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Editorial

A Semantic Journey from Data to Evidence, from *Dynamis* to E*entelécheia*

Renzo Mocini

Sapienza University of Rome, Italy

Today, we are immersed in a "quantitative" world of data, calculations, percentages and statistics. However, when can a datum or series of data count as evidence? Before entering into the heart of the matter, we need to clarify what data and evidence are, the communicative function each one has, as well as the relationship between their respective meanings. It may be useful to examine the definitions of the two terms provided by the Oxford (OD) and Cambridge (CD) dictionaries,[1] respectively:

> DATA: information, especially facts or numbers, collected to be examined and considered and used to help decision-making (OD).

> DATA: facts or information, especially when examined and used to find out things or to make decisions (CD).

> EVIDENCE: the facts, signs or objects that make you believe that something is true (OD)

> EVIDENCE: anything that helps to prove that something is or is not true (CD)

The lexeme DATA contains the concept of virtuality or directionality (e.g. *collected to be examined*). In their inert and raw state preceding discourse, data might be compared both to a mere denotative entry in a dictionary and to the Greek term *dynamis*, meaning a latent, potential state of power and meaning, which, if properly detonated, can erupt as *energeia*, or *entelécheia*. Just as any lexeme provided by a dictionary can contain several possible semic pathways, realisable only within discursive contexts, so too a datum, as *dynamis,* thanks to its discursive potential and significance, can achieve *entelechy,* meaning the actualisation of what is otherwise mere potential. In other words, data have the power (*dynamis*) to achieve the status of evidence but need the dynamic thrust of discourse to realise their *entelechy* and count as evidence. The lexeme EVIDENCE refers to the outcome of the discursive process to which data are subjected to acquire credibility.

The issue of the rapport between these two key concepts is vital to institutional and commercial communication that seeks to build up its credibility and trust. Very often the so-called "man in the street" tends to confuse data and

evidence, using the two interchangeably. Steering away from more philosophical discussions, it would be interesting to try to explore the semiotic mechanisms that come into play during the transition from one of these two conceptual nuclei to the other. In an attempt to grasp the difference between data and evidence, we might resort to "narrativity" as an interpretative hypothesis intended as "an organizing principle of meaning that permeates all kinds of discourse" (Lorusso - Violi 2004: 82).[2] As Marrone (2007: 38) argues, to bestow meaning on events we use a narrative method, that is, we think, speak or write about them by weaving them into a sequence, by linking them with other events: those which occurred before and others we expect may happen afterwards. Narrativity, therefore, shapes human experience, acting as a grid that assigns meaning to what happens and what we do. Greimas ([1969]1977: 23) holds that narrativity needs to be "situated and organized prior to its manifestation. A common semiotic level is thus distinct from the linguistic level and is logically prior to it, whatever the language chosen for the manifestation". The notion of narrativity concerns not only stories proper (novels, films, news stories etc.) but also all other kinds of textual configurations apparently distant from traditional stories as such, like the instructions we need to follow to download an app to our smartphone or computer, for example. Greimas even goes so far as to trace the existence of narrative structure in a cookery recipe. Along these lines, narrative is a basic, constant form of human expression and communication regardless of the semiotic substance utilized for its transmission: "narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there like life itself" (Barthes 1977: 79).

Among the various communicative settings where proof of the credibility of data used to corroborate evidence is particularly crucial, there is that of clinical research. In this domain, medical literature relies heavily on factual, quantitative data spun into the fabric of the evidence essential to clinical practice, especially after an approach called Evidence-Based Medicine (EBM) began to establish itself at the dawn of the present century. Designed for the transfer of available knowledge from the realm of monitored scientific research to the hands-on care of patients, this research paradigm is based on "the conscientious, explicit and judicious use of current best evidence in making decisions about the care of individual patients" (Sacket *et al.* 1997: 71). Therefore, quantitative, systematically evidential data are also the indispensable supports healthcare providers use to bolster their narratives of scientific-medical trials.

Following the reflections provided by Propp's (1968) *Morphology of the Fairy Tale*, we might analyse a clinical trial as if it were a story set in motion by an initial lack expressed as a clinical hypothesis or question to be addressed and resolved, like the challenges tackled and overcome by the heroes and heroines of folk tales. In Propp's description of a typical tale, we find an initial state of equilibrium which is compromised by an event that the protagonist, with the help of others and that of prodigious instruments, makes a great effort to re-establish. The narrator of this story provides the data necessary to describe the characters and the events that comprise its fabric. In a medical trial a patient who was well

(state of equilibrium) falls ill (compromise of the initial state of equilibrium), consults a doctor (protagonist) who, with the help of consultants (others) and with the help of medical instruments and drugs (objects), strives to cure (re-establish the previous state of equilibrium) the patient. In most fairy stories, the protagonist is successful. In clinical trials there are cases of failure too. Patients may not recover and may even die.

As in the case of a traditional narrative, through the mechanisms belonging to what semioticians call "enunciative praxis", the discourse of clinical trials is "convoked", "selected" and "handled" (Fontanille 2017). The medical data are collected by an enunciator-storyteller, who coincides, typically, with the team of researchers who conducted the trial, and transformed it into a "discourse" intended for an audience or, more probably, a readership (ideally the members of the world's healthcare community). The flow of data needs to be selected on the basis of criteria of relevance in order to guarantee the *tellability* or *reportability* of the narrative (Labov 1997; Norrick 2005). This is the operation that makes a story worth telling, or "noteworthy," which is in keeping with Sacks' claim that "the sheer telling of a story is something in which one makes a claim for its tellability" (1992: 12). The evidence will be built only with those data deemed worthy of narration. This selective cut runs, in fact, right through the entire narrative space of the trial. When constructing his/her discourse, the enunciator-storyteller carries out other key cognitive operations to attribute meaning to the data collected and selected, such as comparing, correlating, and evaluating. Discourse finds its deepest meaning in its narrative dimension: the enunciator assembles, relates the data, compares before and after, evaluates and draws conclusions. We can say that the informative material available as data reaches its "semiotic felicitousness" only when they are woven into a story. It is the connections between data that serve as the basis for the construction of meaning. The story also incorporates and confers meaning to the data communicated through the iconographic apparatus that accompany the report. Graphs, tables, and numerical sequences are data in the pure state, which acquire meaning thanks to the mediation of the narrative form. The data are intertwined according to a background "plot" and grouped into sections which, borrowing a term from Barthes, we can call *lexias*. For Barthes (1974: 13-14) "Lexias are simply units in which the reader who is actively producing the text discovers the explosion and scattering of meaning". Narrativity, tellability but also directionality: each *lexia* provides a semantically oriented reading path that contributes to the production of the global meaning of the text. Once aggregated into *lexias* the data are converted into evidence and contribute to filling the information need that gave rise to the "story" of the clinical trial.

In a nutshell, data are evidence in the virtual state awaiting realisation through inclusion in narrative discourse, while evidence is the end product of the story whereby the data called into play become meaningful and credible. When data are of high quality and subjected to rigorous semiotic work, then the evidence is strong, can build trust and, perhaps, help to improve the quality of life too.

Declarations

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Gender Differences in the Use of Foul Language in Punjabi

Khushnood Akhter
Department of Linguistics and Communications
University of Management and Technology
Lahore, Pakistan

Abstract

This study explores the use of foul language and its types in Punjabi from the perspective of gender. In this context, a corpus of Punjabi foul terminology was gathered from 56 male and female Punjabi speakers from urban and rural areas, through an open-ended questionnaire. The participants in this study belonged to different age groups and their education level was under-metric and graduation. All the participants selected as sample for the study were from the Punjabi culture. The theoretical framework of Battistella was applied. The data was analyzed in tables through a statistical approach with frequency and phonetic transcription. The convenience sampling technique was used in the study. Many studies have been done on the use of swear words in many languages to identify different aspects such as factors, gender variation, reasons, sources, types etc. However, to the best of my knowledge, in the history of Pakistan, no research works are found on the use of abusive language in Punjabi according to gender. This study could be very beneficial for those scholars who are interested in themes related to swearing. Various resources were found to be helpful in this study related to swear words, although it is quite difficult to access these resources. Some sociological, psychological, and neurological factors that are not part of the present research, can open the path to other researchers who are interested in what lies behind the rationale of using Punjabi swear words. The present study revealed that, Punjabi speaking people use foul language in many ways, types and situations. The study also found that males use more abusive terminology, while there is less use of coarse words by females. The study evidenced that swear word use is more derogatory and directed more towards females rather than males. Findings from this study contribute to research on the use of foul language, which is still in its infancy and to the lexicology of Punjabi language.

Introduction

Language produced in angry or adverse situations, characterized as impolite or rude is known as foul language. Through foul language, strong emotions are expressed and cultural aspects are denounced (Anderson and Turgill, 2007). Foul language has been used since ancient times, including the Middle and Dark ages with different discursive practices (Montagu, 2001). Ljung (2010) argues that Egypt is attributed with the first recorded case of coarse language. In ancient Rome the use of abusive language in a general contex could lead to death punishment although, use of this language was not related to insulting language in old Latin and Greek. During the 19th Century, Great Britain launched a crusade against the use of bad terminologies but it became common practice again in the 20th Century. Abusive language is a feature of human language and has been used since the existence of language itself. Similarly, examples derived from old pictograph writings date back to 100 B.C. (Vingerhoets *et al.*, 2013). It could be said that the use of insulting words is a universal phenomenon, which is exhibited in languages all over the world (Ljung, 1984).

Language is one of the most important features of its speakers. According to the Ethnologue[1], Pakistani nationals speak 74 languages, in which 66 are local and the rest are foreign. Punjabi is one of them, it belongs to the Indo-Aryan and Indo-European language families (Encyclopedia Britanica online, 2011). In Pakistan Punjab province, Western Punjabi is spoken by 60.6 million people but 28.2 million people speak Eastern Punjabi, it being their first language primarily in Punjab province, in India (Ethnologue, 2021). Zaidi (1990) claims that Punjabi language is thought to be vulgar and indecent by its speakers. In Africa, indigenous languages are considered more vulgar than the colonial languages; in Pakistan Punjabi language has the same connotations as the indigenous languages in Africa. Woolf, as a language, is spoken by 83% of the people in Senegal but it has less status compared to French as a colonial language (Bambose, 1991). Akram and Yaseen (2011) concluded that Punjabi is marginalized in Pakistan, even though it has a large majority of speakers. In addition, they stated that use Punjabi language has become a cultural shame for its speakers and is considered as a foul and vulgar language.

In this age, the use of coarse language has become a common practice by all in many societies. Abusive language is used in the context of surprise, frustration, and happiness. In addition, it also expresses many other states of mind in different situations. Svensson (2004) argues that the behavior of people towards the use of coarse language is different. Some consider it disrespectful and rude, although for many others it is a common practice in their daily communication. The use of prohibited terminologies is based on cultural values and traditions. Gender behavior in the use of coarse language is differentiated by profession and occupation. Men swear more with fellows from the same occupation. Swearing is thought to be a male characteristics (Benwell, 2001).

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[1] Ethnologue (2021) https://www.ethnologue.com/language/punjabi

Culturally accepted traditions make women less users of profane lexis in two ways. First, a strong action is perceived by the use of insulting words and women culturally are positioned to be very polite to the feelings of others, according to their stereotypical image of femininity (De Klerk, 1991; 1992; Coats, 1993). Second, in Western society, swearing is functioned to keep behavioral fulfillment with a particular society (Guerin, 1992). Lakoff (1975) and Jespersen (1922) stated that cultural and social factors have great influence on the use of abusive lexis so, according to socially accepted values in some societies, women are encouraged to swear less and swearing is attributed as a manly quality. Krishnaya and Bayard (2001) argue that men have common experience in the use of foul language but women are less frequent users of foul terminology and are different from men in relation to the context in which it is used. Maldonado Garcia (2015) claims that languages contain sexist grammatical elements (in the context of Spanish language). The same can be stated about Punjabi language.

Van Oudenhouven *et al.* (2008) and Jay (2009) state that the use of coarse language is a common practice in many cultures, which is intended to injure or insult the receiver. All offensive terminologies are not equally offensive and do not induce similar degrees of responses (Savier *et al.*, 2015). Generally, swear words are more offensive towards females than males (Jay and Janeschewitz, 2008; Van Oudenhouven *et al*., 2008; Guathier *et al.*, 2015). Most studies have concluded that genders differ in using insulting lexis and in the categories that are found to be the most offensive to them (James, 1998b; Harris, 1993; Benidixen and Gabriel, 2013). James (1998) says that gender directed abusive words permit people to perform an action, which is not a socially desirable behavior.

Many studies cited here have been concerned with the use of foul terminology in languages other than Punjabi. However, no attention has been paid to the use of foul terminologies in the Punjabi language. The concentration of most researchers such as Maynard (2002), Rassin and Muris (2005), Jing-Schmidt (2017), Ljung (2011) and many others was to identify coarse terminologies from the perspective of genders in English language. The present study is mainly concerned with the use of foul language in Punjabi by identifying gender differences and the persons to whom these terms are directed (females or males).

Aims

The aim of this study is to work on Punjabi swearing; however, other objectives include exploration of the differences in the usage of foul terminologies in Punjabi by taking the perspective of gender from both, urban and rural areas in Pakistan. The study also investigates the types of rude lexis used by males and females in their daily communication in Punjabi communities. One of the intentions of this study is also to analyze the derogation of swear words directed towards genders.

Therefore, the research questions that will be answered in the study concern the type of foul terminologies that are commonly used in Punjabi

language. Furthermore, whether the use of foul language is related mostly to males or females in Punjabi language context will be assessed. Finally, the foul words mostly directed to males or females and whether both genders are equally recipient of these foul words will be identified.

Literature Review

Language is a central feature of social interaction. Many varieties of languages are spoken in different situations and contexts, which are based on cultural and social factors. Fairclough (1999) states that it is important to be aware of the functions of a specific language to understand the economic and cultural systems in which it is used. Foul language is one of the forms of language, which is also known as taboo language. 'Taboo' means forbidden and comes from Tongan, which is a branch of the Polynesian language and has practical use in Tonga. Tongan is also known as an Austronesian language. Taboo language is considered indecent and vulgar, according to the culture of any society. Jay (1996), points out that swearing can be used in two senses - negative and positive. In negative sense, swear terms are aimed towards an insult to someone, e.g. name calling, and in positive sense swearing can be used for joking and sexual enticement.

Swearing is a way of expressing strong emotions that people harbor inside themselves. Crying is another of these emotions, which helps to relieve stress (Jay, 2009). Fourteen (14) functions are displayed using foul terminologies such as affirming, urging, standing, insult, oath, unfriendly, abuse, emphasis, enhancement, exclamation, curse, denial, disapprobatory, strengthening new word meaning (Lajung, 2006).

By taking different perspectives, many researchers and scholars have contributed and discussed the use of foul language (Anderson, 1985; Anderson & Hirsch, 1985a; 1985b; Andersson & Trudgill, 1990; Hughes, 1992; Jay, 1992; Ljung (1983; 1984a; 1984b; Montagu, 1967). Ashley Montague (1967) is the first researcher to conduct a study on foul language termed as 'Anatomy of Swearing', involving themes like motives, psychology, social and linguistics dimensions. His main concern was foul language in English. He used a historical approach and traced the origin of swearing from old civilizations. Magnus Ljung, who became professor of Linguistics in 1978, worked at the University of Stockholm in Sweden until 2000, and contributed to the study of foul language. The subjects of his interest in swearing included how we swear, why we swear and how certain cultural aspects influenced swearing. He wrote many books and articles on swearing and discussed aspects ignored in the work of Magnus. In his articles 'Fuck you' and 'Shithead', he takes three novels as case studies and discusses sociolinguistics, psychological, and linguistic issues in swearing. He analyzes translations from American English to Swedish. He mainly focuses on swearing in Swedish, English, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Arabic, and Russian and some examples are quoted also from Chinese.

Nichols (1983) concludes that women who are motivated to use more standard English while working with their professionals belong to the lower class. He also states that females are more insulted by bad words than males.

Selnow (1985) investigated the use of foul language among undergraduate students and found that it is more commonly used by males than females.

McEnery and Xiao (2003) look into the use of bad terminology 'Fuck' by genders in a corpus-based study from the British National Council. The results show that men use the bad term 'Fuck' extensively. Taboo language has an emotional force expressed through foul terms (Deweale, 2004). According to Coats (2004), two terms - competitive and cooperative, refer to gender functions differently. The dominant term 'competitive' denotes male functions while 'cooperative' denotes female behavior, because women are polite in conversation and share the goal of solidarity. Lakoff (2004) claims that women are challenged with status and power relations and trained to behave courtly in many cultures. Males and females use foul language in different ways, but according to some studies both genders somehow make the use of similar types of offensive terms (McEnery, 2005).

Beer Fagerson (2007) conducted a study on Florida University students in the use of offensive language. The findings from the study showed that 'nigger' is the most offensive term, and fuck is another rude term used among the students. He also stated that offensiveness of bad lexis depends on the context in which it is used. The results from the study by Thelwell (2008) show that people on social media settings use more swear language in informal situations. Sterkenburg (2008) noted that women swear as much as men, and Krouwel's (2014) research results support Sterkenburg's findings. Pinker (2008) explains five different uses of foul language: 1. Dysphemistic; 2. Abusive; 3. Idiomatic; 4. Emphatic and 5. Cathartic. Gender and language have a deep interrelation. Gender performances and behaviors in interactions are determined by the accepted social norms (West & Zimmerman, 2009). Swedish men utter more abusive terms under all circumstances (Sollid, 2009). Suyanto (2010) found that Javenese commonly used bad words among peers and that shows the harmony and friendship among them.

Kirk's (2013) study investigated the use of words shit, fuck, damn, bitch, and cunt and claimed that these words are first choice of both genders among other swear words. The study also deduced that females use fewer sexual terms in swearing than males. Jay and Jay (2013) argue that no gender differences are found in swearing. Coarse language has been unacceptable in many cultural contexts but recently, it has been proved that the use of such language helps to get relief from anger and tension in certain situations (Jay, 2009; Ljung, 2011; Stephan, 2013; Wang, 2013). Sukamto and Nicolau (2014) concluded that women use more super polite forms than men while using Indonesian as their first language. In contrast, van Hofwegen and Hindriks (2014) found that women use more bad terms in Dutch than men who are less frequent users in this language. Bergen (2016) explained the emotional use of foul language and the physical effects this can produce, such as increased heartbeat, sweating, etc.

Several studies on swearing have been carried out in different languages (English, Swedish, Indonesian, Dutch, Chinese, etc.) and investigating different issues. Most of these studies aimed to identify gender differences, influence of social, cultural and psychological factors and the degree of offensiveness towards

genders.

Methodology

The present study is different from past researches because it is conducted on Punjabi language. The purpose of this study is to analyze variations of foul terms used by males and females. One of the intentions is also to look into the types of swear language used by males and females in Punjabi speaking communities. The sample in this study includes 56 Punjabi speakers, 28 males and 28 females, from both rural and urban area. The population in this study is Punjabi speaking people living in Pakistan, but the target population is represented by people who reside in three villages - Mahar, Balloky Virkan, and Shamsa Virkan, and in the city of Lahore in the area of Gujranwala. The present study varies from past researches because it does not focus on analyzing the effect of psychological, socio-cultural factors in the use of swear terms in Punjabi, as previous studies investigate languages other than Panjabi. Particularly, this research aims to shed light on gender directed bad words in Punjabi language. Furthermore, the situations where the terms are considered more offensive towards women or both genders as equal recipient of these words are studied.

Design

A mixed method approach was selected to investigate three main issues. First, categories of foul terminologies used by genders were established. Second, the extent to which genders (males and females) use similar and different terms in Punjabi context was investigated. Third, the terms collected were analyzed according to who were the recipients of the foul words in the Punjabi context. Under the paradigm of qualitative research, the corpus of Punjabi swear words was collected through an open-ended questionnaire. In addition, the quantitative method was used to analyze the data.

Figure 1. Research Methodology
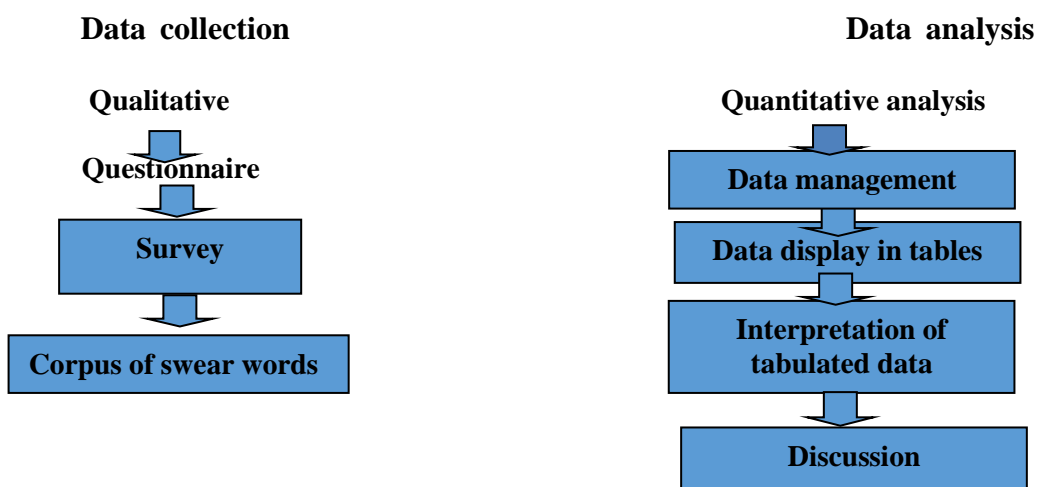
Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework applied in this study to analyze the types of foul language in Punjabi is based on the categories of swear words in Battistella's theory (2005). According to Battistella (2005), foul language is a form of language which is to some extent known as offensive language and can be categorized into four types namely - profanity, vulgar, epithet, and obscenity. The corpus of Punjabi foul terminology collected by the open-ended questionnaire was grouped according to these types from the perspective of gender.

Epithet: This category included many types of references such as, appearance, ethnicity, disability and sexuality. There are some slurs that are also part of this category e.g., "bitch", "fag". This type also deals with the foul terms that make the association of human beings to animals like, "donkey", "dog", "son of bitch", and "monkey".

Profanity: This type of swearing is used when people swear with the name of God. It occurs when certain religious terms used secularly like, "Christ", "Jesus", and "hell".

Vulgarity: This kind refers to the expressions that are related to the excretion and sexual anatomy - "Dick", "cunt", "tit", and "ass", are examples of this kind.

Obscenity: This type of swearing deals with bodily effluvia e.g. "piss", "shit", etc. and sexual activity "fuck". Two types of swearing - obscenity and vulgarity are similar in expressions but are different on the level of prurience.

Data collection

Data were collected in the form of a corpus through open-ended questionnaire. Data were based on 56 male and female participants. For the collection of data, research was confined to the population in the city of Lahore and three villages - Mahar, Balloky Virkan, and Shamsa Virkan situated in the area of Gujranwala in Pakistan.

Corpus building

This is a corpus-based study, so, in order to create a corpus of Punjabi foul terms, a survey was conducted using an open-ended questionnaire. The corpus was collected from active Punjabi speakers, 56 from both males and females belonging to rural and urban areas. The participants were formally asked to note down Punjabi foul terms that they use in their daily communication.

Sampling

The sample in the present study included 56 active participants belonging to remote and urban areas. The participants selected for this study were from the Punjabi culture. They were 28 males and 28 females. Participants in this study belonged to different age groups and their level of education was graduate and under-metric. There were no restrictions of age in the sample. The convenience sampling technique was used.

Materials

The study deals with materials in the form of open–ended questionnaire. The purpose of designing an open-ended questionnaire is to collect the corpus of Punjabi swear words to analyze which gender (male and female) uses more bad terms, the degree of these bad terms towards genders and, what are the variations of these words used in Punjabi communities. The data used in this research are primary in nature because they are first hand data collected through a survey questionnaire. The only one tool applied in the present study is named as open-ended questionnaire.

Data analysis procedure

All the data in the study were analyzed using frequency and percentage of responses by participants. The data were tabulated with IPA phonetics transcription and translation in English language (International language).

Steps in data analysis process

Quantitative analysis

Data management

Data display in tables

Interpretation of tabulated data

Discussions
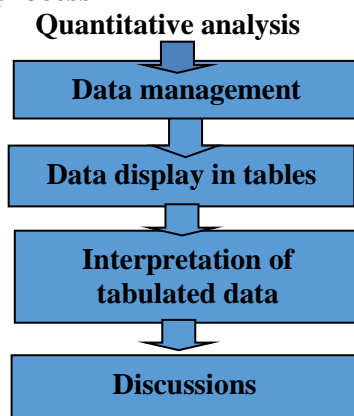
Ethical consideration

Prior to the collection of data, consent from participants was taken. They gave permission then the open-ended questionnaire was distributed after introductory information on the study and explanation of the purpose of the present study. The collected data from these participants were arranged and analyzed, so that the participants' identities would be confidential. The participants in the present study were assured that the information that they provided would be used solely for the purpose of this study and not elsewhere.

Results/Data analysis

The data for this research were analyzed in relation to the corpus that was collected from the Punjabi speakers, to differentiate the use of swear terms by gender, and the derogation of these terms was directed to them. This corpus was also used to describe the types of Punjabi bad terms, according to gender by applying the theory proposed by Battistella, (2005), which grouped words in four categories (epithet, vulgarity, obscenity, profanity).

Table 1. Corpus collected through questionnaires

NO	Terms	IPA Transcription	Translation
1.	کھبیصنی	kʰəbɪːsənɪ	Vile
2.	رنڈی	rəndɪ	Slut
3.	گشتی	gəʃtɪ	Escort
4.	ذلیل	zəlɪːl	Contemptible
5.	کمینوں	kəmɪːno	Means
6.	کمینہ	kəmɪːnə	Mean
7.	دلا	dələ	Pimp
8.	چو تیا	tʃʊtɪə	Asshole
9.	شودیا	ʃʊdɛa	Stingy
10.	گانڈو	gaːndʊ	Gay
11.	چوڑھی	tʃuːɾɪ	Sweeper
12.	کڑی یا وا	kʊɾɪ jaːvaː	Girl fucker
13.	دلی	dəlɪ	Female Pimp
14.	کمینی	kəmɪːnɪ	Mean
15.	گندی	gəndɪ	Dirty
16.	کنجری	kəndʒri	Whore
17.	بھوتنی د ے کتے	bʰɔtənɪ dɛ kʊtɛ	Dog of she ghost
18.	کھبیث	kʰəbɪːs	Vile
19.	بیماری پینہ	bəmaːɾɪ pɛnə	Fall in disease
20.	الو	ʊlʊ	Owl
21.	کھوتا	kʰotə	Donkey
22.	تیری کڑی نو ں لن ماراں	tɛɾɪ kʊɾɪ nʊ lən maːɾãn	I am going to fuck your daughter
23.	بگیرتی	bgɛɾətɪ	Lacking in self respect
24.	باندری	baːndəɾɪ	Female monkey
25.	پیڑی شکل والا	pɛɾɪ ʃəkəl vaːlaː	Having bad shape of mouth
26.	پھٹے منہ	pʰɪtɛ mʊn	Damn
27.	دفاع ہو جا	dəfə ho dʒaː	Fuck off
28.	چول	tʃəvəl	Scoundrel
29.	بگیرت	bgɛɾət	Lacking in self respect
30.	بد معا ش	bəd mãːʃ	Mobster
31.	کتی	kʊtɪ	Bitch
32.	کھوتی	kʰotɪ	Female donkey
33.	ما ں دی پھدی پا ڑ ا	mãn dɪ pʰʊdɪ paːɾaː	Ripper of mother's pussy
34.	گندا	gəndə	Dirty
35.	حرام جادا	həɾaːm dʒaː də	Bastard
36.	باندر	baːndər	Monkey
37.	پھدی	pʰʊdɪ	Pussy
38.	بنڈ و	bʊndʊ	Homosexual
39.	کمینے	kəmɪːnɛ	Mean
40.	کنجر	kəndʒər	Fucker
41.	کتا	kʊtə	Dog
42.	حرام دی	həɾaːm dɪ	Daughter of bastard
43.	پا گل دا پتر	paːgəl də pʊtər	Son of mad person
44.	کتی دا پتر	kʊtɪ də pʊtər	Son of bitch
45.	کھو تی دیا بچیا	kʰotɪ dɛa bətʃɛa	Son of female donkey
46.	گندی نسل دیا	gəndɪ nəsəl də	Belong to indecent progenitor ship
47.	کتی نسل دا	kʊtɪ nəsəl də	Belong to dogs' progenitorship
48.	کتے دا بچہ	kʊtɛ də bətʃə	Son of dog
49.	پھدو	pʰʊdʊ	Idiot
50.	بشرم	bəʃɾəm	Shameless

51.	بتمیز	bətmɪːz	Impudent
52.	نسلی بگیرت	nəsəlɪ bgɛrət	Generations of shameless
53.	کتے دی پتر	kʊtɛ dɪ pʊtər	Son of dog
54.	ا لو دا پٹھا	ʊluː də pətʰə	Son of an owl
55.	حرام دا	həraːm də	Son of bastard
56.	مرجانی دا	mər dʒaːnɪ də	Son of girl whom should die
57.	رنگباز	rəngbaːz	Deceiver
58.	ماں مر جاۓ	mãn mər dʒaɛ	Mother die
59.	ا نی دیا	ənɪ dɛa	Son of blind woman
60.	گوار	gəvaːr	Illiterate
61.	پا گل	paːgəl	Mad
62.	ماں یاوا	mãn jaːvaː	Mother fucker
63.	تیری پاڑاں پین	tɛrɪ paːɾaː pɛn	I am going to rip your sister
64.	گشتی دیا	gəʃtɪ dɛa	Son of escort
65.	تیری پین دی سر ی	tɛrɪ pɛn dɪ sɪrɪ	Your sister's head
66.	تیری پین نو ں کھیرا دتا	tɛrɪ pɛn nʊ kʰɪːrə dɪtə	Cucumber in your sister's pussy
67.	تیری ماں نوں لن ماراں	tɛrɪ mãn nʊ lən maːɾãn	I am going to fuck your mother
68.	کنجری دیا	kəndʒrɪ dɛa	Son of whore
69.	تیری ماں دی کو سی	tɛrɪ mãn dɪ kosɪː	Your mom's pussy
70.	تیری بے بے دی سری	tɛrɪ bɛ bɛ dɪ sɪrɪ	Your mother's head
71.	پین چود	pɛn tʃod	Sister fucker
72.	تیری پین دی پھدی	tɛrɪ pɛn dɪ pʰʊdɪ	Your sister's pussy
73.	لا نتی انسان	ləntɪ ɪnsaːn	Cursed man
74.	ڈنگر	dəngər	Beast\animal
75.	ثور	suːɾ	Pig
76.	کھانہ کھرابہ	kʰnə kʰəraːbə	Destroy at all
77.	کواری یاوا	kvaːɾɪ jaːvaː	Bachelorette fucker
78.	تیر ئ پین نو یا واں	tɛrɪ pɛn nʊ jaːvaːn	I am gonna to fuck your sister

Table 2. Types of foul words used by males and females

Ranking	Categories	Males Frequency (%)	Females Frequency (%)
1.	Profanity	0(0%)	1(0.91%)
2.	Epithet	106(91.37%)	105(96.33%)
3.	Vulgarity	6(5.17%)	0(0%)
4.	Obscenity	4(3.44%)	3(2.75%)
	Total /Percentage	116(100%)	109 (100%)

In light of the above Table, 'epithet' is a highly used category by genders. On the other hand, males did not use 'profanity' but only 1 (0.91%) of females used this kind of Punjabi foul language. Females did not speak 'vulgarity' type of bad language and 6 (5.17%) males used it. The type that is not used by males is 'profanity' and females did not use 'vulgarity'. 'Obscenity' was used by both genders with very few differences in the use of it as shown in the table.

Sr. no	Males Frequency%)	Females Frequency (%)
1.	116(51.55%)	109(48.44%)
Total/percentage	225(100%)	225(100%)

Table 3. Foul terms used by males and females

In terms of differences regarding foul language use between genders in Punjabi, the above table is self- explanatory.

No.	Terms	IPA Transcription	Translation	F (%)
1.	کنجری	kəndʒɾi	Whore	2(3.57%)
2.	کھبیصنی	kʰəbɪːsənɪ	Vile	1(1.78%)
3.	کتے دی پتر	kʊtɛ dɪ pʊtər	Son of dog	1(1.78%)
4.	دلی	dəlɪ	Female Pimp	1(1.78%)
5.	چو تیا	tʃʊtɪə	Asshole	2(3.57%)
6.	چوڑھی	tʃuːɾɪ	Sweeper	1(1.78%)
7.	حرام دی	həɾɑːm dɪ	Daughter of bastard	4(7.14%)
8.	بگیرتی	bgɛɾətɪ	Lacking in self respect	2(3.57%)
9.	رنڈی	rəndɪ	Slut	1(1.78%)
10.	گشتی	gəʃtɪ	Escort	1(1.78%)
11.	باندری	bɑːndəɾɪ	Female monkey	1(1.78%)
12.	کتی	kʊtɪ	Bitch	8(14.28%)
13.	کھوتی	kʰotɪ	Female donkey	5(8.92%)
14.	کمینی	kəmɪːnɪ	Mean	14(25%)
15.	گندی	gəndɪ	Dirty	2(3.57%)

Table 4. Foul terms directed to the females

The above table presents 15 terms used in Punjabi context to insult females. In light of the table کمینی – mean wss a highly used term and then کتی - bitch and کھوتی - female donkey were highly used after the term 'mean'. The above explained swear words were spoken only to insult females directly.

Table 5. Foul words directed to one's females

No.	Terms	IPA Transcription	Translation	F (%)
1	کواری یاوا	kvɑːɾɪ jaːvɑː	Bachelorette fucker	2(3.57%)
2	تیری بےبے دی سری	tɛɾɪ bɛ bɛ dɪ sɪɾɪ	Your mothers' head	2(3.57%)
3	بھوتی د ے کتے	bʰɔtənɪ dɛ kʊtɛ	Dog of she ghost	1(1.78%)
4.	گشتی دیا	gəʃtɪ dɛa	Son of escort	1(1.78%)
5	کنجری دیا	kəndʒɾɪ dɛa	Son of whore	1(1.78%)
6	کھو تی دیا بچیا	kʰotɪ dɛa bətʃɛa	Son of female donkey	7(12.5%)
7	ما ں دی پھدی پا ڑ ا	mãn dɪ pʰʊdɪ pɑːɾɑː	Ripper of mother's pussy	2(3.57%)
8	کتی دا پتر	kʊtɪ də pʊtər	Son of bitch	7(12.5%)
9	تیری ماں دی کو سی	tɛɾɪ mãn dɪ kosɪː	Your mom's pussy	1(1.78%)
10	تیری ماں نوں لن ماراں	tɛɾɪ mãn nʊ lən mɑːɾãn	I am going to fuck your mother	1(1.78%)
11	تیری کڑی نو ں لن ماراں	tɛɾɪ kʊɾɪ nʊ lən mɑːɾãn	I am going to fuck your daughter	1(1.78%)
12	ماں یاوا	mãn jaːvɑː	Mother fucker	1(1.78%)
13	ا نی دیا	ənɪ dɛa	Son of blind woman	4(7.14%)
	تیری پاڑاں پین	tɛɾɪ pɑːɾɑː pɛn	I am going to rip your sister	1(1.78%)

14				
15	تیری پین دی پھدی	tɛɾɪ pɛn dɪ pʰʊdɪ	Your sister's pussy	1(1.78%)
16	تیری پین دی سر ی	tɛɾɪ pɛn dɪ sɪɾɪ	Your sister's head	1(1.78%)
17	تیری پین نو ں کھیرا دتا	tɛɾɪ pɛn nʊ kʰɪːɾə dɪtə	Cucumber in your sisters pussy	1(1.78%)
18	کڑی یا وا	kʊɾɪ jaːvaː	Girl fucker	5(8.92%)
19	تیر ئ پین نو یا واں	tɛɾɪ pɛn nʊ jaːvaːn	I am goanna to fuck your sister	3(5.35%)
20	پین چود	pɛn tʃod	Sister fucker	9(16.07%)

The bad terms displayed in the table were those used when the insult went towards someone's females rather to him/herself in Punjabi language.

Table 6. Insulting words directed towards males somehow with the involvement of their family members' insults

NO.	Terms	IPA Transcription	Translation	F (%)
1.	گانڈو	gaːndʊ	Gay	1(1.78%)
2.	کتا	kʊtə	Dog	9(16.07%)
3.	باندر	baːndər	Monkey	5(8.92%)
4.	کمینہ	kəmiːnə	Mean	2(3.57%)
5.	دلا	dələ	Pimp	3(5.35%)
6.	بیماری پینہ	bəmaːɾɪ pɛnə	Fall in disease	1(1.78%)
7.	گندا	gəndə	Dirty	2(3.57%)
8.	کھبیٹ	kʰəbɪːs	Vile	1(1.78%)
9.	کمینے	kəmiːnɛ	Mean	1(1.78%)
10.	شود یا	ʃodɛa	Stingy	1(1.78%)
11.	کنجر	kəndʒər	Fucker	2(3.57%)
12.	بنڈ و	bʊndʊ	Homosexual	3(5.35%)
13.	کھوتا	kʰotə	Donkey	7(12.5%)
14.	حرام جادا	həraːm dʒaː də	Bastard	3(5.35%)
15.	پیڑی شکل والا	pɛɾɪ ʃəkəl vaːlaː	Having bad shape of mouth	1(1.78%)
16.	کنجری دیا	kəndʒɾɪ dɛa	Son of whore	1(1.78%)
17.	ا نی دیا	ənɪdɛa	Son of blind woman	4(7.14%)
18.	کھو تی دیا بچیا	kʰotɪ dɛa bətʃɛa	Son of female donkey	7(12.5%)
19.	کتی دا پتر	kʊtɪ də pʊtər	Son of bitch	7(12.5%)
20.	گشتی دیا	gəʃtɪ dɛa	Son of escort	1(1.78%)
21.	ماں یاوا	mãn jaːvaː	Mother fucker	1(1.78%)
22.	مرجانی دا	mər dʒaːnɪ də	Son of girl whom should die	2(3.57%)
23.	بھوتنی د ے کتے	bʰɔtənɪ dɛ kʊtɛ	Dog of she ghost	1(1.78%)
24.	کڑی یاوا	kʊɾɪ jaːvaː	Girl fucker	5(8.92%)
25.	کواری یاوا	kvaːɾɪ jaːvaː	Bachelorette fucker	2(3.57%)
26.	کتے دا بچہ	kʊtɛ də bətʃə	Son of dog	1(1.78%)
27.	حرام دا	həraːm də	Son of bastard	

				7(12.5%)
28.	ا لو دا پٹھا	ʊluː də pətʰə	Son of an owl	
				1(1.78%)
29.	پا گل دا پتر	paːgəl də pʊtər	Son of mad person	
				1(1.78%)
30.	گندی نسل دیا	gəndı nəsəl də	Belong to indecent progenitor ship	1(1.78%)
31.	کتی نسل دا	kʊtı nəsəl də	Belong to dogs' progenitor ship	1(1.78%)

The data presented in the above table show that the words from 1 to 15 were directly used to insult males, but bad Punjabi terms from 16 to 23 were used for males, but the use these words was forwarded to insult their mothers. In the same way, word number 24 directed the insult to male children. According to the table, analysis of foul Punjabi words from 26 to 29 were directed to insult males' fathers and the last two words were used to derogate men progenitorship.

Table 7. Foul terms directed to both genders equally

NO.	Terms	IPA Transcription	Translation	F (%)
1.	کمینوں	kəmıːno	Means	1(1.78%)
2.	چو ل	tʃəvəl	Scoundrel	17(30.35%)
3.	بگیرت	bgɛrət	Lacking in self respect	11(19.64%)
4.	دفاع ہو جا	dəfə ho dʒaː	Fuck off	4(7.14%)
5.	ا لو	ʊlʊ	Owl	1(1.78%)
6.	رنگباز	rəngbaːz	Deceiver	1(1.78%)
7.	ڈنگر	dəngər	Beast\animal	3(5.35%)
8.	ثور	suːɾ	Pig	2(3.57%)
9.	بتمیز	bətmıːz	Impudent	4(7.14%)
10.	ذلیل	zəlıːl	Contemptible	2(3.57%)
11.	گوار	gəvaːɾ	Illiterate	3(5.35%)
12.	پا گل	paːgəl	Mad	2(3.57%)
13.	بد معا ش	bəd mãːʃ	Mobster	1(1.78%)
14.	لا نتی انسان	ləntı ınsaːn	Cursed man	1(1.78%)
15.	کھانہ کھرابہ	kʰnə kʰəraːbə	Destroy at all	4(7.14%)
16.	پھٹے منہ	pʰıtɛ mʊn	Damn	1(1.78%)
17.	پھدو	pʰʊdʊ	Idiot	5(8.92%)
18.	بشرم	bəʃrəm	Shameless	5(8.92%)

In Punjabi language foul terms displayed in the above table directed insult to both genders equally, for males as for females and no lexical differences could be seen.

Discussion

The present research was intended to analyze differences in the use of Punjabi foul language, typed by gender, and derogation of these bad terms towards gender. The findings show that the majority of males use more foul terms as compared to females. Females are less frequent users of these swear words. In order to analyze the kinds of Punjabi words used as swear language, the theory proposed by Battistella (2005) was applied in the theoretical framework. The application of this framework proved that all kinds of words were used by genders with a slight variation in frequency and percentage, except for 'vulgarity'

and 'profanity'. 'Profanity' was not used by males, and 'vulgarity' was not employed by females. The corpus of Punjabi bad words shows that there were many terms used to insult both genders, and females were greater recipients of these words as compared to males. Table 4 shows that all the swear words meant as insults went directly to females, except for Table 5 in which the foul words were directed to someone's females. The recipients of these words were females. In the same way, Table 6 displays the insulting words that were directed towards males, and Table 7 shows swear words that were used for both genders equally. There was no gender specification while using these words towards them. They were used for males as for females without any differences in meaning and context in Punjabi language.

Conclusion

In light of the above discussion, it can be concluded that, there were 116 (51.55%) foul words used by males and 109 (48.44%) used by females. This shows that males in Punjabi language swear more, while females use foul language less. The present study also deduced that Punjabi speakers used all the kinds of swear words (epithet, profanity, obscenity, vulgarity), as proposed by Battistella (2005), except for 'profanity' and 'vulgarity'. Females did not use 'vulgarity' and males did not use 'profanity'. From the present analysis, it is found that foul terms used in Punjabi language are insults directed towards both genders. Mostly terms used in Punjabi as swear terms are derogatory towards females rather than males. All foul terms that are used in Punjabi language in the form of insult go directly to males, females, to someone's relatives, to someone's females and to both genders equally.

Declarations

Human studies

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

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Extended Conceptual Metaphor View Applied to Translation: Some Implications in Languages for Specific Purposes

Carmen Mateo Gallego, PhD
University of Hildesheim, Germany

Abstract

In the research area of metaphor translation, it is necessary to move towards a more target-oriented approach that focuses on the target text, as well as the social, cultural, and historical context in which metaphor is embedded. To address this need, this paper proposes an approach to the study of metaphor in translation based on the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This recent approach presents a more pragmatic view of metaphor in which contextual factors play a determinant role. Although there have been studies that have advocated a descriptive and context-based approach to metaphor in translation, this area of research needs to be further explored. The application of the main foundations of the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory to the study of translation highlights different metaphor-related issues that have not yet received sufficient attention, as in the case of Languages for Specific Purposes. To illustrate this approach, this research focuses on business translation.

Keywords: Translation Studies, Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Languages for Specific Purposes

Introduction

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), emphasized that metaphor is a matter of thought and reason and, therefore, has a universal character. Following the main assumptions of the authors, cognition plays the fundamental role within this theory while language is faded to the background. This secondary role given to language and the defended principle that metaphor is universal in all languages and cultures has contributed to a late integration of conceptual metaphor in the discipline of Translation Studies. At the same time, this novel paradigm of metaphor also brought a new designation in this area. "The more traditional way of referring to this area of study, 'the translation of metaphor', sounds prescriptive and somehow old-fashioned" (Shuttleworth, 2017, p.9). Therefore, the description "metaphor in translation" better aligns with this area because it "places the emphasis on metaphor and locates the discussion precisely where it should be – firmly in the

broader context of general metaphor research" (Shuttleworth, 2017, p.9).

The first works that focused on conceptual metaphor in translation dates back to the mid-1990s. In particular, the cognitive translation hypothesis (CTH) of Mandelblit (1995) is one of the most significant statements in the area of metaphor in translation today. The fundamental assumption of this theory reveals that there are two schemes for metaphor translation: similar mapping conditions and distinct mapping conditions. "Metaphorical expressions take more time and are more difficult to translate if they exploit different cognitive domains than the target language equivalent expressions" (Mandelblit, 1995, p.493). The conceptual mapping of metaphor refers to the cognitive part of the metaphorical phenomenon, including the reasoning that gives rise to the linguistic expression. Conceptual Mapping is a mental analogy of two realities or two cognitive domains. One of these domains transfers qualities to another domain, which is abstract. This analogy makes the abstract domain more comprehensible and understandable. One example of mapping would be TIME IS MONEY. Following the convention of cognitive science, the conceptual mapping should be written in small capital letters and follows the scheme A IS B. In everyday language, several expressions are derived from this specific mapping, such as *invest time* or *save time*. The lexical realizations of the mapping, also called linguistic metaphors, are the linguistic part of the metaphorical phenomenon and, according to the convention, they should be written in italics. When two languages do not use the same mapping conditions, the search for another linguistic metaphor in the target language is the main reason for the delay, uncertainty, or difficulty in the translation process. To date, many studies have followed the CTH to analyze translation patterns based on conceptual mapping and its corresponding lexical realizations in different language pairs. These studies postulate some fixed scenarios that should appear in every language pair. For example, in a work entitled *Towards a new model to metaphor translation*, Taheri-Ardali et al. (2013) claimed that there are only five possible patterns between conceptual mapping and lexical realizations in the target text. This methodology, which focused on the correlations between the conceptual mapping and the lexical realizations in different language pairs, has been used in several studies throughout the 21st century (Kövecses, 2007; Al-Hasnawi, 2007; Hanić et al., 2017). This is why it is the prevailing methodology in this research area. However, other studies have shown that many patterns may occur when analyzing the metaphorical phenomenon in translation. In other words, translators do not necessarily opt for the corresponding equivalent lexical realization in the target language (Samaniego, 2013; Steen, 2014; Ildikó, 2014; Schäffner, 2017; Mateo, 2022). Nonetheless, there could be different scenarios including omissions, additions in the target text, or one metaphor being translated into a metonymy. However, these cases have not yet been sufficiently addressed in this research area. This is partly because the prevailing studies are still source-oriented and prescribe how metaphor should be translated but does not describe how metaphor is actually translated (Schäffner, 2004, p.1256). It is thus necessary to move toward a target-oriented approach to metaphor in translation. This gives crucial importance to the target text, as well as the social, cultural, and

historical context in which metaphor is embedded. Nonetheless, the target-oriented approach to metaphor translation requires a more pragmatic view of metaphor and a deeper understanding of the contextual factors in which metaphor takes place. According to this need for improvement within the traditional CMT, Kövecses (2015, 2017, 2020) introduced an improved version stating that "[…] CMT itself needs to be changed in several ways. In particular, I suggest (1) that it has to be given a much more elaborate contextual component than is currently available" (Kövecses, 2020, p.112). Putting the focus on the contextual factors surrounding metaphor would contribute to a more pragmatic approach to metaphor in translation. In a work called *Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Nature of Difficulties in Metaphor Translation*, Kövecses (2014) argued how the lack of attention given to the pragmatic component within CMT affects the area of metaphor in translation. Giving more attention to the situational and discourse context surrounding metaphor could contribute to addressing various metaphor-related issues within this research area. This could especially contribute to the development of metaphor translation within LSP. To date, metaphor in LSP has received very little attention. Even some bottom-up developed methods that identify linguistic metaphors in corpora do not deliberately address metaphor with specialized meaning. This is the case for the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) of Steen et al. (2010). "[…] In our project, we assume that metaphor is 'metaphor from the general language user' " (Steen et al., 2010, p.34). However, in the same way that metaphor belongs to general language users, it also belongs to specialized language users. Particularly in LSP, metaphor is essential for making abstract processes more comprehensible and giving a name to new realities and situations within different areas of knowledge. For example, in economics, the metaphor *inflation* illustrates an increase in the prices of services and goods, thus resulting in a decrease in the value of money. In the inflation process, prices are metaphorically compared with something filled with gas or air, such as a balloon. The metaphorical mechanism is crucial within LSP and there is a need for more studies in this area that consider its multilingual and multicultural character.

Conceptual Metaphor and Translation Studies

The new paradigm of metaphor introduced by CMT did not reach Translation Studies until the 1990s. The first works emphasized the importance of cultural impediments in dealing with conceptual metaphor in translation. Stienstra (1993) dedicated her work to the mapping YHWH IS THE HUSBAND OF THE PEOPLE of the Old Testament in Hebrew and its English and Dutch translations. She focused on what she called *pragmatic success* between the original and the target text, which involves the successful communication of the original metaphor in the target language and culture when there is a great cultural and temporal distance between the original and the target text. Depending on the two cultures involved in the translation process, Stienstra (1993) proposed three groups of metaphors. Universal metaphors are those that are common in many languages and cultures because they come from the same mapping, and they have the same linguistic form. Metaphors are culture-overlapping when they come

from comparable mappings in two languages and cultures. Lastly, culture-specific metaphors are those whose lexical realizations can only be found in a given language or culture. In line with these three metaphor types, Tabakowska (1993) affirmed that the coincidence or similarity between cultural models contributes to the correct understanding of the lexical metaphor in the original language. Hence, translation can be done without difficulties. These works (Stienstra 1993; Tabakowska 1993) lay the foundations of the cognitive translation hypothesis (CTH) (Mandelblit, 1995). Within the CTH, there are two possible scenarios for metaphor translation. The first one is called similar mapping conditions. For example, Romance and Germanic languages share the mapping THE FUTURE IS FORWARD and THE PAST IS BEHIND. Thus, the lexical realizations of these mappings could generally be translated without problems between Germanic and Romance languages. The second scenario corresponds to the distinct mapping conditions. In contrast to European languages, in Mandarin Chinese, FUTURE IS DOWN and PAST IS UP (Yu, 1995). The lexical realizations of this mapping could be more difficult and more time-consuming to translate into other languages. The CTH has been addressed in many studies that analyze different language pairs in order to identify the correlations between the lexical realizations and the conceptual mappings they come from (Deignan et al., 1997; Al-Hasnawi, 2007; Taheri-Ardali et al., 2013; Hanić et al., 2017). As a result, this methodology has a predominant position in this research area. However, it still focuses on the source text and follows a prescriptive approach. Conversely, the target-oriented approach focuses on the target text to draw conclusions about how a metaphor has been translated. Following this approach, one of the most recent works is Mateo (2022). Using a trilingual corpus in English, German, and Spanish, she was able to observe different translation phenomena that have not been addressed yet in this area. An example of this is the translation of one metaphor into two metaphors and two metaphors into one metaphor in the target text. In her work, Mateo (2022) also discusses the confluence of metaphor and metonymy and advocates the study of metaphor in translation as an ongoing phenomenon that cannot be categorized into predefined scenarios.

Once a metaphor belongs to a text, it becomes a part of a whole and requires an in-depth analysis. This analysis should focus on the pragmatic elements in which metaphor is embedded so as to draw conclusions about the translation procedure. However, due to the much-defended universal character of metaphor underlined by the CMT, factors such as the text type in which metaphor appears and the linguistic context or co-text has received little attention. Lexical metaphors in a literary text can be translated in a variety of ways because it allows a more creative language that contributes to a wide range of translation procedures. However, this is not the case in specialized texts since the knowledge base required is more specific (Stolze, 2009, p.138). Furthermore, a metaphor can be translated by the same metaphor in the target language, but the metaphorical interpretation can vary. Metaphorical expressions acquire different meanings depending on the text type and the linguistic context or co-text in which they are embedded. For example, the lexical unit *appreciation* is

used for the recognition of the good qualities of someone or something in a general context. In the economic context, *appreciation* becomes metaphoric and refers to the increase in monetary value, which is a metaphorical appreciation of money. Factors such as culture, social conditions, historical facts, and the thematic orientation of a text are crucial for a better understanding of the metaphorical phenomenon and its translation into another target language and context.

The Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) focuses on the principle of metaphor variation between languages and cultures. This is directly related to translation, as opposed to the much-defended principle of universality. "[…] As a general tendency, cognitive linguists have overemphasized the universality of some of the metaphorical structures that they found, and they ignored the many cases of non-universality in metaphorical conceptualization" (Kövecses, 2007, p.14). Metaphorical variation is intrinsically related to the contextual factors surrounding metaphor and gives crucial importance to the communicative situation, as well as the individual factors in which metaphor is produced. Metaphorical variation is a widespread phenomenon when comparing metaphors from different languages and cultures. Thus, metaphor can also vary within the same language. An example is seen in the case of the American English expression *downtown*, which refers to a low place. This is in contrast to the British equivalence *city center*, which takes the middle part of something into consideration.

This new approach proposed by Kövecses (2015, 2017, 2020) incorporates the definition of context proposed by Van Dijk (2008, p.5), which states: "Context is what is defined to be relevant in the social situation by the participants themselves." Therefore, there is an immediate or local context in which a statement is produced and a more global context that corresponds to the culture surrounding the situation in which that statement takes place. However, Kövecses (2015) emphasizes that there is no strict dividing line between the local context and the global context since both are related to each other. In addition, the ECMT proposes four groups of contextual factors that converge within the global and local context, which is illustrated in the figure below.
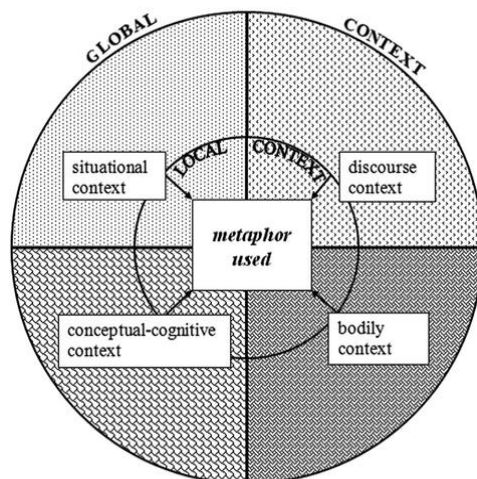
Figure 1. The four groups of contextual factors surrounding metaphor (Kövecses, 2015, p.189)

The cognitive-conceptual context and the bodily context are most related to the conceptualizer. The cognitive-conceptual context focuses on variables such as ideology and personal interests. This type of context could be related to the research line of Critical Metaphor Analysis introduced by Charteris Black (2004). For example, in terms of ideology, the political discourse that tends toward a liberal perspective opts for certain metaphors compared to the metaphors used in the conservative political discourse. Hence, in Lakoff's study (1995) of the conceptualizations of American political discourse, conservatives rely on THE NATION IS A STRICT FATHER, while liberals favor the use of THE NATION IS A NURTURANT PARENT FAMILY. Both versions come from THE NATION IS A FAMILY.

In the bodily context, human body and bodily experience originate the use and understanding of several metaphorical creations. For example, people feel *warmly* toward their family, partner, and friends, while expressing emotional attachment to them. When using the common expressions *head of the office* or *heart of the city*, the human body itself is used as a source domain. "In this view, the body, especially those aspects that are activated in the ongoing situation, can influence the choice of metaphor" (Kövecses, 2015, p.184). Similarly, possessing some type of physical handicap that affects one of the five senses – which is the channels through which the human body receives information from the world – can be the reason for metaphor variation. For example, Casasanto (2009) focuses on the study of the source domains RIGHT and LEFT in left-handed people. He concludes that this physical characteristic influences the way some concepts are metaphorized in comparison with right-handed people. In the same way, the author also states that blindness or any other physical disability can influence the type of metaphors used.

The other two types of contexts presented by Kövecses (2015, 2017, 2020) are the discourse context and the situational context. Within the discourse context, metaphors are in different text types and play a fundamental role in LSP. As stated previously, one of the factors that converge in the metaphorical interpretation is the surrounding linguistic context, that is, the co-text. For

example, in general language, the metaphorical expression *bubble of love* is used to refer to a bubble as a place where a person in love lives and ignores what is happening outside of it. In computer language, the metaphorical term *bubble chart* is used in reference to the shape of bubbles. In economics, the term *bubble economy* refers to the ability to grow rapidly and to fade easily. Although the co-text exerts an influence on metaphor use, the target public also dominates the use of particular metaphors in a discourse context. A dialogue between experts will contain more metaphors related to specialized terms than a press article that targets the general public. The same applies to advertising texts, which allow the use of creative language dominated by figures of speech. Invariably, this contributes to novel metaphors. However, some specialized texts, such as Mechanical Engineering, does not allow an original writing that expresses facts and other ideas in an imaginative way.

In addition, a relevant issue within the discourse context involves prior knowledge of the subject, which facilitates the understanding of new metaphors that arise from those that are already conventionalized in a specific topic or discipline. For example, in economics, *currency* is a lexicalized metaphor coming from Latin *currens*. It is the present participle of *currere*, and it means "to run". In the past, coins were passed from hand to hand as an element of trade between merchants. In this way, the metaphor of money as a moving entity was established, thus giving rise to other metaphors such as *capital outflows* or *money circulation*.

The fourth group of contextual factors presented by Kövecses (2015) belongs to the situational context in which verbal communication takes place. This factor is mainly based on the social, cultural, political, and historical framework in which a metaphor is produced. For example, the global economic crisis of the 21st century illustrates the introduction of new designations in the economic sphere, such as *deep recession*, *banking rescue package*, or *subprime mortgage*. It is important to note that there are areas of knowledge or disciplines that tend more towards equivalence and accuracy between languages and cultures than others, which are more dependent, for example, on cultural and social norms, as in the case of economics (Felber, 1984; Stolze, 2009; Arntz et al., 2009; Drewer & Schmitz, 2017). Thus, the pragmatic elements surrounding a specific term is closely related to whether equivalence is achieved or whether there is a terminological gap. An important issue related to the equivalence between terms is the status of English as a *lingua franca* in numerous disciplines, especially in politics, economics, and science. This is also reflected in LSP translation. For example, in technical translation, Stolze (2009) points out that the cultural context plays a crucial role, especially in the case of German. The author states that "sometimes, the analysis of very long compounds requires special knowledge" (Stolze, 2009, p.129). This special knowledge refers to the use of sources of reference that are not only linguistic. Stolze (2009, p.129) exemplifies this by using the German phrase: *ein planfestgestellter Autobahnabschnitt*. This phrase refers to a section of the motorway that has been approved for renewal by the municipality. In this case, the translation requires an explanation in the target text. The same applies to the term *vertaktete Direktfahrten im Nahverkehr*, which

refers to the planning of suburban train timetables so that the time interval between one and the other is always the same. Another example coming from the economic language is the German term *Solidaritätszuschlag*. This is also commonly found with the abbreviation "Soli", which refers to a type of tax paid by German taxpayers to cover the costs of the German Reunification. Thus, the translation of some particular terms would not only be influenced by cultural context but also by historical and social factors.

The Role of Context in Metaphor in Translation

From the beginning of Translation Studies, previous works on CMT addressed the crucial importance of context in both metaphorical interpretation and translation. Weinrich (1976), Van den Broek (1981), Larson (1984), and Newmark (1981/1988) devoted special attention to the metaphorical phenomenon from the traditional point of view. In his research, entitled *Streit um die Metapher*, Weinrich (1976) mentioned the work *Städtebilder* (1929) by the philosopher Walter Benjamin as a crucial example of the context in which metaphor appears. The text with the title *Möwen* (Seagulls), which is included in his work, can be understood literally as the experiences of a journey that the author has made, and metaphorically as political and social criticism of the situation in the Christian countries of the West. Weinrich (1976) always advocated a pragmatic analysis of the text based on the situation in which it was produced, the lexical metaphors it contains, and their function. This approach is called *Text-in-der-Situation* (text in the situation) in German. The pragmatic approach to metaphor translation was also supported by later studies holding the paradigm change of conceptual metaphor. Many of these studies criticize the CMT of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as being an extremely semantic approach and advocate the study of metaphor in context.

> First of all, the metaphorical meaning exists in the context. The scholars holding the pragmatic view claim that metaphors cannot be completely understood from the semantic perspective alone without considering [the] context. Breaking away from the context, the reader even cannot identify whether an expression is a metaphor or not.
>
> (Lili, 2005, p.112)

The studies that compare Mandarin Chinese with Western languages, such as German (Zhu, 1994) and English (Lili, 2005) defend the fundamental position of context in metaphor translation. According to Zhu (1994), some pragmatic variants need to be considered in the translation process. These variants are especially related to the diachronic study of metaphor, as well as the individual factors and text types. The diachronic variant of Zhu (1995) is based on the use of metaphor throughout history and the different meanings it adopts over time. The next variant is based on the individual style of the author, who tends to use specific metaphors. At the same time, this variant is connected to the translator's decision-making when conserving this individual style of the source text. According to Zhu (1994), intertextuality also plays a fundamental role in

metaphor translation. As mentioned previously, one metaphor can be exclusive to a particular text type or may adopt a different meaning, depending on the topic and the contextual factors in which it is embedded.

Lili (2005) makes a clear distinction between two types of contexts, namely the linguistic context and the extralinguistic context. She emphasizes that within the extralinguistic context, situational and cultural factors are crucial to adopt a translation approach that fits the communicative objective pursued by the target text. Lili (2005) exemplifies the translation of the expression *neither a raven nor a sparrow can be heard* from Mandarin Chinese into English. This expression is used when there is silence in a place. The author emphasizes that translators choose different procedures, depending on the context in which it appears. The first version discussed by the author is *nor a bird's cheep was to be heard*. Before this fragment, the following introductory phrase appears in the English target text: *The courtyard was silent as she entered* (Lili, 2005, p.114). The reader is aware that the situation in which the action takes place is in a courtyard, and thus the translation could retain a meaning that is very close to both the literal and the metaphorical. However, in another version of the translation of the same Chinese expression related to an apartment, the translator opts for the following: *she found the whole place hushed and still*. In this case, the translator opted for a translation that only considered the literal meaning for a better adaptation to the situation and discourse context of the target text. Another example from Lili (2005) that highlights the role of linguistic context in metaphor translation is the lexical unit *loud*. In combination with the word *music*, it would mean that the music is played at a high volume. However, in the sentence *a tie with a loud pattern,* the lexical unit *loud* is understood as a very striking color combination (Lili, 2005, p.112). The context that sets the meaning of *loud* in the different sentences is the linguistic context or co-text.

In addition to these works, which are focused on the general language, more recent authors have dedicated their research to the contextual factors surrounding metaphor translation in different areas of knowledge. Furthermore, they give crucial importance to the principle of variation between languages. For example, Ildikó (2014) addresses political articles that were translated from French into Hungarian. One of the conclusions of this author is that in most cases, metaphor variation between French and Hungarian could not be explained through cultural differences. Therefore, variation between these two languages was produced by differences in the situational context. The study of Tcaciuc (2014) focuses on the translation of metaphors from English into Romanian using a corpus of the European Central Bank. She asserts that the translator's decisions are individual but are made in a historical and social context, which exerts great influence on the translator's decision-making. This same approach is defended by Schäffner (2017) in a study *Metaphor in Translation*. In her study, the author's main objective was to give an overview of the development of this research area (from the introduction, the CMT, and the present) and to draw some future lines of research. One of the fundamental ideas defended by Schäffner (2017) is the need for a more focused approach to discourse, social, and cultural factors.

> Metaphor in translation is a matter of discourse and social context, which means that translation strategies are not only determined by the availability of a corresponding conceptual metaphor and/or a metaphorical expression in the target language. (Schäffner, 2017, p.258)

The role played by contextual factors encompassing metaphor production has been a constant in the study of metaphor in translation. However, the aforementioned principle of universality defended in the CMT of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) versus metaphorical variation has led to metaphor being seen as a common element in all languages and cultures. On the other hand, the semanticist approach to metaphor has contributed to a disregard for the pragmatic element of metaphor, which is crucial for metaphorical interpretation. Furthermore, within the research line of metaphor in translation, the notion of context and its role in translation has been heterogeneously addressed. Each author focused primarily on the importance of one contextual factor. For example, Lili (2005) emphasizes the discourse context, Ildikó (2014) focuses on the importance of situational and discourse context, and Zhu (1994) gives crucial importance to the individual decisions of the translator. Following this assumption, the new vision of Kövecses (2015, 2017, 2020) completes CMT in such a way that it makes it possible to bring together the developments achieved in this area.

Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory applied to Translation

ECMT provides a study framework in which metaphor and context are part of a whole and cannot be taken into account independently. At the same time, the broad notion of context presented in the ECMT considers a wide range of pragmatic factors. This makes it possible to expand the scope of research in this area, considering that metaphor is a contextual phenomenon. As many theorists emphasize, developments in the area of conceptual metaphor and in the area of translation studies should not be addressed independently. Therefore, the rapprochement of these two areas of research is of crucial importance to continue moving forward in some areas that need more attention.

The following chart represents a proposal for research in the area of metaphor in translation, which takes the improvements of ECMT as a reference for future research.
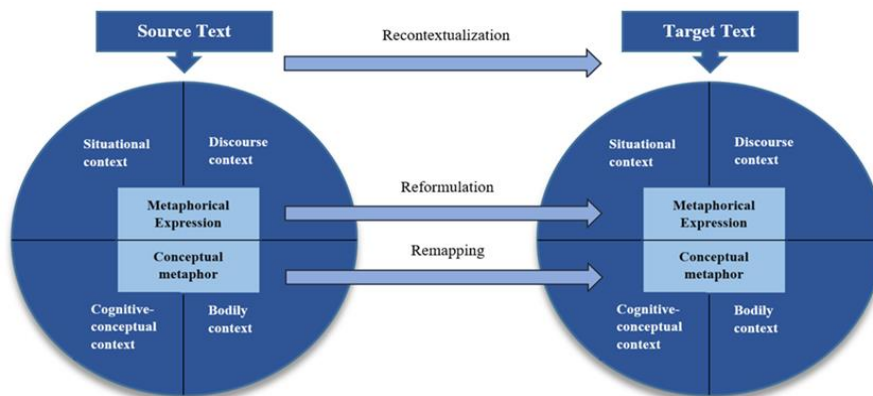
Figure 2. The Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory applied to Translation

Metaphor translation should be taken into account as an operation in which many contextual factors are involved. This operation requires an in-depth study of the target text in order to carry out a recontextualization at the textual level, a remapping at the conceptual level, and a linguistic reformulation in the target text. Given that the cognitive-conceptual context and the bodily context are related to the conceptualizer as individual, the role of the translator becomes much more relevant. "The translator analyzes the situation before deciding what to say (information selection) and how to say it (information arrangement)" (Samaniego 2013, p.209). This approach would advance the recent line of research focused on individual factors concerning the translator such as job satisfaction, career success, and emotional expressivity (Cifuentes & Fenollar, 2017; Hubscher-Davidson, 2013, 2016). In addition, considering the importance given to the discourse and situational context in which metaphor appears, it opens new ways of research in the field of metaphor in LSP.

In order to illustrate this research proposal, a short fragment about the Global Financial Crisis of the 21st Century in English, Spanish, and German will be discussed below. The Global Financial Crisis introduced several new metaphorical creations to give name to the economic realities during those years. The following fragment belongs to the Annual Report 2009 of the International Monetary Fund. The text was originally written in English, while the German and Spanish versions are direct translations from the original.

Original English
The credit crunch in emerging countries intensified and asset prices continued to fall. High uncertainty, large wealth losses, and lower earnings prospects drove consumer confidence to record lows and caused a big jump in savings rates.

Spanish Translation
La contracción crediticia en los países emergentes se intensificó y los precios de los activos siguieron cayendo. La aguda incertidumbre, las ingentes pérdidas patrimoniales y el empañamiento de las perspectivas de ingreso redujeron la confianza de los consumidores a mínimos sin precedentes y dispararon las tasas de ahorro.

German Translation
Die Kreditbeschränkung verschärfte sich in den Schwellenländern und die Preise für Vermögenswerte fielen weiter. Große Unsicherheit, hohe Vermögensverluste und geringere Verdienstaussichten drückten die Zuversicht der Verbraucher auf ein Rekordtief und verursachten einen gewaltigen Sprung bei den Sparquoten.

The source text prevailed by metaphorical adjectives related to spatial orientation, as in the case of *high uncertainty* or *lower earnings prospects*. Thus, there are also metaphorical creations that refer to upward and downward motion, such as the verb *to fall* in the phrase *asset prices continued to fall* or the noun *jump* in *big jump in savings rates*. Spatial orientation and motion are very common in the language of economics since they are used to estimate and quantify economic variables or processes that are highly abstract (Mateo, 2022). These metaphorical creations are related to the bodily context. Due to bodily experience and the experience of the world, it is possible to easily understand the metaphorical meaning they express. Therefore, they are present in many languages and cultures, as in the case of Spanish and German. However, in the target text, the translator sometimes opts for the use of another metaphor, either for stylistic reasons or to give the text a certain degree of creativity. For example, *high uncertainty* has been translated in German into *große Unsicherheit* (big uncertainty), possibly for stylistic reasons, in order not to repeat the same adjective *hohe* (high) two times in the same sentence. The other orientational metaphors of the original text have been translated in German into the same metaphor. In the Spanish version, *high uncertainty* has been translated into *aguda incertidumbre* (sharp uncertainty) and *lower earnings prospects* into *empañamiento de las perspectivas de crecimiento* (blurring of earning prospects). Therefore, the earning prospects are conceptualized in the same way as a glass that is fogging up and becoming less clear. The Spanish translation version is more creative than the original, even though the translator could have used the same metaphors as in the original. Therefore, it is the translator, as an individual or as a *reconceptualizer*, who chooses to give the target text a particular style. In the language of crisis, the decisions of the individual translator can be observed by the extensive use of euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions between languages. Dysphemisms express a reality by emphasizing the negative side, such as the term *budget cuts*, which uses the metaphor *cut* to refer to budget restrictions. By contrast, euphemisms are used to describe situations by softening its undesired effects. The German translation of *budget cuts* is *Sparmaßnahmen* (saving measures), which refers to the same reality in a neutral way.

As discussed in previous sections, discursive and situational factors play a key role in LSP translation, mainly in translation of specialized terms. The historical and cultural factors of each linguistic community have significant impact on the economic terms they use. At the same time, it is the discourse context that gives lexical units a particular metaphorical meaning. For example,

in the first sentence of the fragment, *The credit crunch in emerging countries intensified* […], there are two economic terms: *credit crunch* and *emerging countries*. The term *credit crunch* contains a metaphor related to the noise produced when something hard is being pressed by the teeth when chewing food. In English, the use of *crunch* is very common in many discourse contexts. Depending on the lexical unit it is combined with, it means that there is a rupture or breakdown as in the case of *light crunch* or *energy crunch*. Similarly, the term *credit crunch* refers to a crisis of lending institutions, which reduces their lending activity or tightens up the requirements for obtaining a loan. The Spanish and German languages do not have a conceptualization related to noise to express this same reality. Thus, there is a metaphorical variation between languages. The Spanish version alludes to elasticity through the expression *contracción crediticia* (credit contraction), while the German version focuses on a limitation such as *Kreditbeschränkung* (credit limitation).

The second term *emerging countries* comes from the conceptualization ECONOMIC STABILITY IS ABOVE. Thus, the economic development of these countries is a bottom-up movement. In Spanish, *países emergentes* comes from the same conceptualization and uses the same linguistic form. In the German language, emerging countries are referred to as *Schwellenländer*, which comes from the conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC STABILITY IS A HOUSE or ECONOMIC STABILITY IS A ROOM. The word *Schwelle* refers to threshold or to the edge of the doorway. Thus, emerging countries are on the doorstep of achieving the economic stability enjoyed by other countries. The variation of German, with respect to other languages, shows a close relationship with the study carried out by Schäffner (1996) under the title *Building a European house? Or at two speeds into a dead end? Metaphors in the debate on the United Europe*. In her paper, the author compares the conceptualizations of texts about the construction of a united Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall in various languages. While French and English texts use different conceptualizations of Europe as a common project, EUROPE IS A HOUSE in German texts. According to Schäffner (1996), the origins of the use of this conceptualization dates back to Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches from 1987, which was a reflection of the new political thinking of the Soviet Union and its communist party. Gorbachev's speech advocated the structural and architectural aspects of a house, including coexistence between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe (Schäffner, 1996, p.33). According to the author, the conventionalization of this metaphor in German political discourse became especially noticeable during the 1994 political campaign. In the German language, the HOUSE domain has been transferred to the economic sphere for the construction of common goals. This is possible because it was already established in the cognitive system. Subsequently, these already established conceptualizations enhance the understanding of new conceptualizations that arise due to social, political or economic movement.

Conclusions

Studies that focus on metaphor translation from a prescriptive point of view and also consider metaphor as a semantic phenomenon have a predominant position within this research area. These studies focus on identifying the metaphorical expressions in the source text that are translated by the same metaphor or by another metaphor in the target text. However, they do not delve into whether the translation involves a case of metaphorical variation between languages in which translation by the same metaphor is not possible, or whether it was the translator's decision. In the same way, these studies do not delve into whether the translation of the same metaphor of the source text can adopt another meaning in the target text. A simple list of translation patterns *per se* does not contribute to progress in this research area if these translation patterns are not linked to a pragmatic study.

Although there have been studies that have advocated a descriptive and context-based approach to metaphor in translation since the beginning of the 21st century, this research area has been addressed from heterogeneous standpoints. To date, the works on conceptual metaphor in translation have only focused on the influence of one specific contextual factor. In order to achieve a broader understanding of the metaphor translation phenomenon, it is necessary to conduct an individual study to identify the contextual factors involved in each case. The application of the EMCT to the study of translation can contribute to bringing together the existing contextual approaches to metaphor translation in order to move in the same direction. In this regard, the study of metaphor in LSP is especially important. The historical, social or political moment in which a new term is coined, the type of text in which it appears, and its origin play a fundamental role in the metaphorical creation and in its translation into other languages. All areas of knowledge are subject to continuous evolution, which is directly reflected in LSP. Thus, new designations and new terms, mostly metaphorical, emerge to name new realities. As shown in the section dedicated to the contextual model, economic terms are even more influenced by the historical, social, and cultural context in which they are embedded than general language metaphors (Mateo, 2022). In LSP translation, it is necessary to advance in a more pragmatic direction. The fundamental base of this pragmatic direction should focus on the translator practice and on the target text specifications. Translators give special style to a text and are able to recognize what a client or target reader requires in today's world, especially as communities are increasingly multicultural. Translators also play a key role in building bridges between cultures and mediating between speakers of different languages (Hubscher-Davidson, 2013).

It is important to mention that conceptual metaphor introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was a purely cognitive phenomenon and language was faded into the background. The fundamental role played by language within this theory was emphasized a few years later. "From the earliest writing of CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) to the present, linguistic metaphors have been the main type of evidence provided in support of the existence of conceptual metaphors" (Deignan, 2017, p.102). Due to the linguistic approach to metaphor, it was possible to advance in corpus-based methodologies to address

metaphorical meanings in corpora. Translation scholars also advocated the use of this methodology for metaphor research in translation. However, "Translation scholars are advised to use existing methodologies to identify metaphorical expressions in texts and to conduct corpus-based research" (Shuttleworth, 2014, p.9). In any case, corpus-based metaphor identification research should also address the specialized meaning of metaphor. To date, only few studies have focused on identifying lexical metaphors within specialized terms. Therefore, not much progress has been made in this area. This is a gap in metaphor research that needs to be filled with further research.

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From Live to Digital and *Vice Versa* - Alternative Rock Music Scene at the Balkans during the Pandemic Period of Covid-19

Julijana Papazova, PhD
Bulgaria/Macedonia

Abstract
This research focuses on a theme that is experienced worldwide, that is, the effects, consequences and challenges imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. The two important aims of this research are to analyze and understand the challenges provoked by the pandemic on artistic activities, both at the level of consumption spaces and in terms of music-making processes. This is connected to analyses of music scenes and the alternatives that have developed to face the challenges imposed, with special attention to the role played by digital media as the only option in that particular period. The central methodological approach of this research is qualitative and draws on the methods of text and network analyses, comparative method, observation, digital ethnography and data collection, including interviews/conversations with musicians, journalists, managers and audience. The research findings show that even with the increased use of the Internet (in pre-pandemic and during the pandemic) where people are immobilized, they relate more to the collective musical experience in the physical sphere - clubs, concert halls, open concert spaces. The concert venues created connections and a sense of belonging to a particular community or urban environment.

Keywords: Alternative rock, Balkans, COVID-19 pandemic Lockdown, Social media

Introduction
During the initial phases of the COVID-19 pandemic, the imposition of societal lockdowns in Europe and around the world compelled music artists to swiftly transition to the virtual realm, where live streams became a crucial avenue for both musicians and their audience. As concert venues remained closed, the only viable option was to redirect their attention and efforts towards freely accessible online platforms such as websites, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube for live streaming purposes.

Musical performances possess the potential to deliver profound experiences of social and spatial presence, this holds particular significance for social groups lacking a specific geographical or societal space to call their own,

and who do not identify themselves within such spaces (Stokes, 1994; Wergin, 2010; Holt and Wergin, 2013). Despite the growing prevalence of Internet usage and its role as a platform for networking, people still acknowledge and connect with the profound collective experience of live music performances in physical spaces. These performances serve as a means for musicians and their audience to forge a sense of significance and belonging within their city (Ball, 2010, p. 13).

Within the recent history of alternative rock in the Balkans,[1] there are several clubs and cultural centers that consistently support alternative and indie music bands as well as solo musicians. Examples include the Youth Cultural Center (YCC) in Skopje, Stroeja Club, Terminal 1 in Sofia, Drugstore, and Kvaka in Belgrade. These establishments not only contribute to the specific urban history but also play a part in individual and collective narratives. The presence of these clubs aids in shaping the cultural quality of life within a particular environment. As R. Williams suggests, the "structure of feelings" pertaining to a specific historical context and quality of life is not solely embedded in social life but also exists within cultural and everyday experiences (Williams, 1992, pp. 47, 48).

The connection between a club space and its audience is explored in the second and third sections of Henri Lefebvre's research, which outline three dimensions of social space: "spatial practice" (how space is perceived through our senses), "representations of space" (how space is conceptualized), and "representational spaces" (how space is experienced) (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre suggests that space is created at the intersection of form, concept, and practice. Amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, discussions have focused on the discourse surrounding spatial reactions during the lockdown period, specifically regarding closed clubs and concert halls. Lefebvre's spatial divisions are expanded to include the dynamics and interactions between the audience and the physical as well as virtual spaces. Thus, in addition to examining physical venues for concerts, this paper incorporates digital streaming technologies to highlight how artists and audiences can engage with each other. Recent studies dedicated to digital communication and the streaming of music also explore a comparative approach between these new forms of digital spaces and Lefebvre's triadic framework of space. According to Robert Prey, we perceive the physical nature of these spaces through their interfaces as we navigate streaming sites through scanning, swiping, and surfing. The music we listen to engulfs us, surrounds us, and affects us. The designs of these sites, shaped by data analysts, programmers, and engineers, who bring their own understanding of space, are contested in their dominance. They are constantly challenged by the experiential space we inhabit (Prey, 2015, p.16).

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[1] Author's remark from 14-year fieldwork experience realized at concerts in capital cities of the Balkans.

Methodology

In order to conduct a more comprehensive and constructive research, I chose to analyze the activities of bands, clubs, and media in three capital cities of the Balkans: Belgrade, Skopje, and Sofia. The selection of these three cities was motivated by their cultural similarities, shared language, and intercultural neighbor relationships. The focus of this analysis was on alternative rock music, which was examined at three levels: virtual (internet space), local, and regional. Consequently, the analysis revisited and reevaluated the familiar examination of music scenes in recent musicology studies (Peterson and Bennett, 2004), specifically within the post-crisis period following the lockdown, as we observed a gradual normalization and re-emergence of live performance experiences.

The main objectives of this analysis were to examine concert performances and experiences from two perspectives: live and online. The analysis focused on individual and collective practices, emphasizing the role of online communities during times of crisis. Furthermore, music-making processes were investigated. The aim was to explore the ways in which musicians worked and communicated in both virtual and physical spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, music analysis was conducted, specifically exploring albums and music videos inspired by the pandemic.

This research adopted an interdisciplinary approach, drawing from theoretical sources and conducting ethnographic work to enrich the socio-cultural context and musical practice in the Balkans. Its primary focus was to understand how the alternative rock scene has adapted to the conditions imposed by the pandemic. Theoretical sources from various fields such as musicology, popular music studies, philosophy, digital humanities, urban studies, sociology, and psychology were collected and evaluated to inform and characterize the mixed-method approach employed in this study.

A comparative methodology was employed to analyze concerts organized in specific clubs and livestream events. The analysis was expanded by considering livestream concerts as a social surrogate that evokes nostalgia and memories, while examining music as an emotional coping strategies during challenging times.

For popular music studies, ethnography has become an important research methodology in the investigation of the role of popular music in the everyday life and the way music shapes the construction of personal identities, local communities and national and international scenes. For this reason, ethnographic methodology is an ideal way to study local music scenes (Montano, 2013). Ethnographic research could encourage researchers to experience different relationships, perspectives and values, or to view familiar contexts from an alternative perspective (Cohen, 1993, pp.123-138). For example, during the analysis of the Portland indie scene through the use of ethnographic research, Rebecca Ball had a more authentic experience of the local music culture and provided respondents with the opportunity to engage in research processes (Ball, 2010, p. 47). Therefore, ethnographic methodology, including online ethnography, was employed to study local music scenes. This method involved observation, data collection through attending concerts as well as conducting

interviews with musicians and incorporating their public comments from magazines and social media.

The phenomenology method was also utilized to develop a comprehensive understanding of specific human experiences and moments. These various methods in the mixed approach complement each other, offering insights from different but interconnected perspectives. This was beneficial for the central analysis of the research topic, which takes a 'tripartite approach' to explore the relationship among music, real and virtual spaces, and the post-crisis period. The tripartite theory contributed to the dynamics of local and regional discussions on the research topic, reinterpreting the history of alternative rock music in the Balkans and providing a multi-layered picture of the rock scene from historical and contemporary viewpoints. Digital sources played a crucial role in establishing comparative and dialogical connections between time and place, especially within the context of the pandemic.

The research incorporated the concept of 'places' as explained by urban geographer Ray Hudson. Places are seen as ensembles of material objects, people, and social relationships that embody distinct cultures, meanings, identities, and practices (Hudson, 2006, p. 627). They are contested and continually evolving entities. In sociological and cultural studies, popular music and concert places are analyzed as a kind of record in urban life. One important statement is that popular music opens up questions of cities and their social relations that other kinds of investigations and analyses might not (Lashua, Wagg, Spracklen, Yavuz, 2019, pp. 2, 3).

In this paper, live-streamed concerts and videos were analyzed on two levels, considering their significance before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The phrase 'pandemic media' was used to describe the engagement of the music industry with digital media and wider convergence cultures during this period (Rendell, 2020). Live-streamed concerts were defined based on their temporal aspect rather than their spatial dimension. Although they lacked the physical presence of others (audience, musicians), the real-time experience provided a sense of presence and involvement that made it closer to the 'real thing' compared to virtual music experiences (Vandenberg, Berghman and Schaap, 2021). While this approach was relevant for the pre-pandemic period, during the lockdown in the spring of 2020, livestream concerts (including new videos inspired by the pandemic) offered a different and novel level of experience and treatment. Since online concerts were the only means for performances to take place, the online comment sections provided a platform for engagement and the creation of social ties and a sense of community belonging. The posted comments during livestream concerts before and during COVID-19 indicated that the audience had a need to express their 'presence' during these online events.

Livestream concerts offered a novel experience, building upon the familiarity of pre-COVID livestreams. This created a new subsection within the concert ritual experiences, facilitated through digital networks during the lockdown period when it was the only option for shared experiences. The concept of face-to-face communication and the sense of collectivity found in physical

concert venues was transferred to virtual platforms like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube channels, and artist websites (Bartholomew and Manson, 2020).

In analyzing concerts during the lockdowns in Belgium and the Netherlands, Onderdijk, Acar, and Van Dyck discussed the motivations behind participating in online concerts. They have found that social connectedness was a crucial factor, although digitally evoked social contexts were generally perceived as reduced settings compared to real-life environments. This indicates an increased 'need' for social connectedness combined with a decreased 'experience' of it during the lockdown period (Onderdijk, Acar, and Van Dyck, 2021), supporting the thesis of social surrogacy for social and cultural connections in the virtual sphere.

Psychologist Tamara Dzamonija from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade examined livestream concerts or quarantine jams[2] during the lockdown period in Serbia and noted their positive effect on people. These activities fostered a sense of connection, which is both a basic human need and a creative imperative. Music, particularly during this period, fulfills the need for collective activities, regardless of their virtual nature (Mitrović, 2020).

Music has historically played a role in various crises of humanity, such as wars, economic downturns, and political upheavals. As part of the cultural sector, it plays an important role in promoting and enriching local culture and tradition. Geert Hofstede defines culture as a "collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" and he analyzes national culture along dimensions such as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, long-term versus short-term orientation, and indulgence versus restraint (Hofstede, 2011).

The overall conditions during the COVID-19 period changed and influenced the creative work of bands and solo musicians. Some artists drew inspiration directly from everyday life during the lockdown, creating albums or songs that reflected this period. Others were motivated to create music or albums without direct inspiration or narration from the pandemic. For this research, the selection of bands or solo artists was based on objective criteria, including published reviews and essays on albums and concerts, published interviews and essays highlighting their importance in the alternative rock scene, releasing albums under small indie labels, and creating cover songs by other bands, as well as producing documentary films about the bands.

Results
Concert activities during the COVID-19 pandemic period
Real and Virtual Places

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[2] In March and April, 2020, DJ Raid (Serbia) organized a series of quarantine jams. Participants were: Marcelo, Marko Luis, Boris Bakalov from the band Nicim izazvan. These jams content were a mix of genres like soul, drum and base, etc.

During the 2020 lockdown period lasting around four to five months, most governments in the Balkans took a short-term approach or focused on providing assistance specifically to musicians from the popular music scene, including alternative rock artists.

One notable initiative was the project called 'Culture in the time of Corona' (*Kultura vo vreme na korona*), organized by Skopje City Municipality. This project involved arranging over 40 concerts in various locations in Skopje during April and May 2020, featuring solo musicians and bands from rock, pop, and classical music genres. The musicians participating in these concerts received a monthly salary equivalent to the basic wage. The selection process for this project was carried out through an open call facilitated by the Skopje City Municipality (*Posle 50 maalski concerti vecher zapira Kultura vo vreme na korona*, 2020). The first livestream concert, part of the "Culture in the time of Corona" project, took place on April 15, 2020, featuring the performance of Lepi Xhoni[3] on the rooftop of the House of Culture Koco Racin Building. This particular concert garnered the highest virtual attendance with 4,082 views. Subsequent concerts saw a decline in virtual attendance, with approximately 1,000 viewers each (Culture in the time of Corona, 2020).

Reflecting on the preparations for the event, Lepi Xhoni expressed uncertainty about what to expect. The two-day preparation process served as an experiment for him as a solo musician, allowing him to be flexible and adaptable for a brief period leading up to the performance. Initially, he envisioned the concert as a local event for the neighborhood, but he was surprised to find drones included in the livestream. The rest of the team involved in organizing the concert included director Igor Ivanov-Izi, film workers, and music technicians from the Youth Cultural Center in Skopje. According to Lepi Xhoni the atmosphere during the preparation and livestream was perfect, with all team members being enthusiastic. At that time, the city was under a lockdown curfew, and people spent most of their time at home, making the concert even more significant (Interview of the author with Lepi Xhoni, December 4, 2021, Skopje).

Lepi Xhoni's approach to live performances involved getting into the mood within a couple of minutes, relying on instinct, immersing himself in the situation, and enjoying improvisation. Although there was no physical audience on the rooftop of the Koco Racin Building, curious neighbors from the surrounding buildings provided a form of support, which was particularly valuable given the unusual quietness of the city due to the lockdown. Lepi Xhoni did not anticipate such a large number of virtual viewers—4,082. The day before our interview, Lepi Xhoni received positive feedback from 3-4 people in a club, so even a year and a half later, he still received positive reactions in person. Negative reactions or comments were primarily confined to online platforms.

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[3] Lepi Xhoni is an alter ego of Ljupa Angelov. Ljupa Angelov is part of the indie music scene in Skopje. He has a couple of alter egos and his music is different within each phase. He was the leader of the band The John active from 2007-2014, and then he continued with the new project Lepi Xhoni. Sometimes he uses his real name Ljupa Angelov. Angelov also collaborated with other artists and bands such as PMG Collective.

This example highlights the political implications associated with the event, as it received support from the local Municipality, which is part of the ruling government. However, Lepi Xhoni cannot attribute a specific political connotation to the organizing process of a cultural event supported by the local government. In Macedonia, where predominantly two political parties exist (right and left), it is common for artists supported by a particular government to face criticism or negative comments from the audience. After the event, Lepi Xhoni continued to follow subsequent livestream concerts. Overall, he observed a decreased appetite for cultural events among audiences following the lockdown. The pandemic situation had a significant impact, reducing his concert activities by 90%. People were, continue to be somewhat fearful, and lacked enthusiasm for cultural experiences in general. Lepi Xhoni metaphorically likened the COVID pandemic to a war without uniforms, with victims and threats, emphasizing that the ongoing experiment persists (Interview of the author with Lepi Xhoni, December 4, 2021, Skopje).

During the same period when the Municipality of Skopje provided assistance to local artists (April and May 2020), the Government of Serbia implemented a resolution granting non-refundable aid payments of 90,000 dinars for March, April, and May to 2,353 independent artists. The total allocated amount reached nearly 212 million dinars. In mid-June, the Ministry of Culture announced that the funds would be transferred to local self-governments, facilitating the distribution of financial aid to artists (Mitrović, 2020). However, despite these payments, the music sector faced a crisis during that time due to limited opportunities for concert activities. Maja Cvetković, a member of the alternative rock band E-Play from Belgrade, mentioned in an interview with the online portal "BBC News *na Srpskom*" in 2020 that concerts were the main source of income for musicians, and with most concerts on hold during that period, musicians found themselves in a state of shock (Mitrović, 2020).

In 2021, the Government of Bulgaria extended support to musicians in the country. In March of that year, the government announced its decision to provide assistance to independent freelance musicians by offering them five monthly minimum wages along with social security packages. Boil Banov, the Minister of Culture, stated that the financial support would be allocated through the National Fund 'Culture' and would involve an open call process ensuring equal opportunities for all musicians to apply (*Covid Pomoshti: Vizhte kolko pari shte poluchat muzikantite na svobodna praktika,* 2021). Just a few days prior to this announcement, a public letter was sent by musicians to various media outlets, addressing Prime Minister Boyko Borisov and explaining their dire situation. Independent musicians were the only sector within the cultural realm that had not received any assistance from official institutions until that point. The letter detailed the immense challenges they faced in maintaining their livelihoods without public performances or concerts. It garnered support from 580 musicians who signed the letter (*Muzikantite na svobodna praktika iskat pomosht ot drzhavata*, 2021).

In 2020, most of the annual festivals in the Balkan region were canceled due to the pandemic. However, some festivals managed to organize live events

during the summer months with limited audiences. For instance, the Zdravo Mladi Festival in Skopje, organized by the Youth Cultural Center, held live performances with restricted attendance. On the other hand, the Taksirat Festival, organized by Password Production in Skopje and traditionally taking place in December since 1999, had to be canceled in 2020. However, starting from 2012, the Taksirat team had incorporated a showcase and PIN conference into the festival program, and in 2020, these events were conducted virtually. In 2021, both the Taksirat Festival and the PIN conference returned to their regular format, allowing for 100% capacity in the venues. The festival manager, Login Kochiski, expressed that his team managed to maintain a sense of normalcy and work continuously despite the crisis (Conversation of the author with Login Kochiski, Youth Cultural Center, Skopje, PIN Conference, November 27, 2021). Tosho Filipovski, the owner of a record store situated in the lobby of the Youth Cultural Center in Skopje, during the PIN Conference, commented that for the first time since the beginning of the pandemic, he felt the usual concert energy within the Youth Cultural Center space (Conversation of the author with Tosho Filipovski, Youth Cultural Center, Skopje, PIN Conference, November 26, 2021). In 2021, musician Vasko Atanasoski joined Password Production, and he mentioned that people now appreciate live performances even more, while musicians have become more grateful for the opportunity to perform (Interview of the author with Vasko Atanasoski, December 12, 2021, Skopje).

In Belgrade, during 2020, most clubs and cultural spaces that typically hosted multicultural events were put on hold and had to cancel live events. However, despite the cancellations, cultural center Kvaka 22 (Catch 22) managed to organize a few events throughout the year. In June 2020, the alternative rock band Buč Kesidi performed a secret concert with a very limited audience, and there were a couple of additional concerts and film screenings. However, when the number of COVID-19 cases increased and put a strain on hospitals, Kvaka 22 ceased organizing events for a few months (*Prostor u Beogradu: Kvaka 22 umetnički bastion slobode*, 2020).

For musicians, managers, and club owners in Bulgaria, the period from March to June 2020 was critical. Concerts and festivals were set to reopen during the summer of 2020. However, in the autumn and winter of 2020, music activities were once again halted. Some Bulgarian bands resorted to streaming concerts that reached a worldwide audience, including their home country. These online concerts offered the option for fans and audience members to make donations with a symbolic price of 5 or 10 leva. Interestingly, some bands actually earned more during this period compared to live concerts. Examples include Review, PIV, and *Obraten efekt* (Counter Effect). However, it was widely acknowledged that this was not a long-term solution for the lockdown period. During the summer of 2020 and 2021, music organizers managed to carry out most of their activities. The main challenge was securing performances by big-name artists, as many of them canceled concerts worldwide. Nevertheless, they were able to sign contracts with regional bands and artists and successfully hold their performances (Interview of the author with Nick Todorov, November 27, 2021, PIN Conference, Skopje).

In the summer of 2020, Nick Todorov[4] organized the Spice Festival in Burgas, Bulgaria, which was one of the rare festivals in Europe and attracted 5000 attendees. Prior to that, Todorov was involved in organizing the Virus Festival from April 24 to 26, 2020. This festival featured online promotion of various content, including kids' shows, cooking shows, and concerts by alternative band *Kerana i kosmonavtite* (*Kerana* and Cosmonauts) and hard rock band *Obraten efekt* (Counter Effect). The festival was not recorded but was exclusively streamed over the course of three days on www.virusfest.bg. Although concert activities were somewhat normalized during the summer and autumn of 2021, musicians still faced uncertainty about the near future. When comparing live and online concerts, Todorov emphasized that they could not be compared because festival culture holds a different meaning, encompassing aspects such as travel, planning, purchasing tickets and merchandise, and the overall experience of a specific location. Music is intertwined with particular places, cuisine, and climate, making it incomparable to online concerts (Interview of the author with Nick Todorov, November 27, 2021, PIN Conference, Skopje).

During the spring lockdown period in 2020, Martin Mihailov, the owner of clubs Stroeja and Terminal 1 in Sofia, organized livestream concerts featuring local bands such as Froyd, Piranha Ftw, and Coprostasis. These performances took place on the stage in Stroeja for a virtual audience. Prior to the concerts, there was an option for the audience to donate to the artists. However, after a few months, Mihailov acknowledged in an interview that livestream concerts were initially a good option but their popularity quickly faded. The virtual scene had a brief period of activity, and interest waned rapidly. Most of the events turned out to be unprofitable. For instance, Terminal 1 organized two concerts with a total profit of BGN 300, while Stroeja had seven concerts resulting in a total loss of BGN 600. Although the concerts were enjoyable and beneficial for everyone involved, they also carried risks. Mihailov concluded that this situation confirmed the irreplaceable nature of the physical presence and experience of a live concert (Vidinski, 2021).

The Youth Cultural Center (YCC) in Skopje collaborated with the Municipality of Skopje to organize livestream concerts titled "Culture in the Time of Corona" in 2020. Additionally, the music production section of YCC organized several livestream concerts during 2020 and 2021. On May 21, 2020, in collaboration with Cinema Shishka from Ljubljana, YCC organized a livestream concert featuring the Macedonian band Svetlost+Odron Ritual Orchestra and the Slovenian band Oholo! The concert was streamed on YouTube and Facebook (*MKC od vecerva pocnuva so muzicka programa vo sorabotka so kino Siska od Ljubljana*, 2020). At the end of 2020, YCC hosted a virtual New Year's party titled 'Let's Say Goodbye with Style' (*Da te ispratime so stil*). The event was broadcasted on Facebook, YouTube, and TV Edo, featuring

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[4] Nikolay Todorov-Nick is one of the important and active music promoters and organizers on Bulgarian music stage. He is part of the organizations of the festivals: Hills of Rock, Spice Music Festival, Street Food Festival, SRTE Festival.

performances by bands and solo artists such as Superhiks, Vasko Atanasoski, Atheist Rap, Shock Troopers, Aleksandar Veliki, and others. In January 2021, YCC organized a virtual party for the cultural event 'The Birthday of Art' (*Rodenden na umetnosta*), with local bands Pluto's Doubts, Foltin, Iskra, and Svetlost+Odron Ritual Orchestra performing. Furthermore, YCC was one of the few public cultural venues that organized and presented live concerts in open spaces during 2020, including the international music festival *Zdravo mladi* (Hello Youths) and the international film festival Cinedays (extra music program, featuring concerts by local bands Zulu 3.4, ZJM Collective and Ljubojna).

Music creation in time of COVID 19 pandemic period

Repetitor[5] is an alternative rock garage band founded in 2005 in Belgrade, Serbia. The band has released four albums, with their most recent one titled *Prazan prostor među nama koji može i da ne postoji!* (An Empty Space Between Us Which Could Also Not Exist). This album, which was published in November 2020 by the independent record label Moonlee Records, draws inspiration from the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. To commemorate the album's one-year anniversary since its promotion on November 21, 2021, Repetitor shared a post on their Facebook page:

''Yesterday, last year, we released a new album An Empty Space Between Us Which Could Also Not Exist! The epidemic shaped him, but also cursed him to wait for promotion in Belgrade and other larger cities a year later. Sooner or later, the promotion will happen, maybe in the spring! Until then, listen, stream, download, buy our LP's and CD's" (Repetitor, Facebook post, November 21, 2021).

In 2019, prior to the onset of the pandemic, Repetitor had a busy concert schedule, performing 35 shows across Europe. However, in 2020, they were only able to carry out two concerts due to the restrictions imposed by the pandemic. The situation began to improve in 2021, and the band was able to perform 20 concerts throughout the year, indicating a partial normalization of their activities (Shows. Repetitor). The band's first concert after a hiatus of two-and-a-half years took place in Ljubljana on November 2, 2021. In a Facebook post announcing

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[5] Repetitor are an alternative garage rock or post-punk trio from Belgrade. They represent one of the most exciting concert attractions, not only in Serbia and the region but in whole Europe. Repetitor have played in clubs and festival stages in over 20 European countries, but also in Russia and China. (Sziget, Exit, Fusion Festival, Eurosonic, Pohoda, Europavox, Rock For People, Loftas, Stereoleto, INmusic, Waves Vienna, Botanique, Arsenal ... are just some of the many festivals).

With their four studio albums: "*Sve što vidim je prvi put*/Everything I See Is For The First Time" (Excellent Hamster, 2008) "*Dobrodošli na okean*" / Welcome to the Ocean (Moonlee Records, 2012), "Gde ćeš /Where Are You Going" (Moonlee Records, 2016), "*Prazan prostor među nama koji može i da ne postoji*" / An Empty Space Between Us Which Could Also Not Exist (2020, Moonlee Records), Repetitor received a great number of positive reviews, but above all, they gained their reputation with fantastic energetic concert performances. During 2018, Repetitor joined Arcade Fire European Tour as the opening act at three concerts. Bio. Repetitor, https://repetitor.rs/bio

the show, Repetitor referred to the previous concert as being "a long time ago" or "*tamo u ona davna vremena*". This comment serves as a nostalgic reminder for the band members, highlighting their longing for the everyday interactions and concert experiences that were prevalent before the pandemic crisis.

During the initial months of the pandemic, Boris Vlastelica, a member of Repetitor, emphasized the significance of live audience interaction in an interview. He expressed his preference for in-person experiences over virtual ones. However, he also acknowledged the importance of online events and supported the idea of solidarity and mutual support among musicians during the crisis, echoing the sentiments of journalist Damjan Jovanović (Jovanović, 2020). Repetitor's latest album consists of eight tracks that capture the dual atmosphere of the band's music—energetic, tense, and delicate. The album displays dominant post-punk garage rock riffs, complemented by the trio's incredible energy. This intensity is evident both in their recorded tracks and in their captivating live performances, with Boris, Milica, and Ana Marija,[6] each contributing their unique talents to the band's sound.

The lyrics of the song *Danima* (Days) (Repetitor. *Danima*, 2020), are directly inspired from the lockdown period.

"danima ne izlazim iz kuće na terasi skuplja mi se đubre… lažem sebe da sve sa mnom u redu je korak napred ili nazad svejedno je…"	Translation: "*I don't leave the house for days on the terrace I am collecting the garbage… I'm lying myself that everything is fine with me*	*a step forward or backward is all the same…*

The songs *Danima* (Days) and *Noćima* (Nights) by Repetitor, featured in their album *Prazan prostor među nama koji može i da ne postoji!,* are generally considered to be some of the band's most serene compositions. These songs reflect the challenging period experienced by the members of Repetitor, particularly the crisis caused by the cancellation of their essential concert events. *Noćima* specifically portrays a tale of loneliness, intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic. Both songs share a slow melody and a melancholic mood.

During the initial lockdown, Lepi Xhoni embarked on a personal musical endeavor. Using an acoustic guitar, jazz master, electric piano, and beat sampling, he recorded a new EP titled *Apokalispa Sega* (Apocalypse Now) (Balkan Veliki, 2020) at his home in Skopje. The EP consists of eight tracks and is described as an "audio collage in curfew". The music is interwoven with snippets from news media coverage of COVID-19 and local political events. The album evokes a sense of unease due to the critical nature of the news headlines

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[6] Boris Vlastelica (guitar, voice, synth, bass), Milena Milutinović (drums, bass, voice), Ana-Marija Cupin (bass, voice)

during the spring of 2020, both on a local and global scale. The majority of the tracks is original compositions, with three exceptions: track 3, which is a cover of a song by punk band Badmingtons (Skopje), track 4, a cover of a song by indie musician Aleksandar Veliki (Skopje), and track 7, a cover of a children's song from the Yugoslav period in Serbia, written by Ljubivoje Ršumović.

In early 2020, Bernays Propaganda[7] planned a European tour, but it had to be canceled due to the declaration of the pandemic. On their now-defunct Facebook page, the band shared ideas on how to virtually experience the tour, connecting with friends, audiences, and favorite moments while traveling. However, as the situation unfolded, the band quickly realized the need to adapt and find the strength to survive. Vasko Atanasoski, the guitarist of Bernays Propaganda, reflected on this, stating, "We were not aware of what would happen and how much our lives would change, and already in March 2020, we realized that we needed to find the strength to survive" (Interview of the author with Vasko Atanasoski, December 12, 2021, Skopje). During the crisis, Vasko took a job in a warehouse, where he worked for several months. The pandemic had both negative and positive impacts on him personally. The band Bernays Propaganda disbanded during the COVID-19 pandemic, and Vasko's relationship with Kristina Gorovska, the singer came to an end after many years of living and creating together. Despite these challenges, Vasko found the strength to continue working. He also collaborated with another band, 21 Vek (21st Century), consistently throughout the crisis, as the trio found the resilience to keep creating. Vasko commented, "Those who are created for music will survive. The strongest will survive". In addition to his band work, Vasko also pursued a solo music career. In 2021, during the pandemic, he participated in the Indirekt Showcase Festival at Dom Omladine (Youth House) in Belgrade. During conversations with festival organizers, they shared their recent experiences and uncertainties about the future, as things were constantly changing. Vasko expressed that the COVID-19 situation forced artists to find inspiration and create something out of nothing. He acknowledged that the whole concept of living had changed and believed that we were already living in the 22nd century, with the 21st century having passed. Vasko shared his fears of feeling helpless and the realization that certain plans, both professional and personal, had not materialized as intended. Despite the challenges, he continued to find solace in making music. Vasko also mentioned that some members of other bands expressed concerns during rehearsals, as they worried about the health of their loved ones, including parents or partners. However, his band, 21 Vek, did not face this issue.

The aftermath of the crisis has led to varying individual reactions among musicians, primarily characterized by binary attitudes of either having or not

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[7] Bernays Propaganda is an alternative rock or post-punk band founded in Skopje in 2007. The band was active until 2020. It is considered as one of the best alternative rock bands in the Balkans in the last decade. The band received positive reviews from journals and web magazines not only from the region but also from Western Europe, USA, Asia. Bernays Propaganda realized a couple of European tours and one USA tour. The 4 albums "My Personal Holiday" (2009), "*Zabraneta Planeta*" /Forbidden Planet (2013), "*Politika*" / Politics (2016), "*Vtora mladost, treat svetska vojna*" / Second Youth Third World War (2019) are recorded and promoted by Moonlee Records.

having fears regarding work and in-person interactions in public spaces (Interview with Vasko Atanasoski, December 12, 2021, Skopje). During the lockdown, Kristina Gorovska, the singer of Bernays Propaganda, created a home video for the song *Dojde život* (Life has Come Back) (Bernays Propaganda. Dojde život, 2020). This song is featured on Bernays Propaganda's latest album, *Vtora mladost treta svetska vojna* (Second Youth Third World War) (2019, Moonlee Records). The title and lyrics of the song are inspired by the political slogan Dojde život (Life has Come Back), which was promoted by the Socialist Democratic Union (SDSM) during the election process and the change of government in 2016/2017. The Socialist Democratic Union defeated the ruling party at the time, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE). However, despite the new government, the economic and social standards for citizens remained the same. As a result, the lyrics of *Dojde život* convey an ironic message. In March 2020, with the onset of the global pandemic crisis, Kristina Gorovska recorded the home video for *Dojde život*. In the video, she is partially masked, symbolizing the new adjustments and reanalysis of the song's lyrics in the context of ideological analysis influenced primarily by the political crisis in Macedonia over the past more than two decades of political transition, intertwined with the new pandemic crisis. Kristina uses figurative speech allegory:

''Dojde li život kaj vas?	*Vo mene se sobrani!*	*Life comes, so it goes far ...*
Daj, daj mi daj, samo nasmej se daj...	*I pak sum pozdrava, mnogu posilna,*	*He says: it's not for us!*
Nasmej se, né slikaat!	*od sekoj što robuva!!!''*	*I'm like a gold factory,*
Dojde i život, pa zamina daleku...	*Translation: ''Does life come to you?*	*With all the fears and phobias,*
Kaža: ne e za nas!	*Come on, come on, just smile, come on ...*	*Gather in me!*
Jas sum ti kako fabrika od zlato,	*Smile, they are taking foto of us!*	*And again I'm much healthier, much stringer*
So site stravovi i fobii		*from every slave!!!''*

Metodi Krstev, the leader of the Bulgarian alternative rock band "No more many more"[8], shared his personal experience and the band's journey during the lockdown and post-lockdown period. Reflecting on the lockdown period, Krstev remarked, "While the lockdown had a negative impact on many musicians, causing them to pause and assess the situation, it became an opportunity for me to dedicate more time to writing music. As a result, our band managed to create two albums during the COVID-19 pandemic". In hindsight,

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[8] No More Many More is an alternative rock band founded in 2013 in Sofia. The band is recognized for the explicit social lyrics. Discography: "*Po edin ili drug nachin*" / In one or another way (2017), "*Ne i tozi pat*" / Not and this time (2020), "*Pomogni mi*" / Help Me (2022).

Krstev believes that the "pandemic brought out both the best and worst in people, leading to a greater appreciation for what we have and often take for granted". These past two years have grounded us and helped us establish our priorities. Although he hopes to avoid a similar situation in the future, Krstev acknowledges that it was somewhat useful in getting to know the people around us better, like an intelligence test (E Interview of the author with Metodi Krstev, February 18, 2022). Regarding the creative process during the pandemic, Krstev expressed his belief that the best songs are often born during challenging times. Personally, the pandemic did not hinder his inspiration, and he even wrote some exceptional lyrics and music. The band adapted to remote work and home recording, resulting in the creation of some of their best songs for the new album. On the other hand, for many musicians, the financial shock and uncertainty forced them to halt all activities temporarily, providing them with an opportunity to rest from constant concert engagements and the demands of being a musician. Notably, Krstev did not particularly enjoy livestream performances. Although the band participated in a livestream concert and a few live shows with limited audiences, some of which were also streamed online, he found the experience less satisfying. Discussing the return to normality after the lockdown, Krstev emphasized the significance of rediscovering the joy of performing in front of a live audience and being among people. He expressed a hope that the lessons learned during the pandemic would encourage deeper reflection, reminding us that everything we have and strive for can vanish unexpectedly. Time is precious, and there is no use in wasting it by complaining that someone else should have done our work (E Interview of the author with Metodi Krstev, February 18, 2022).

Koikoi[9], one of the prominent indie bands in Serbia, faced significant challenges in 2021 due to the pandemic and the resulting restrictions on concerts and cultural events. Marko Grabež, a musician and actor in the band, shared in an interview that it was one of the most demanding years for their work (Dašić, 2021). Despite these circumstances, their debut album, *Pogled sa strane* (A View from a Side), which combines genres such as rock, ethno, and dance, received positive reviews throughout the region of former Yugoslavia. For the members of the Belgrade alternative rock band Gazorpazorp[10], the pandemic only served to slow down their work, and they could not make a direct comparison between live concerts and livestream performances (E-Interview of the author with Gazorpazorp, March 18, 2022).

In a 2021 interview, Maja Cvetković, the lead singer of E-Play, initiated a discussion with journalist Neven Džodan about the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. They reflected on E-Play's album *Sloboda* (Freedom), which was

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[9] Koikoi is an alternative/indie rock band founded in Belgrade in 2017. The members of the band are: Marko Grabež, Emilija Đorđević, Ivana Miljković, Ivan Pavlović Gizmo. The band mixes different genres like psychedelic rock, art rock, electronica, punk, folk. The lyrics are based on fantasy, art, and slices of life. (https://koikoi.bandcamp.com)

[10] Gazorpazorp is an alternative rock band founded in 2016 in Belgrade. The members are: Jasmin Rastić, Damjan Nedelkov, Nikola Bajčetić, Miloš Đerković. The group publishes its EP and the first album for Moonlee Records: the EP #1, in 2018 and the album "*Od vazduha i sunca*" (From air and sun) in 2020.

released in 2018. Cvetković expressed that the word 'freedom' gained a deeper meaning for all of them during the quarantine period caused by the coronavirus. The lyrics she initially created for the album did not fully capture the subsequent experiences. Interestingly, the music video for the song *Sloboda* featuring Sloboda Mićalović seemed to predict the anxiety that arises from being confined in a closed space, a feeling that resonated with many people (Džodan, 2021). As mentioned earlier, the analysis of the music vide o for the song *Dojde život* and the album *Sloboda* by E-Play reveals a new context in the primary content and message of the song and album. The criticism of regional political problems or crises is reevaluated and reinterpreted within the broader global pandemic crisis.

Conclusions

The lockdown period in 2020 forced online concerts to become the sole option for performances, not only in the Balkans but also throughout Europe. During this time, the comment sections of these online events provided an avenue for engagement and allowed the audience to express their presence and communicate. The increased need for social connections coupled with the limited opportunities for direct interaction during the lockdown supports the notion of virtual spaces serving as a social surrogate for cultural connections and the sharing of emotions.

All the clubs and cultural centers analyzed in this study managed to adapt to the lockdown by organizing virtual events, which initially seemed to be the only viable option in the early months of the pandemic. However, according to club managers, most of these virtual activities had a short lifespan, as priority was given to live events that facilitated direct contact between artists and the audience. The reactions and attitudes of both club managers and musicians during the COVID-19 lockdown period were remarkably similar.

Despite the cancellation of live concerts, all the musicians continued to create and work on their craft from their homes or during rehearsals. This held true for all the bands and solo artists included in the music analysis, such as Repetitor, Ljupa Angelov/Lepi Xhoni, Vasko Atanasoski, Koikoi, No more many more, and Gazorpazorp. Many of them also preferred and participated in livestream concerts, however, they also supported virtual promotions as the only option during the lockdown, recognizing them as a means of mutual support, solidarity, and maintaining contact with their audience.

Declarations

Human **s***tudies*

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

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All the data are included in the content of the paper.

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