers an original research conducted with university students of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting from Macedonian into English language and vice versa analysing the students' knowledge and proper use of collocations connected to two specific topics – economy and politics. It also exemplifies the different types of mistakes the students made in their renditions and analyses the sample of collocations, specifically observing the most and least common types of collocation structures present in the sample of examples. Finally, the paper concludes that around 50% of the analysed collocations are incorrectly rendered by the students, which stresses the importance of introducing collocations in the curricula of interpreting, therefore language learning as well.

Keywords: collocations, language learning, research, mistakes, interpretation

ПРОБЛЕМИ ПРИ ИНТЕРПРЕТИРАЊЕТО КОЛОКАЦИИ ОД МАКЕДОНСКИ НА АНГЛИСКИ И ОБРАТНО

Магдалена Симионска
Универзитет „Св. Кирил и Методиј“ во Скопје
magdalenasim@flf.ukim.edu.mk

Во овој труд се говори за особеноста на јазикот да пренесува информации и ова се поврзува со чинот на толкување, така што се објаснува толкувањето и се прави разлика меѓу консекутивното и симултаното толкување. Понатаму, се воведува концептот за колокации преку нивно дефинирање и класифицирање, а дадени се и примери за секој одделен вид колокација, со цел да се направи јасна разлика меѓу нив. Во трудот се поврзува правилната употреба на колокациите и подобрата компетентност на корисниците на јазици, клучна за толкувачите. Потоа е претставено и опфатено оригинално истражување спроведено со студенти по консекутивно и симултано толкување од македонски на англиски јазик и обратно, во кое се анализира колку студентите ги знаат и правилно ги користат колокациите поврзани со две конкретни области – економијата и политиката. Исто така, дадени се примери за различните видови грешки што ги прават студентите во своите толкувања и се анализира примерокот колокации, поконкретно се разгледуваат најчестите и најретките видови структури колокации присутни во примерокот. Најпосле, во трудот се заклучува дека околу 50 % од анализираните колокации се погрешно протолкувани од студентите, што ја истакнува значајноста од воведување на колокациите во наставните програми за толкување, оттука и при учењето јазици.

Клучни зборови: колокации, учење јазик, истражување, грешки, толкување

1 Introduction

The first basic language property pivotal for the portrayal of humankind is the ability of language to express human's inner thoughts, their ideas and concepts. Humans use language to get their intentions across to other people and this is probably the second basic language property – human language is a prerequisite for the universal propensity of human culture and that is transmission of information.

The explosive growth of globalization, as well as regional integration has propelled the need for people who do not speak each other's languages to still be able to understand one another. So when it comes to the above mentioned transmission of information from one language to another, what we are actually talking about is the conveying of understanding which is best done by interpretation, either consecutive or simultaneous.

2 Interpretation

The *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English* describes interpretation as: "the act of explaining the meaning of; making understandable" and an interpreter as: "a person who interprets; specifically a person whose work is translating a foreign language orally, as in a conversation between people speaking different languages".

The difference between consecutive interpretation and simultaneous interpretation is that during consecutive interpretation the interpreter first listens to the speaker, then takes notes of what they have just heard and then finally reproduces the speech in another (usually referred to as the target) language, whereas in simultaneous interpretation the interpreters listen to the speaker through earphones and while speaking into a microphone reproduce the speech in another (i.e. target) language as it is being delivered in the speaker's (usually referred to as the source) language.

3 English Collocations

The *Cambridge International Dictionary of English (CIDE)* defines collocation as: "a word or phrase which is frequently used with another word or phrase, in a way that sounds correct to people who have spoken the language all their lives, but might not be expected from the meaning." However, the term collocation was introduced into the world of linguistics in the 1950s by the English linguist John Rupert Firth who defined collocations as "the common co-occurrence of particular words" (Firth 1962: 195).

Here an important distinction must be made between collocations, which as we saw are a combination of lexical words, and colligations where a lexical word is tied to a grammatical word, or as Hoey (2005) puts it "a kind of grammatical 'collocation'" (ibid, 42). This distinction is crucial since as regards errors, research conducted by McCretton and Rider points out that lexical mistakes are the most serious mistakes when it comes to language use, since we can understand a speaker when they use an incorrect tense, but not if they use a wrong word. Furthermore,

mistakes in collocations are the most frequent when it comes to non-native speakers, since mistakes regarding collocations are part of lexical mistakes.

In the past few decades research into the field of language learning has pointed out the benefits of learning collocations and these include increasing learners' language competence, enhancing learners' communicative competence and, quite importantly, improving the naturalness or the quality of being or sounding like a native-like speaker. It should be emphasised that producing and understanding collocations are two quite distinct concepts. While any non-native speaker will probably have no difficulties in recognizing and understanding a collocation, they will find it much more difficult to use a collocation or select the appropriate term. This can also be considered one of the most serious stumbling blocks in language learning.

Nattinger (1980) stated that "language production consists of piecing together the ready-made units appropriate for particular situations, and that comprehension relies on knowing which of these patterns to predict in these situations" (ibid, 341). He also claimed that collocations can help learners in committing these words to memory and defining the semantic area of a word, and can permit learners to know and to predict what kinds of words would be found together. Moreover, he gave the reasons for teaching lexical phrases, most important of which was that teaching lexical phrases (collocations with pragmatic functions) will lead to fluency in speaking and writing because they shift learners' concentration from individual words to larger structures of the discourse and to the social aspects of the interaction.

When it comes to teaching collocations in the classrooms, teachers need to explain to students that even though using incorrect collocations in speech or sentences can be syntactically (i.e. grammatically) correct and that any native speaker of English would most certainly understand the meaning of the combination of words, the combination itself is unlikely or "unnatural". This means that some words are more likely to combine with specific other words to form natural-sounding combinations, while other types of combinations are simply not found in the language even though they would be possible and understandable, at least theoretically.

4 Classification of collocations

There are many criteria according to which collocations are categorized. For instance, Cowie's *free* (or *open*) *collocations* which allow substitution of either of their elements without semantic change in the other elements (e.g. *business deal*, *good deal*, *long-term deal*) and *restricted collocations* in which one element is used in a figurative or specialized sense (e.g. *command respect*, *commit suicide*). Then there is the division of collocations into *lexical*, those that involve two items belonging to open (non-finite) classes as are verbs, nouns or adjectives (e.g. *booming economy*, *get paid*, *keep a secret*), and *grammatical collocations* that involve one element from an open class and an element from a closed class as is a preposition (e.g. *in business*, *to be afraid that*). Or Hill's categorization of collocations (see Table 1) depending on how closely their constituents are associated with each other.

Table 1. Hill's categorization of collocations

1. Unique collocations (e.g. *to foot the bill, to shrug your shoulders*): the verb is not used with any other nouns.
2. Strong collocations (e.g. *rancid butter*): the words are very closely associated with each other, e.g. *rancid* is most commonly used with *butter* or *bacon*;
3. Weak collocations (e.g. *money problems*): are made up of words that collocate with a wide range of other words, these combinations are completely free and predictable;
4. Medium-strength collocations (e.g. *to make a mistake, to hold a meeting*): These are neither free nor completely fixed.

In this paper, however, we will follow the classification of collocations proposed by Benson et al. (1986 ix-xxiii) (see Table 2) which, in general, takes into account the elements that the collocations contain.

Table 2. Classification of collocations proposed by Benson et al. (1986 ix-xxiii)

1. Verb + noun (e.g. *draw up a contract, to regain control*)
2. Noun + verb (e.g. *an opportunity arises, standards slip*)
3. Adjective + noun (e.g. *consumer goods, quick sale*)
4. Adverb + adjective (e.g. *highly economical, strictly businesslike*)
5. Verb + adverb (e.g. *invest heavily, export illegally*)
6. Noun + noun (e.g. *a package salary, a snippet of information*)
7. Verb + prepositional phrase (e.g. *to ask for a discount, to be busy with a customer*)

Categorizing collocations aids the learning process for students, yet also the teaching process for language instructors. It familiarizes the students with the possible collocation structures which in turn helps them make fewer mistakes. Most importantly, it makes students more aware of collocations and their very frequent use by language users.

5 Research methodology

Research conducted during the academic year 2020/21 (two semesters) at the Department of Translation and Interpreting, Faculty of Philology "Blaze Koneski" – Skopje, University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in the Republic of North Macedonia shows that little attention is paid to teaching collocations as a result of which students make significant errors in interpreting them. Namely, the participants in the research were comprised of seven third year undergraduate students taking the *Consecutive interpreting from Macedonian into English and vice versa* course, as well as three fourth year undergraduate students taking the *Simultaneous interpreting from Macedonian into English and vice versa* course. Over a period of two semesters the students' renditions of the speeches that were being worked on during the classes were recorded and analysed. The speeches themselves were usually on topics concerning economy and politics. Unsurprisingly, since according to Altenberg (1991) "roughly 70% of the running words in the corpus form part of recurrent word combinations of some kind" (ibid, 128), the speeches had an abundance of collocations connected to these two topics mentioned above. It is important to also note that in order to obtain results that are realistic when it comes to students'

awareness and knowledge of collocations, the students themselves were not informed beforehand about collocations or about the content of the research.

This was a contrastive research that looked at collocations referring to the topics of economy and politics used in Macedonian speeches and how/whether these same collocations were rendered into English by the students. It compared and analysed the collocation structures in both languages, and furthermore focused on L1 interference (or the transfer of linguistic features from one language to another, usually from one's native language to the language they are learning).

6 Results

The research was carried out on a sample of 185 collocations originally in Macedonian which the students later interpreted into English language. The collocations were all part of different speeches (a total of seven speeches) and within the speeches the collocations were not emphasised in any way, i.e. the students were not made aware of them before beginning their interpretations. This was done so that they would be unbiased when it came to rendering the collocations so as to obtain realistic results concerning the students' familiarity and understanding of collocations, as well as to see whether and if so, what types of mistakes they make while working with collocations from their native language into their first or major foreign language, in this case English. The sample of collocations is all to do with the topics of economy and politics (unquestionably, there are other collocations pertaining to other topics in the analysed speeches themselves, but they are not included in this research).

An important aspect of the research to note is that the rendered speeches, and collocations in them, are obtained through students' oral interpretations and not written translations. This is significant because, as the term *interpretation* itself implies, the process involves interpretation techniques which usually lead to target sentences which are shorter than the original ones or clauses which are left out in the rendition, meaning that it is to be expected that some of the collocations are omitted, and sometimes even intentionally so as to abbreviate the target sentence, not necessarily because the student(s) did not know the meaning of the collocation or how to interpret it into English. That being said, there is also the possibility that the student(s) purposely neglected a collocation or several of them in the target speech because they were not familiar with them. Nevertheless, since the goal of interpreting is to express something that has (just) been said in one language into another, the quality of any rendition is judged by how native-like the interpreter's target language is. Since good command of collocations is directly linked to the quality of naturalness, this command is ever more significant not only for interpreters, but language users in general as well.

From a total of 185 collocations, more than half are of the *adjective + noun* type (3rd type), 108 collocations or just over 58% of all the collocations in the sample. Next in number are the *noun + noun* type of collocations (6th type) or 45 examples (24.32%). The *verb + noun* type of collocations (1st type) take up just over 10% (19 collocations in total). Then follow the *noun + verb* type of collocations (2nd type) with 9 examples or 4.86%. Only 2 examples of the *verb + prepositional phrase*

type of collocations (7th type) were found in the sample (1.08%). Finally, the least represented are the *adverb + adjective* (4th type) and *verb + adverb* (5th type) types of collocations or only 1 collocation per type (0.54%).

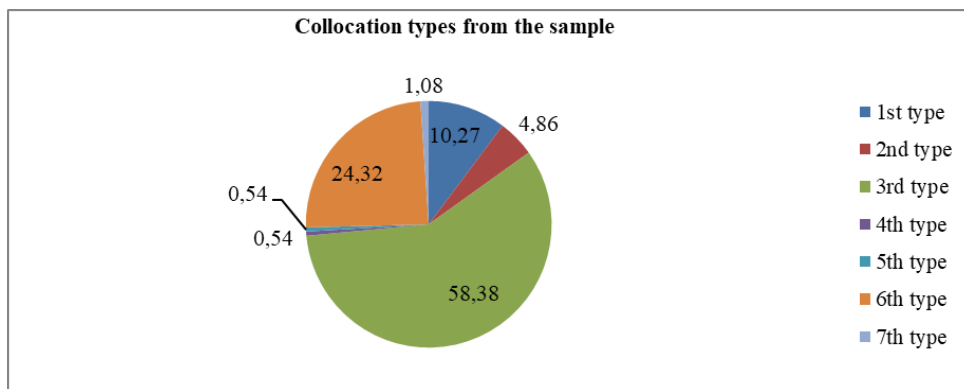


Figure 1. The representation of collocation types from the sample of examples

The results from the analysis are presented separately for consecutive and simultaneous interpreting since their nature is quite different. It means that in consecutive interpreting the students may more often opt to avoid or miss out the collocation in their notes and thus not render it, or render it but descriptively, depending on the context. Whereas in simultaneous interpreting the students do not have the possibility of avoiding or replacing the collocations with other structures as much, since as mentioned above, collocations form a large part of the corpus (text or speech) and the nature of simultaneous interpreting imposes less time to analyse than does consecutive interpreting. Consequently the students either recognize the collocation in the source language and know how to interpret it in the target language or they do not and will either render it incorrectly or make an effort to avoid it.

6.1 Consecutive interpreting results

The results from the analysis of the consecutive interpretations of the sample of collocations show that the students managed to render almost all of the collocations, or 96.2% of them. It is important to note that again due to the nature of interpretation, the collocations which have not been rendered might not be a result of students not knowing how to translate them, but rather a different construction they might have used in the target language in which the collocation was omitted.

However, this percentage does not also imply that all of their renditions were correct. Marginally over half or only 54% of the collocations from the source language were correctly translated into the target language. Mistakes vary from improper use of the singular or plural forms like **imports and exports*, to word forms that do not exist as is **investitions*, to incorrect use of words which form part of the collocation like for example **electrical crisis* instead of *energy crisis*, **economic*

stabilization instead of *economic stability*, or **people with disorders* instead of *people with disabilities*.

L1 interference is also noticeable among the examples, to wit the translation of *на урoшесуи излезоа* with **went on a protest* and *здравственаа заштита* with **the health protection*, **health care services* or **health care system*.

6.2 Simultaneous interpreting results

The analysis of the simultaneous interpretations of the collocations shows similar results. Less than 3 percent of the collocations were not rendered, or 97.3% of the sample collocations were interpreted in the target language, which is a rather high percentage. As mentioned above, this might be due to a different sentence construction the students used in which the collocation is interpreted differently; for example descriptively and not as a translation of the actual collocation used in the original speech.

Nonetheless, mistakes were present among these interpretations as well. Similar to the results of the analysis of the consecutive interpretations, the percentage of the correct simultaneous renditions of the students is just under 52%. Namely, among the many mistakes there is the use of nonexistent words as **investment* instead of *foreign investment* and **demographical groups* instead of *demographic groups*. As with the consecutive renditions, here again we have an incorrect use of words which form part of the collocation like **energetic crisis* instead of *energy crisis*, **economic healing* instead of *economic recovery*, **increasing taxation* instead of *increasing taxes*, **economic rise* and **economic increase* instead of *economic growth*, and **first quartal* instead of *first quarter*.

Concerning L1 interference encountered among the examples of translated collocations from the simultaneous interpretations, the situation is the same as with the consecutive interpretations. There is transfer of linguistic features from the students' native Macedonian into the translations of the collocations into English language. Following are some of these examples: *ушоциите за живoи* - **cost of life*, *здравственаа заштита* - **healthcare protection*, *oишата популација* - **basic population*, *живoинаата средина* - **the living environment*, *влaдеење на урaвoи* - **right ruling*, *Министерствoиo за финанси* - **the Ministry of Finances*, *кревање на свесноста* - **increasing the consciousness*, and more.

7 Conclusion

The analysis has highlighted that the students are not familiar enough with the importance of collocations in general and that they do not have enough specific knowledge regarding collocations and their meaning, since both groups of students had interpreted half of the collocations incorrectly.

An interesting result from this analysis is the fact that the most frequent type of collocation found in this sample of collocations, and that is the *adjective+noun* type of collocation, is rather important when it comes to interpretation into English. Specifically, Macedonian is an analytical language whereas English is a syntactic language. Often, what is expressed in a more descriptive form in Macedonian can

be interpreted into English using only an adjective and noun cluster, which in turn aids interpretation (both consecutive and simultaneous) since it conveys the meaning of the original, yet in a shorter form; as goes the famous interpreters adage ‘to kiss it’, or *to keep it short and simple*. Were the student interpreters to have been aware of the presence, importance and use of collocations, they would not only have delivered better renditions when it comes to correct translations, but they also could have used that knowledge to work on better sentence structures - ones that are more compact and have greater cohesion.

Furthermore, as already discussed above, better knowledge of collocations will help students sound more native-like (naturalness), which is more than welcome when it comes to interpretation, again both consecutive or simultaneous.

Bibliography

- Altenberg, B. *Amplifier collocations in spoken English*. In: Johansson, Stig /Stenström, Anna-Brita (eds.): *English computer corpora. Selected papers and research guide*. Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, p. 127-147, (1991).
- Benson, M., E. Benson, and R. Ilson. *The BBI combinatory dictionary of English. A guide to word combinations*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, (1986).
- Cambridge international dictionary of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Print, (1995).
- Cowie, A. P. *Collocational dictionaries – A comparative view*. In Murphy (ed.) *Fourth Joint Anglo-Soviet Seminar*, London: British Council, pp. 61-69, (1986).
- Firth, J. R. *Studies in linguistic analysis*. Basil Blackwell Oxford, (1962).
- Gledhill, J. Christopher. *Collocations in science writing*. Tübingen: Narr, (2000).
- Gumperez, J. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1982).
- Halliday, M. A. K. and Hasan, Ruqaiya. *Cohesion in English*. Longman Group Ltd., (1976).
- Hill, J. “Revising priorities: From grammatical failure to collocational success” in *Teaching Collocation: Further Developments in the Lexical Approach*. Michael Lewis. (ed.). Hove: Language Teaching Publications, pp. 47-69, (2000).
- Hoey, M. *Lexical priming. A new theory of words and language*. Routledge, (2005).
- McCretton, Elena and Nigel Rider. Error gravity and error hierarchies. *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 31.3: 177-188, (1993).
- Moon, R. *Fixed expression and idioms in English. A corpus-based approach*. Clarendon Press Oxford, (1998).
- Nattinger, J. R. *A lexical phrase grammar for ESL*. *TESOL Quarterly* .14 (3), 337-344, (1980).
- Poulsen, S. *Collocations as a language resource. A functional and cognitive study in English phraseology*. Dissertation, Institute of Language and Communications, University of Southern Denmark, (2005).
- Sinclair, J. *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford University Press, (1991).
- Webster’s new world dictionary of American English, third college edition*: Webster’s New World, (1988).

СЛОБОДНИОТ СТИХ КАКО ХИПЕРОБЈЕКТ

(Спасовска, Сузана В. *Слободата на стихоите*,
Студија за македонскиот слободен стих, Скопје, 2021, 272 стр.)

THE FREE VERSE AS A HYPEROBJECT

(Spasovska, Suzana V. *The freedom of the verse*,
Study of the Macedonian free verse, Skopje, 2021, 272 pp.)

Дарин Ангеловски
Институт за македонска литература
d.angelovski@iml.ukim.edu.mk

Darin Angelovski
Institute of Macedonian Literature
d.angelovski@iml.ukim.edu.mk

Сузана В. Спасовска го започнува своето истражување на феноменологијата на слободниот стих мошне директно и храбро, без излишни заобиколувања, со тврдењето дека оваа поетска форма воопшто не е нова појава и дека нејзината феноменологија е исто онолку стара колку и онаа на класичниот стих. Во прилог на изнесената теза говорат и поместувањата на солидната и авторитетна традиција на стихологијата, која како наука што ги проучува законитостите на класичниот стих сè повеќе се отвора кон проблематиката на слободниот стих. Оттука, станува очигледно дека слободниот стих е веќе етаблиран и суверен истражувачки ентитет, токму поради неговата фреквентна циркулација и во продукциска и во рецептивна смисла. Во таа насока тој е мошне близок до она што Тимоти Мортон го определува во своите философско-еколошки промислувања (Morton 2013) како *хиперобјект*: вискозна, нелокална и речиси недофатлива структура, која исчезнува и се појавува пред изострениот поглед на истренираниот набљудувач како своевиден „фигмент на човековата имагинација“.

Едно од достоинствата на оваа книга е тоа што таа понудува критичко-историски увид во густата и интензивна поетска традиција на слободниот стих, помирувајќи ги, притоа, мноштвото наследени апории, амбигвитети и несогласувања што се искажани на оваа тема. Разгледувајќи го поетското начело

на слободна употреба на стиховните средства како можност да се укине и да се надмине бинарната опозиција меѓу класичниот и слободниот стих, авторката обезбедува нова и доволно цврста теориска позиција од која го согледува слободниот стих на едно поинакво рамниште – како однос на поетскиот текст наспрема прозниот. И покрај тоа што напуштањето на првичната опозиција (класичен наспрема слободен стих) на полето на структуралистичкото обмислување неминовно воведува нова сопоставеност (слободен стих наспрема прозен текст), насочувањето на оваа нова опозиција во опсегот на деконструктивистичката теорија подразбира суштинско редефинирање на меѓусебните односи на стиховните средства. Промената се однесува на воспоставувањето нова структура на очекувања или систем на референци што врз веќе воспоставениот хоризонт на очекувања на класичниот стих ќе исцрта нова критичка алатка чија цел ќе биде да ги проследува обликотворните постапки на слободниот стих. Такви се прекршувањата на метричките схеми, римата, ритамот и другите специфични елементи, обрнувајќи, притоа, внимание и на стиховната организација, односно на графичкоста како визуелна, и на семантичкоста како тематска диференцијација на слободниот стих од прозните видови.

Ваквиот приод ќе овозможи да се говори не само за новата форма на слободниот стих туку и за неговата нова семантика: „...слободниот стих денес го дозволи она што не го дозволуваше светото правило за неререференцијалност на песната – слободниот стих, песната денес може да говори за што ќе посака.“ Интересно е да се спомене дека меѓу перспективните развојни насоки на слободниот стих се согледуваат и ретроспективно ориентирани промислувања, навраќања, (ре)актуализирања, преобмислувања, па дури и продолжувања на дамнешните дебати околу определувањето на категориите лирско и епско во правец на преиспитување на нивната натамошна трансформација во современите книжевни системи. Смената на хиерархиските односи во литературната теорија што ги подвлекува Спасовска, произлегуваат од смената на една поетичка школа или стилска формација со друга. Во таа насока, исклучителниот прилог на оваа студија кон теоријата на слободниот стих ја согледуваме во нејзиниот апликативен дел, кој за првпат во македонската книжевно-културна средина понудува типолошка класификација на македонскиот слободен стих. Оттука, особеното значење на студијата на Спасовска се согледува во делот што понудува анализа на македонскиот слободен стих според карактеристиките на звучењето, значенските, ритмичките и референцијалните рамништа во избор од поетското творештво на: Блаже Конески, Ацо Шопов, Гане Тодоровски, Матеја Матевски, Влада Урошевиќ, Радован Павловски, Богомил Ѓузел и Михаил Ренцов.

Истражувачкиот предмет во поглед на звучењето ги проследува принципите на еквиваленција (метар), сличност (рима и еуфонија) и соседство (анжабман). Во поглед на семантичките фигури, анализата е насочена кон стратегијата на метафоричност, синегдохичност и метонимичност, со разграничување на метафората како мотивиран знак за разлика од симболот сфатен како арбитрарен знак. Што се однесува до ритамот, тој се согледува како говорен (фразичен и реченичен) и како мелодиски, додека со анализата на поетскиот корпус според референцијалниот капацитет на творештвото на избраните поети,

авторката контекстуализира и елаборира осум типови референција: 1. *свештоиџ на јазикџ и на историјата* како одлика на поезијата на Блаже Конески, 2. *свештоиџ на стварноста*, својствен за поетскиот израз на Гане Тодоровски, 3. *свештоиџ на бившејто*, како доминанта во творештвото на Ацо Шопов, 4. *свештоиџ на природата*, кај Матеја Матевски, 5. *свештоиџ на (сонои) симболџ*, кај Радован Павловски, 6. *свештоиџ на митологијата и библијата*, кај Богомил Ѓузел, 7. *свештоиџ на фантасијата*, кај Влада Урошевиќ и 8. *свештоиџ на религијата*, како обележје на творештвото на Михаил Ренцов.

Значењето на оваа книга е дотолку поголемо ако се знае дека таа го има своето основно јадро како магистерски труд менториран од професор Влада Урошевиќ и одбранет на Катедрата за општа и компаративна книжевност во 2002 година. Оттука и вредноста на ова научно дело се согледува во неговата првичност, комплексност и оригиналност, како сериозен придонес и незаобиколна референца за понатамошните истражувања на теориските аспекти на слободниот стих и, уште поконкретно, на типологизацијата на македонскиот слободен стих. Или, како што нагласува Венко Андоновски во својот осврт кон книгата, „...во студијата на Спасовска слободниот стих ќе стане дискурзивна еманација подготвена да понесе различни содржини и да изврши различни функции, со што тој ќе стане отворен семиотички дизајн, а не само опозит на класичниот, метрички и музички избрусен стих, кој однапред ја претпоставува својата очекувана содржина“.

Библиографија

Morton, T. (2013). *Hyperobjects, Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

