

**AFFIXED INTERJECTIONS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY
OF EMOTIONAL TALK IN DIGITAL COMMUNICATION AND LITERARY
DIALOGUE**

by

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Abstract

Extensive cross-linguistic research documents a wide range of functions and semantic-pragmatic meanings of interjections in English and Polish that typically correspond with a primary function of conveying emotion. With many forms that have changed over time and appear in a variety of written and spoken mediums, interjections have been mainly considered ‘morphologically simple’; that is, they typically do not take on affixes. However, recent research has shown that interjections do, indeed, acquire various slang, diminutive and augmentative suffixes to change the register, to intensify or diminish the base interjections’ meaning, and/or to convey jocularity and non-serious meanings associated with play. This dissertation addresses some major gaps in the descriptive and empirical research of the semantic and pragmatic functions and meanings of affixed interjections in Polish, a synthetic Slavic language, and English, an analytic Germanic language. These two languages are compared and analyzed by examining the core and peripheral meanings of affixed interjections, their typology, and their pragmatic potential as attitudinals. The morphology and pragmatics of these affixed interjections are examined qualitatively and quantitatively by examining definitions from online dictionaries and standard corpora. It is argued that three fundamental semantic constraints underlie the formation of affixed interjections: [+INFORMAL], [+EMOTION], and [+ATTITUDE]. These three features can be subdivided into secondary semantic and pragmatic features that may or may not always apply, including [+PLAYFUL], [+CUTE], [+SILLY], [+GOOD HUMOUR], [+INTIMATE] and [+WARM]. Given the volume and variety of forms considered, affixed interjections would be methodologically challenging to gather in naturally occurring spontaneous speech; therefore, the study combines data from corpora of online sources that provide novel, current and slang words, including the micro-blogging site Twitter, Google Books, fanfiction, blogs, and blog comments. The dissertation also examines the Appraisal resources (Martin and White 2005) used for diminutive interjections. It is argued that English uses diminutive interjections mainly for positive APPRECIATION (positive meanings), negative JUDGEMENT (sarcasm), and negative AFFECT (negative meanings). These interjections are relatively rare compared to Polish. In comparison, Polish diminutives are much more frequent and conventional, and are used to facilitate social bonding, and show warmth and affection.

Lay Summary

This dissertation investigates the linguistic formations, functions and meanings associated with English and Polish interjections that receive endings which convey emotion and/or attitude, e.g. English *wowie!*, *whoopsie!* and Polish *jejku!* These diminutive interjections are examined in fiction, Twitter and other modes of written communication, along with dictionary entries. After examining the range of core contexts in which diminutive interjections occur (e.g. pain, sarcasm, admiration), I posit that these interjections are linked with the overarching concepts of emotion, attitude, and informality, but that their specific meanings and functions depend on context. In some cases, they intensify positive attitude, while in others they may intensify sarcastic and negative attitudes. Overall, diminutive interjections tend to appear more frequently in Polish than in English.

Preface

This dissertation is an original, unpublished, and independent work by the author, Dorothy (Dorota) Lockyer.

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List of Abbreviations

AmE = American English

AUG = augmentative affix

AusE = Australian English

BNC = British National Corpus

BrE = British English

CanE = Canadian English

CDS = child-directed speech

CMC = computer-mediated communication

COCA = Corpus of Contemporary American English

CS = child-speech

DE = diminutive expletive

DI = diminutive interjection

DIM = diminutive affix

DM = discourse marker

GloWbE = Global Web-Based English

IrE = Irish English

NKJP = National Corpus of Polish

NSM = Natural Semantic Metalanguage

NZE = New Zealand English

OED = *Oxford English Dictionary*

PDE = present-day English

PDP = present-day Polish

Pol. = Polish

POS = part of speech

SJP = *Słownik języka polskiego [Dictionary of the Polish language]*

SOAP = Corpus of American Soap Operas

Strathy = Strathy Corpus of Canadian English

VOC = Vocative case

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Dedication

For my father, Francis Ernest Lockyer (1922-2013).

The night before you went Home, I told you that I would be fine, and that I would complete a PhD.

I promised, and here it is.

Love you always.

Chapter 1: Purpose and significance of the study

The following English interjections with a *-y* or *-ie* ending have meanings of ‘silly mistake’ in (1), ‘non-serious joy’, ‘play’ and/or ‘teasing’ in (2) and ‘emphatic shock’ in (3).

- (1) I try to use first initials if they do not already have a web presence or if they are parents of young children or they are, actually, young children. I sometimes forget about this.
Whoopsy. [GloWbE: US B]
- (2) # Lizzie: **Oh goody!** It's groom hunting season. # Jonathan: Whoa. Is that thing loaded?
Alan: You don't want to find out, now do ya? [SOAP: 2006]
- (3) criminal offense in Japan for foreign lawyers to violate certain discovery rules. #
"Wowie!" says Turbin, recounting his shock at finding out about the law. [COCA: ACAD: 2003]

In the Polish example in (4), the writer establishes an emphatic emotional and social connection by offering extensive congratulations to another person on an online forum with *jejku!* (< *jej!* ‘oh dear’).

- (4) oo gratulacje !!!!!!!!!!!
jejku wszystkiego naj naj naj lepszego na nowej drodze zycia!
‘oo congratulations !!!!!!!!!!!
jejku everything the very very very best for your new road in life! [NKJP: 2005]

This dissertation centers on the little words shown above in bold – that is, diminutively-affixed interjections – that are ways of expressing emotions in many languages. However, few studies have examined their use in internet language and fictional dialogue, particularly comparing the analytic Germanic language of English and the synthetic Slavic language of Polish. In both languages, these words are interjections with evaluative suffixes. ‘Interjections’ are broadly defined here as “little words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes” (Ameka 1992: 124). A suffix, on the other hand, is defined as “[a] bound morpheme that is added to the end of a free morpheme to form a new composite word, of either a similar or different word class” (Hamawand 2011: 121). One such type of suffix is the ‘evaluative suffix’,

an umbrella term typically used in evaluative morphology (e.g. Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015), a subfield of derivational morphological studies that examines evaluative constructions. A construction is considered evaluative if it conveys a meaning of size ('small' or 'big') or emotion ('good' or 'bad') through a prefix, suffix, reduplication, etc. I use the term 'evaluative suffix' throughout this dissertation to refer to various suffixes that generally add a certain emotional and/or attitudinal colouring to the base interjection. The suffix, thus, need not create a new interjection completely different in meaning from the base, but creates a new form of the interjection that often has a new function or additional (emotive) meaning. This dissertation examines the forms, emotive meanings, functions and uses of suffixed emotive interjections comparatively in English and Polish. On a secondary level, the dissertation applies cultural values and social contexts to its examination of suffixed interjections.

Both English and Polish have evaluative affixes that add additional emotional colouring to nouns and sometimes other parts of speech. They are 'diminutive' (sometimes termed 'hypocoristic') affixes which typically convey the meaning of [+LITTLE] and/or [+AFFECTION] (see, for example, Schneider 2003, Wierzbicka 2003, and Jurafsky 1996 for in-depth discussions of diminutives), such as e.g., *oh goodie!* (< *oh good!*), *whoopsy!* (< *whoops!*) and *wowee!* (< *wow!*). According to Bakema and Geeraerts (2004: 1045), "the term 'diminutive' refers to any formation in a language expressing the referential meaning 'small', and possibly a variety of derived evaluative shades of meaning." It may be formed analytically or synthetically. The term 'diminutive' is opposite to 'augmentative', which Bakema and Geeraerts (2004: 1045) define as "the semantic counterpart of the diminutive [which] denotatively expresses the concept 'big', and may have derived readings such as evaluative exaggeration and intensification."

To achieve the emotional colouring conveyed through the diminutive suffixes, affixed interjections are frequently formed with the most widely-used and productive -y diminutive suffix in English and -k- diminutive affix in Polish. Alternatively, affixed interjections may be formed by augmentative suffixes such as English -*rama* and -*ola* (cf. Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2013: 411) and Polish -*isko*/-*icho* that generally convey the meaning of [+LARGE], e.g. *crapola!* (< *crap!*) and *shitorama!* (< *shit!*), and Pol. *narazicho!* (< *na razie!* 'bye'). So-called 'slang' suffixes such as -*aroo* also appear and are sometimes added to interjections, e.g., *whoopsaroo!* (< *whoops!*) for a playful effect. Diminutive and augmentative prefixes also exist in English and Polish, e.g., *mini-*, *hyper-* and *ultra-*, but I have found no evidence of interjections receiving prefixes. Thus, this

study discusses only those affixes that are used with interjections, especially English *-y*, *-ee*, *-ie* and Polish *-k-* to convey additional emotional meaning to the base interjection in its dialogic context.

The common view assumes no difference between affixed and unaffixed forms (cf. Nübling 2004: 16, 29, Stange 2016: 61);¹ however, it is reasonable to assume that speakers use these forms instead of the base interjection for a purpose, arguably to convey additional attitude or emotion. In English and Polish, we can easily see the extremely frequent use of the affixed forms in baby-talk or child-directed speech (CDS); in fact, we would assume that it would be only natural for mothers to use loving endearments to their young children. Support for this view in child-directed speech and adult speech is provided by Lappe (2007: 13), who argues that “*y*-hypocoristics do not have the same meaning as their unsuffixed counterparts.” Furthermore, Alber and Arndt-Lappe (2012: 323) “see a meaning difference between the base and the derived form.” Although Alber and Arndt-Lappe are not specifically referring to interjections, we can infer that the rule applies to interjections as well. It can be assumed that there is a difference in meaning between, e.g., *wow!* and *wowie!*, and *oops!* and *oopsie!*

The central questions that will be addressed in this dissertation are as follows:

- With which suffixes and base interjections are affixed interjections typically formed and what are the main causes for these word-formation choices?
- Which fundamental semantic and pragmatic features underlie the formation of affixed interjections? In other words, what emotional connotations do affixed interjections convey?
- What can digital communication and literary dialogue, viewed through the Appraisal framework, reveal about the main evaluations of affixed interjections? In which contexts are they found in most often, and how do they differ between English and Polish?

The main aims and goals of each chapter relate back to these three essential questions about form, meaning, and function. I will argue that affixed forms of interjections, which have only been sparsely touched upon in previous research, have more important functions than has been previously thought, especially in expressing playful, cutesy, and jocular types of attitude.

¹ Stange (2016: 61) suggests that affixed interjections are spelling variants [which] “merely reflect” pronunciation variation, not variation in meaning. She speculates that *ouchie* “is probably only a hypocoristic form, like *horsie* or *doggie*”.

The affixed forms discussed in this dissertation were collected by mining² written language: internet language, literary dialogue from adult fiction and, least frequently, established corpora. These text types were chosen because they contain the highest number of affixed interjections in written language with sufficient context for linguistic analysis of the items. The scope of this data mining was further restricted to searches of the following text types; recipe blog comments, fanfiction comments, Twitter posts, and literary dialogue from adult novels using a Google Books search. In general, recipe blogs and their comments tend to be positive and convey expressions of strong delight, admiration, and praise, while Twitter is by far the largest source of affixed interjections. Fiction, especially from the romance (e.g. *Harlequin*) genre, provides additional contexts of male/female dichotomies not found in the short online comments. Established corpora, due to insufficient examples, were primarily used for the frequency charts in Chapter 4. These sources for data mining were important to this study because they provide insight into how the affixed interjections function across several text types.

The major goal of this dissertation is to refute the idea that interjections in the English and Polish languages are ‘morphologically simple’ and do not receive suffixes. An equally important second goal is to show the uses of these forms across different contexts and written language for various functions – though I do not claim to identify every possible use for each form. Although previous research has rarely addressed affixed interjections, we have numerous examples of different interjections with different endings.

Little scholarly research has attempted to describe the affixed forms of interjections; in fact, from the previous scholarly treatment of these forms, it could be argued that scholars have typically viewed affixed forms of interjections as non-existent or morphologically impossible as lexical formations because interjections are not expected to take endings. In looking at the morphology and semantics-pragmatics of affixed interjections across two rather unrelated languages, this dissertation contributes to an understanding of the use and functions of these emotionally loaded, ‘little’ words with endings. A central claim is made that affixed interjections do, in fact, exist to convey various emotional connotations – also referred to as attitude, evaluation, affect, and sentiment - and are therefore a tool in written language to convey subtle nuances of meaning.

² The procedures and methods for data mining are described in Chapter 3.

A foundational aspect of this dissertation is to investigate interjections in English and Polish. Thus, the rest of Chapter 1 is divided into three main sections. The first section (1.2) defines the interjection; specifically, it identifies the semantic and pragmatic functions and meanings of the interjection, the various types of words that are considered interjections, and why the interjection needs further study. Section (1.3) discusses the morphology of interjections to establish why they may or may not accept suffixes and why we find many interjections in different parts of speech. The final section of this chapter (1.4) leaves the English-centred focus of the previous sections and instead examines interjections from the Slavic perspective, namely Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Russian. The objective of 1.4 is to establish other points of view towards interjections that may be unfamiliar to English scholars, and to present a counterpoint to English interjections, illustrating the importance of having a wider-range of perspectives when approaching the formations, functions, and meanings of interjections as a universal part of speech (POS). The chapter ends with a description of the structure of the dissertation (1.5).

1.1 Definitions and types of interjections

There is a substantive body of literature about the interjection (see, e.g. Ameka 1992) – a term that comes from Latin *interjectio* and signifies ‘a throwing in between’ because they are “*thrown in between* parts of discourse” (Fowler 1850: 330, original emphasis), almost as if interjections were ‘non-words’ in discourse.

The part of speech (POS) interjection comprises many items that were treated by Latin and Greek grammarians in antiquity as para-linguistic or nonlinguistic phenomena having minor importance in language (cf. Wharton 2003: 175, Ehlich 1986). This contributed to Müller’s (1836: 366) early claim that “language begins where interjections end.” By the nineteenth century their status had changed very little (Wharton 2003: 175). This notion persisted into the twentieth century. For instance, Jakobson (1960: 354) views interjections as existing purely in the “emotive stratum of language” and Sapir (1970: 7) writes that interjections are “never more, at best, than a decorative edging to the ample, complex fabric [of language]” because of the view that interjections “are linguistically somewhat primitive expressions of feeling” (Leech et al. 1982:

53).³ It was not until Ameka's (1992) special issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics* that interjections were properly approached as important features of language and as serious subjects of linguistic analysis (e.g. Ameka 1992, Wierzbicka 1992, Wilkins 1992).

Fowler (1850) was one of the earliest scholars to correctly note that interjections have not received proper scientific treatment in language. He argues that should language have more than an intellectual basis, then interjections should be viewed as an integral part of language. He forms his conclusion based on three main (philosophical/spiritual) factors that would now be seen as functional factors. First, interjections "express the multiplied emotions of the human mind, and lend their aid where all other language fails in this respect" (382). Secondly, interjections are the only way that humans may communicate verbally with animals, or animals communicate with other animals. Thirdly, "[interjections] are a natural universal language" (382). As aptly mentioned by Stange (2016: 7), "if the focus is on function as opposed to form, it is defensible to view interjections as part of language." This is the view adopted in this study.

Interjections have been affected by language change and linguistic trends, which have caused many interjections to disappear and new ones to arise. Despite how the forms of interjections have changed, their emotional content and short length, among their other characteristics, have remained the same. Because of their typical length and emotive features, interjections are generally considered 'little' linguistic expressions of emotion (also referred to as *passions* or *feelings*) produced "because there has been an object, event, action, or state of affairs that has caused [...] a certain feeling or emotion at a certain moment" (Padilla Cruz 2010: 55).⁴ These include *wow!*, *whoa!*, *yay!*, *oops!* and *gee!*

Norrick (2009: 888) writes that "the class of interjections must always remain open to fresh entries and new combinations" – that is, interjections are a class of words highly susceptible to

³ Polish researchers of interjections had similar views. Milewski (1965: 117) writes that "interjections are elements of old, pre-language codes, which took on language forms" (my trans.), and Kopczyński's (1817: 38) view reflects the purely emotive view of interjections in his definition of interjections as "the human language of the heart: for they express affect or passions" (my trans.).

⁴ Words that convey emotion include the following by Clark (1852: 185): *oh!*, *ah!*, *alas!*, *alack!*, *welldone!*, *ha!*, *whew!*, *eh!*, *what!*, *poh!*, *pshaw!*, *pish!*, *tut!*, *humph!*, *gammon!*, *fie!*, *ho!*, *ahoy*, *hurrah!*, *huzza!*, *whoh!*, *hush!*, *hist!*, *oho!*, *farewell!*, *fee-fo-fum!*, *gee-up!*, *tallyho!*, *no!*, among others. Many of these went out of use and are now considered archaic, namely *fie!* (often found in Shakespeare), *poh!*, *gammon!*, and *hist!* To the modern English ear, most of Clark's interjections sound old-fashioned.

replacement and innovation. They capture our attention because of their novelty and ability to add a 'splash of color' to language.⁵ They are 'recycled' to create new forms that can convey the emotional impact that the previous interjections lost over time. Thus, *LOL!* (< *laugh out loud*), a 21st century internet invention, helps get rid of the mundane with novelty. Although many interjections have been replaced with new ones, the core functions and characteristics of interjections have changed very little, if at all.

Several different definitions of interjections have been proposed, which focus on a number of characteristics. Although there is no consensus on how to define interjections (Wharton 2009: 176), scholars from various backgrounds, disciplines and approaches usually agree upon several characteristics of interjections that specify where an interjection typically appears in a sentence (syntax) and what it does in an utterance (i.e. its function). Below I present five standard definitions of the interjection, beginning with an early quote from 1832 and ending with a recent definition of the *interjection proper* by Stange (2016).

- Interjections are words thrown in between the parts of a sentence, to express the passions, or emotions of the speaker; as, ah! I have alienated my friend: alas! I fear for life: O virtue! How amiable thou art! (Murray and Benedict 1832: 83)
- [An interjection is] a conventional lexical form which (commonly and) conventionally constitutes an utterance on its own, (typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes (Wilkins 1992: 124)
- An interjection can be defined as a linguistic sign expressing the speaker's current mental state (1) which can be used on its own, (2) which expresses a specifiable meaning, (3) which does not include other signs (with a specifiable meaning), (4) which is not homophonous with another lexical item that would be perceived as semantically related to it, and (5) which refers to the speaker's current mental state or mental act (for example 'I feel...', 'I want...', 'I think...', 'I know...'). (Wierzbicka 1992: 164)

⁵ Some recent interjections that attest to the creation of new words include *as if!*, an interjection that was popularized by the 1995 movie *Clueless*, *bazinga!* (from *The Big Bang Theory*), *d'oh!* (from *The Simpsons*). In Polish, interjections such as, e.g. *hejo!* 'heyo' and the suffixed *siemka!* (a greeting equivalent to 'hi, how are you').

- [An interjection is] a term used in the traditional classification of parts of speech, referring to a class of words which are unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and whose function is purely emotive. (Crystal 2003: 239)
- [An interjection is] a syntactically independent, meaningful, semi-automatic exclamation providing an insight into the speaker's current emotional state of mind (Stange 2016: 20)

From these definitions, we may extract several prominent characteristics of interjections. Specifically, the standard definitions presented suggest that interjections express the mental/emotional state of the speaker, are meaningful, exclamatory, and syntactically independent. Wilkins' (1992) definition contains many hedges which show the multi-functionality of interjections; that is, it is not always possible to provide a firm definition of all interjections because they are not all the same. Below I address each of the features in turn except for the morphological issues, which are treated in section 1.3.

There is an underlying assumption that interjections convey passions or feelings (cf. Schourup 1985); we generally tend to think of emotive *wow!* and *whoops!* when giving examples of interjections. Although interjections are fundamentally linked with emotion, there are many words in the POS of 'interjection' that do not function to convey emotion or a mental state. Interjections including *psst!* or *shh!* that are used to get attention or indicate that the hearer should be quiet are communication devices. Likewise, interjections including *boom!* and *whack!* describe sounds that may be made by inanimate objects and are often depicted in comics, such as a car explosion or the sound of a shotgun. Therefore, Crystal's (2003) assertion that interjections have only emotive functions, along with Murray and Benedict's (1832) focus on emotions, do not apply to interjections as a whole. They apply to emotive interjections – namely those interjections which primarily function to convey emotion (cf. 1.2.1).

It is generally agreed that interjections are 'meaningful'; that is, "they always have meaning, whether this meaning is identifiable through linguistic analysis or not" (Stange 2016: 20). However, the meaning that an interjection may have differs between scholars. Wierzbicka (1992) takes a slightly different approach from many linguists because she argues that interjections have 'specifiable meaning' through semantic primitives in her Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) theory. She claims that "the subtlest shades of meaning encoded in interjections [can be

captured] by relying exclusively on universal or near-universal concepts such as ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘do’ and ‘happen’, ‘want’, ‘know’, ‘say’ or ‘think’” (Wierzbicka 1992: 163). Other scholars have used semantic primitives to show the meaning of an interjection; for example, Ameka (1992: 109) presents the following explication for *wow!* using Wierzbicka’s theory:

Wow!

I now know something has happened

I wouldn’t have thought it would have happened

I think this is very good

I feel something good because of that

I say this: [wow] because I want people to know this

The explication suggests that *wow!* conveys three core meanings and functions: 1) to convey surprise and suddenness (‘I now know’); 2) positive feeling (‘I think this is very good’); and, 3) a desire to let others know how the speaker is feeling.

Norrick (2011: 248) aptly comments that “such semantic analysis of interjections misses the pragmatic point: who uses *wow*, in what context, to what effect?” Ameka’s (1992) explication accounts for a frequent use of *wow!*, such as in a situation where a speaker feels surprised and good from receiving a surprise gift. The explication does not apply in sarcastic, teasing, or negative contexts, such as when a speaker utters *wow!* upon hearing surprisingly bad news. In sarcastic usage, *wow!* can indicate that the speaker is not surprised at all. Thus, while it can be agreed upon that interjections are ‘meaningful’, I adopt Stange’s (2016) view that interjections do not have specifiable ‘basic meanings’, but their meaning is always contextually determined (Schourup 2016 [1985]: 18).

There is always an audience for interjections because they may be used in self-talk where the speaker is one’s own audience (cf. Goffman’s ‘response cries’) or in everyday thinking (‘inner talk’). Goddard (2014: 73) notes frequent uses of interjections in his ‘inner talk’. This is unsurprising, as it is generally agreed that interjections show a speaker’s mental state – or, put in another way, the non-vocalized language only occurring in the speaker’s mind. When these

interjections are vocalized, they arguably come from one's thought process directly to the speaker's audience - be it to oneself, one person, or a large group of people.⁶

Interjections typically function as a type of 'window' into the *current*⁷ emotional state of mind of the speaker (Stange 2016: 20),⁸ and are thus 'evincives'. They convey emotion in the same way a soccer player might pump her fist in the air after scoring a goal or clap her hands in excitement. In other words, an interjection shows the current, sudden, and spontaneous reaction or mental state of the speaker in her immediate situation. Because of this feature, Schourup (2016 [1985]: 18) argues that at the time an interjection is uttered the speaker has either thought or is thinking and/or feeling something, "but does not completely specify its content." Schourup provides the example of 'Aha, the century plant bloomed', where the *aha* does not simply express "the existence of undisclosed thought but address[es] something about the current contents of the private world" (original emphasis). Likewise, the *oh!* in *Oh! didn't make the phone call you asked me to* "establish[es] the speaker's accountability [because *oh* indicates] that a thought expressed in the sentence following oh just entered the speaker's mind [and] the speaker's failure to make the call was due to forgetfulness, not malevolent intent" (Schourup 2016 [1985]: 21).

However, interjections may be feigned and thereby become an "interactive *display* [of emotion]" (Drescher 1997: 241, original emphasis). That is, interjections are not always true expressions of a speaker's feelings and therefore must be evaluated in contexts where an interjection may be feigned or insincere. As stated in a well-known passage by Jakobson (1987: 66), the emotive function "tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion whether true or feigned." If a speaker says "Ouch!" she indicates that she has certain feelings; if she does have

⁶ Goddard (2014) calls for a deeper exploration of words, including interjections, in the everyday thought dialogue of humans; linguists should "open [their] eyes to the role of words in everyday thinking" (2014: 73). While it is difficult to record thoughts, I agree with Goddard that "literature may provide a valuable point of entry into the 'inner' uses of language" (2014: 74), despite some positions which claim that literature does not provide 'real' or 'natural' examples of language use. Obviously, language use in the thought process is best left to neurolinguistics, but the inner dialogue as recorded in literary dialogues cannot be underestimated.

⁷ Arguably, there is the possibility of a slight lag if the other interlocutor is dominating the conversation and the person wanting to say an interjection must wait a while for their turn to speak.

⁸ Ameka (1992) supports this characteristic by his semantic interpretation of 'I now know' (emphasis mine) in the explication of *wow!* that was shown above.

those feelings, then the interjection is genuine, but if not, then they are feigned (Tsur 2003: 45). This seems to suggest that interjections may be seen as windows into a speaker's mind, but also as nothing more than displays of emotion not felt by the speaker. That interjections may be used insincerely calls for a more rigorous analysis of interjections beyond the meanings attributed to them in linguistic studies.

The view that interjections are 'exclamatory' in the sense that a speaker typically puts force into their utterance through greater volume is a persuasive position, given that (emotive) interjections tend to be said more loudly than words from other parts of speech (Stange 2016: 20). The idea appears in Stange's earlier work (2009: 40), where she comments that a striking feature of interjections is that they correspond to a "seeming loss of control of the voice" that causes them to be "often rather loud in comparison to the rest of the lexical utterances." She notes that pain interjections including *ow!* and *ouch!* can be screamed or even shouted very loudly (2009: 40). It may also be observed that emotive interjections like *whoopee!* are rarely, if ever, whispered or said in a soft voice. However, a speaker may also say *wow!* with a regular or decreased volume, especially if the recipient is emotionally unmoved and unimpressed, or may say *oh!* faintly from disappointment. By hedging with 'usually' and 'often', Stange (2009) argues that loudness is frequent enough to be a 'striking' feature of interjections, though the feature is arguably context-specific and determined by the speaker's feelings and/or mental state.

In formal terms, interjections are syntactically independent and holophrastic.⁹ That is, interjections are "self-contained, autonomous utterances that resist integration into syntactic structures" (Stange 2016: 48), and contain the meaning of a whole sentence (Gehweiler 2010: 316) that is separate from the rest of the utterance (cf. Wilkins 1992, Biber et al. 1999, Ameka 1992, Quirk et al. 1985).¹⁰ Interjections only integrate into the sentence after conversion to other parts of speech (e.g. *she wowed the audience*). On their own, interjections remain syntactically outside of the rest of a speaker's utterance.

⁹ That is, they express the meaning of an entire utterance in one word.

¹⁰ This is more difficult to see in spoken discourse than in written discourse because "[s]peakers do not always use syntactically well-formed messages, but instead they may be found to not finish their sentences, to use only fragments of sentences or clauses, to break off an utterance and start in anew" (Stange 2016: 48) and the like.

Based on the viewpoints addressed above, it is not fallacious to reason that emotive interjections, at least in English, are either displays of or windows into a speaker's mental state (depending on the situation), have contextually-determined meanings, usually affect the volume of the speaker's voice, and are syntactically independent and holophrastic. These characteristics, however, are not necessarily applied to other types of interjections or in other languages like Polish. The other types of interjections will be discussed in the following sections, and Polish (and Slavic) interjections discussed in 1.4.

Different emphases and approaches have led to the difficulty in deciding which words and particles are interjections, and has subsequently caused some disagreement (Joue and Collier 2006; see also Kowal and O'Connell 2004: 5, Wharton 2009: 72). There is disagreement about the classification of interjections "both in regard to identifying what belongs to [the] class and in terms of finding language to describe or designate [the] class" (Joue and Collier 2006: 144) because not all scholars agree about which items are interjections. This has caused Nübling (2004: 11) to observe that the term *interjection* has become a "dumping ground for particles which are otherwise difficult to classify," as we may observe for 'inserts' and 'discourse markers' below.

The items which belong to the class differ because of unclear and inconsistent terminology. Biber et al. (1999) views interjections as 'inserts' and consequently includes *oh!* and *ah!* as real interjections but excludes *well!*, *right!*, *hey!*, *yo!*, *um*, *er*, *good grief!* and *shit!* (see Jucker 2012: 201). Goffman (1971) calls them 'response cries'. Jucker (2002) refers to *oh!* as a discourse marker, while Culpeper and Kytö (2010) refer to it as 'pragmatic noise.' Other terms used to refer to some interjections include 'pragmatic markers', 'pragmatic particles', 'attention signals' and 'response signals' (cf. Joue and Collier 2006). In my view, 'discourse markers' and 'formulae'/ 'conversational routines' are the most difficult to define in regard to interjections.

Discourse markers (DMs) - also termed pragmatic markers - are a class of words identified by function instead of POS that can significantly contribute towards the discursive direction of a conversation for a number of reasons. These are shown in the definitions of DMs in the following:

- [Pragmatic markers] implicitly anchor the act of communication to the speaker's attitudes towards aspects of the on-going interaction (Östman 1981: 5)

- [Pragmatic markers are] those expressions used to indicate how the relevance of one discourse segment is dependent on another (Blakemore 1987: 125)
- [Discourse markers are] sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk (Schiffrin 1987: 31)
- [Discourse markers] are short lexical items, used with a pragmatic meaning on a metalingual level of discourse in order to signal for the hearer how the speaker intends the present contribution to be related to preceding and/or following parts of the discourse (Lenk 1998: 52)
- [Discourse markers are] lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. With certain exceptions, they signal a relationship between the segment they introduce, S₂, and the prior segment, S₁ (Fraser 1999: 950)

The definitions show that DMs are ‘short’ items, have a metalinguistic and/or pragmatic function in discourse, and communicate an attitude towards ongoing discourse. For many scholars, the discursive functions are the most important characteristics of DMs.

While the above definitions may appear straightforward because they tend to focus on the discourse aspects (e.g. relationships between segments), DMs are difficult to categorize because of the lack of unification in terminology and definitions. Their definitions can be confusingly similar to interjections in several ways, including their placement in sentences, syntactic independence, and potential for expressing emotion. In fact, the overlap and confusion between interjections and DMs is daunting for anyone encountering the literature on DMs. Scholars routinely ask and are unable to unite on an answer to ‘what are discourse markers?’ (see, e.g. Fraser 1999) and texts use a number of confusing or seemingly contradictory terms.

It would be impossible to create a complete list of DMs because many linguistic items can be used as DMs (cf. Jucker 1993). Some of the most frequently-used discourse markers in present-day English are *by the way*, *besides*, *however*, *well* (Urgelles-Coll 2012: 23-24), *right*, *well*, *great*, *good*, *there you go*, *anyway*, *because* (or *cos*), *fine*, *like*, *now*, *oh*, *okay*, *so*, *then*, *and*, *but*, *you know*, *I mean*, *as I say*, *for a start*, and *mind you* (Tagg 2012: 104) but the “set is by no means a fixed or clearly demarcated one” (Tagg 2012: 105). Many of these DMs have been studied in-depth, e.g.

D'Arcy's (2017) monograph on *like* shows the wide semantic-pragmatic variation between items within this class.¹¹

Discourse markers and interjections share “formal characteristics: both are invariable, typically monomorphemic forms that are syntactically independent from the rest of the utterance” (Brinton and Brinton 2010: 287; see also Wilkins 1992: 124). In terms of their semantics, DMs are not holophrastic. DMs instruct the hearer how to process the information in order to comprehend it - the so-called ‘procedural’ meaning (Schröder 2016: 84; Fraser 1999: 950). While the difference helps several DMs and interjections to be put into their respective groups, the fact that DMs relate to discourse and interjections to emotion does not solve the problem because the same forms have been both discourse markers and interjections in earlier periods of the English language (Brinton and Brinton 2010: 287).

One reason that DMs and interjections overlap is because DMs are able to convey attitude and interpersonal functions instead of merely showing relations in segments of discourse.¹² The interpersonal function appears in works of Early Modern English authors who used DMs “to construct character attitudes, relationships, emotions and so on” (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 396). The items *oh* and *ah* overlap the most because they are used extremely frequently and in a plethora of contexts. In the view of some scholars such as Schiffrin, the interpersonal function of *oh* puts the form into the group of DMs (cf. Fairbanks 2016: 27). Likewise, *well* is often viewed as a DM and interjection because “it contributes an attitude towards a proposition” (Fairbanks 2016: 36). Thus, DMs and interjections cannot be simply demarcated.

Interjections have relationships with other linguistic resources that relate to emotions, especially with respect to the distinction between *emotion talk* and *emotional talk* (see Bednarek 2008). Interjections are categorized as forms of emotional talk along with intonation, punctuation, emphatic particles, intensifiers, affective derivation, and vagueness; simply put, they are “linguistic expressions that conventionally signal the speaker’s emotions” (Bednarek

¹¹ Of course, DMs are by no means limited to English; instead, DMs exist in most languages. In present-day Polish, the items grouped into DMs are similar to English. These include, but are not limited to, *okej* ‘okay’, *no* ‘well’, *ale* ‘but’, *to znaczy* ‘well’ (lit. ‘that is’), *(no bo) wiesz* ‘(well) you know’, *tak?* ‘right?’, *gdzieś tam* ‘in a way/sense’ (lit. ‘somewhere there’) and *jakby* ‘like’ (cf. Adamczyk 2015).

¹² This may be a reason why a few DMs receive diminutive and slang suffixes in English, e.g. *indeedy*, *alrighty*, *righty*, *righto*, *whatevs*, *howeys*, and *okaysies* (on Twitter). Such formations have yet to receive (sufficient) scholarly interest and would be an interesting avenue for future study.

2008: 12). Terms of emotion, including *he's wonderful* and *she loved him*, denote emotions through those dictionary and fixed expressions of affect or emotion. Emotion and emotional talk often co-occur in an utterance, such as *Ugh! I hate prunes*, where *ugh!* signals disgust/frustration, and *I hate prunes* contains the emotion verb *hate*, which makes an Appraisal or involvement analysis particularly relevant to this study.¹³

The daunting task of dividing these 'little' linguistic items also appears in the two main forms of interjections, namely 'primary' and 'secondary' interjections.

Ameka (1992: 105)¹⁴ argues that "it seems useful to distinguish between those words that are *primary* interjections, that is, they are not used otherwise; and [*secondary interjections*] which come to be used as interjections by virtue of their notional semantics." Primary interjections "in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes" (Ameka 1992: 105) such as for example *ouch!* and *ow!* They tend to be "phonologically and morphologically anomalous" (Ameka 1992: 105)¹⁵ and can be divided into three subtypes: 'conative', 'phatic', and 'expressive'. 'Expressive' interjections are further divided into 'emotive' and 'cognitive' interjections. Although Ameka (1992) does not explicitly divide types of secondary interjections, arguably this functional division applies to them as well.

Secondary interjections – interjections which are found as other parts of speech, such as nouns – have semantic values that can be identified independently of the surrounding context to convey attitudes (Ameka 1992: 111). They often include swear words, such as *blimey!* (a corruption of *blind me!* or *blame me!*, according to the OED), *damn!*, *shoot!* in English and *cholera!* ('damn'; lit. 'cholera') and *psiakrew!* ('damn'; lit. 'dog's blood') in Polish. Calls of alarm

¹³ Alternatively, these can be expressed through 'expressive' and 'descriptive' linguistic resources (see Jakobson 1960), which may be loosely compared with emotional talk and emotion talk respectively.

¹⁴ Primary and secondary interjections were first so distinguished by Wundt (1912), cf. Stange (2009).

¹⁵ For example, the curious interjection *tsk-tsk* is formed by dental clicks, which otherwise do not appear in English (Ameka 1992: 106). The fact that *tsk-tsk* and other interjections, such as *psst!* and *shh!* do not contain any vowels has contributed in the past to a view that they are 'non-words' (cf. Ameka 1992: 106). I would argue that this claim shows an Anglo-centric view of interjections because many languages (e.g. Czech and Slovak), have many nouns, verbs and words from other parts of speech that do not contain any vowels. For example, the well-known Czech tongue-twister, *strč prst skrz krk* 'stick your finger down your throat', contains four vowel-less verbs, nouns and a preposition.

and attention getters also fall under secondary interjections, including *help!* (Pol. *pomocy!*), *careful!* (Pol. *uwaga!*) and emotive words such as *shame!* and *drat!* (cf. Ameka 1992: 111).

The distinction between primary and secondary interjections is not as clear-cut as it might appear because of the origin and use of interjections in other parts of speech. Norrick (2014: 255) points out that “the primary-secondary distinction provides no hard-and-fast, exceptionless classification for interjections.” He has two main reasons for suggesting that the distinction is not hard-and-fast. First, forms considered primary interjections in present-day English (PDE) sometimes derive historically from full lexical items or phrases. For example, *golly!*, *gee!* and *jeez!* have become primary (euphemistic) interjections in present-day English (PDE) but originally developed from the secondary interjections *Jesus!* and *God!* Similarly, the interjection *LOL!* is considered a primary interjection with a more complex development,¹⁶ but we may more suitably refer to it as a secondary interjection because it originated as an acronym for ‘laughing out loud’ (Norrick 2014: 255). Second, a primary interjection can be “pressed into service as another part of speech, so that it would appear to be a secondary interjection from a purely synchronic perspective” (Norrick 2014: 255). For example, the interjection *wow!* can become an interjection-based delocutive verb¹⁷ in expressions including *he wowed the audience* and *wowing the customers*. Or, a primary interjection such as *ow!* may receive a diminutive suffix that creates the diminutive form *owie!* that is found in other parts of speech (e.g. a noun in ‘I have an owie’).

In the following subsections, I provide background for (primary) emotive interjections (1.2.1), cognitive interjections (1.2.2), conative interjections (1.2.3), secondary emotive interjections (1.2.4), contact interjections (1.2.5), and descriptive interjections (1.2.6). However, the interjections discussed in the rest of this dissertation are a) primary emotive interjections, b) contact interjections, and c) secondary emotive interjections because they are affixed most frequently.

¹⁶ While Norrick (2014) describes *LOL* as ‘primary’ in PDE, he notes that since it is used as a verb in expressions such as *he LOLed so hard* caused the item to be better described as having developed from a ‘secondary’-type acronym into a primary interjection, and then developing back into a ‘secondary’ interjection after being pressed into service in other parts of speech.

¹⁷ According to Brinton (2014: 140), interjection-based delocutive verbs are “verbs converted from interjections with the meaning ‘to say or utter [interjection]’”. Their historical development is thoroughly examined in Brinton (2014), who provides such examples as *hey’ed* and *aww’ed* in PDE.

1.1.1 (Primary) emotive interjections

Emotive interjections have recently been thoroughly discussed by Stange (2016) and in many other shorter studies (e.g. Wierzbicka 2003). They are one of the two subcategories of ‘expressive’ interjections which focus on the mental state of the speaker (Stange 2009: 29; cf. Ameka 1992: 113). The main function of emotive interjections is to convey emotion, ranging from disgust (e.g. *ew!*, *yuck!*, *ugh!*) to joy (e.g. *yay!*) to surprise/shock (e.g. *whoa!*). Sadowski (2001: 71) comments that primary emotive interjections “have arisen in the course of evolution as communicative responses to typical life situations such as survival, sexual behaviour, search for food, group integration and so on.” At the very least, they express an emotion to someone – if not to another person, then to oneself.

Stange and Nübling (2014: 1986) write that verbalized interjections are always accompanied by body movement such as the facial movements of rounding the lips or pinching the nose.¹⁸ In fact, it is universal for humans to express their emotions through various sounds formed through the movement of lips and other facial features, and gestures. Darwin (1872: 258) describes how disgust is shown on the face by, e.g. “by *blowing out of the protruded lips*; or by a *sound as of clearing the throat* ... [which are then] written *ach* or *ugh*; and their utterance is sometimes accompanied by a shudder.” Fowler (1850: 332), a contemporary of Darwin, suggests that “[w]onder or astonishment rounds the lips; hence results the interjection *Oh!* with a downward intonation.” More recently, Stange and Nübling (2014: 1986) point out that “the face displays a number of expressions when speakers feel revolted: they may wrinkle up or pinch their nose, screw up their face, cover mouth and nose with their hand, poke out their tongue” and physically move away from the disgusting object, while likely verbalizing their revulsion by an interjection including *yuck!*, *ew!* or *ugh!* Thus, the expression of emotions causes the facial muscles to contract.¹⁹

¹⁸ According to Motley (1993), a facial expression, such as pinching one’s nose, functions as a nonverbal interjection. Thus, verbal and nonverbal interjections go hand in hand.

¹⁹ In digital communication, such as social media, where there are limitations in expressing body movements beyond the text, these facial movements and gestures are represented through the addition of emoticons (e.g. happy faces) and emojis (e.g. a thumbs-up image).

In her corpus-based study of emotive interjections in British English, Stange (2016) argues that ‘interjectionality’ is determined by five factors: the context of use, the variant used (if alternatives are available, e.g. *ow!* and *ouch!*), the physical absence/presence of the stimulus, the nature of the stimulus (concrete or abstract), and whether the interjection is spoken for oneself or another. She uses these five factors for the interjections of surprise, disgust, and pain.

Stange (2016) suggests that the interjections of surprise - namely *wow!*, *whoops!*, and *whoopsadaisy!* - show the discursive reaction to a particular situation more often than emotion. *Wow!* functions as an intensifier, is found in the speech act of complimenting, and is used to express unemotional surprise in spoken language, though the largest differences appear to lie between adult and child speech. For example, *wow!* is used for praise or admiration only by adults (Stange 2016: 199); and, *wow!* is used to express ‘more or less X than usual’, ‘praise/admiration’ and ‘neutral surprise’.²⁰ Stange’s results show that *wow!* is not as emotional as we would expect; instead, *wow!* seems to be linked with politeness formulae in its function as a compliment. In comparison, the interjection *whoopsadaisy!* is particularly rare and mainly said to children, and *whoops* is used in the contexts of “*situation changed noticed, situation caused by own action and mistake noticed*” (199, original emphasis), which, like *wow!* above, seems to function more as a response to a situation or action than an expression of deep feeling or passion.²¹

The interjections of disgust (*yuck!* and *ugh!*) in adult speech are used in discursive contexts, but each variant is a response to a different sense or physical closeness (cf. Stange 2016; Goddard 2015), particularly between smell and sight. They are typically responses to a physical/sensory exposure to, for example, “tasting something very bad, confronting decaying food in the fridge, or finding vomit in a public toilet” (Goddard 2014: 87). Goddard (2014: 88) posits that *ugh!* “is frequently used in response to smells,” while *yuck!* is most frequently caused by ‘oral revulsion’. *Ugh!* activates and sounds like the gag response of retching that is induced by smells, while *yuck!* is closely linked to the mouth and body; for example, “[c]hildren come out with *Yuck!* [...] when

²⁰ Children, on the other hand, used *wow!* when experiencing a ‘pleasant event’ and ‘positive surprise’.

²¹ As with *wow*, the children’s use was slightly different; the most frequent contexts were “*situation caused by own action and failure of intended situation*” (Stange 2016: 198-199).

rejecting the prospect of some kind of unwanted food, as if to indicate that they could not stand to think of such food entering their mouths” (Goddard 2014: 88). Likewise, bird poop landing on a person’s arm would also invoke *yuck!*, but could also invoke *ugh!* if the bird poop landed close enough to the nose to smell.²² In sum, a person can feel disgust from one or more senses, especially smell, vision, and taste, which tend to be associated with the perceived physical closeness to the object of disgust.

These reactions of disgust also have a ‘discursive function’, whereby they can occur in imagined “situations in which the stimulus is not something in the immediate context, either a physical-sensory stimulus or a human action or behaviour, but rather something the speaker is thinking about” (Goddard 2014: 90). For example, Goddard’s example of *I have to clean the toilet. Ugh!* is an imagined situation that stimulates the visual and olfactory senses, while the imagined scenario in *Sex with DFK? Yuck!* stimulates the oral senses and has “a mouth-related component” (Goddard 2014: 88). This function is primarily used by adults (Stange 2016: 198).

Stange (2016: 135) and Goddard (2014: 87) find that the interjection *ugh!* in the *yuck-ugh* interjectory pair is more ‘interjectory’ than *yuck!* which tends to be used more frequently due to its sound, automaticity, and spontaneity. It is more frequent than *yuck!* overall, occurring at least twice as often in the Wordbanks corpus than *yuck!*, likely because *ugh!* is automatic and “noise-like, while [*yuck!*] is word-like²³ [and] seems intuitively a bit less spontaneous and a bit less visceral than *Ugh!*” (Goddard 2014: 87-88). Goddard also finds frequent attestations of *yuck yuck yuck!* in Wordbanks, but not *ugh ugh ugh!*

The expressions for pain, *ow!* and *ouch!*, have a discursive function used only between adults (Stange 2016: 198) to express three types of pain: *imagined* (not ‘real’ pain²⁴ – or ‘pretend’ pain when playing with toys, etc. – experienced by the speaker or someone else), *experienced* (real

²² See Goddard (2014: 88-89) for an in-depth explication of *ugh!* and *yuck!* using semantic primitives.

²³ In addition, “the feature *position of explanation* was in fact highly significant as regards the distribution” (original emphasis) of the two forms. That is, despite the same placement of the two interjections in Goddard’s examples above, *yuck!* was typically preceded by an explanation of why the speaker found something disgusting (e.g. *All that hair. Yuck!*), while *ugh!* either had no explanation or the explanation was placed after the interjection (e.g. *Ugh look, it’s horrible!*) (Stange 2016: 135).

²⁴ ‘Real’ pain is the presence of “a clear physical basis for their pain” (Loland 2006: 51). ‘Pretend’ pain, in contrast, is feigned pain where the speaker only pretends to be hurt.

pain experienced by the speaker or someone else) or *anticipated* (empathetic use for not real pain experienced by the speaker or by someone else). In addition, the interjection *ouch!* “was found more frequently in empathetic use” (Stange 2016: 198) than *ow!*, the interjection favoured by children. (Interestingly, using *ouch!* or *ow!* as a means of ‘expressing frustration’ and ‘getting attention’ was only employed only by children.) This difference between adult and child speech functions raises the question as to whether adding an affix to *ow!* or *ouch!* provides an adult speaker a means for ‘getting attention’ and ‘expressing frustration’.

In sum, the position that ‘primary’ emotive interjections express different meanings depending on the specific interjection used, the context, and whether the speaker is an adult or a child is persuasive. The many possible functions and meanings show the multi-functionality and discursive functions of emotive interjections in general, and these are likely applicable to their affixed forms as well.

1.1.2 Cognitive interjections

Another ‘expressive’ interjection is the ‘cognitive’ interjection, which, following Ameka (1992: 113), “pertain[s] to the state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of the utterance”, (e.g. *aha!*, *oho!*) and shows the speaker’s mental state. Wierzbicka (2003: 326) defines cognitive interjections as “global (unanalysable) expressions which express the speaker's mental state without reference to feeling or wanting.” In other words, cognitive interjections typically mean ‘now I know it’. While Wierzbicka claims that emotive or attitudinal meaning can be attached to cognitive interjections in a suitable context to invoke irony or satisfaction, other studies assume that these interjections convey the state of knowledge more than feelings or emotion because ‘emotive’ interjections fulfil the need for a subcategory of interjection which conveys the speaker’s immediate emotions at the time of utterance.

1.1.3 Conative interjections

‘Conative’ interjections (called ‘volitive’ interjections by e.g. Wierzbicka 2003) are directed at another person (Ameka 1992: 113) in order to instruct “what the speaker wants the auditor to do (or not to do), thus also containing items that have semantics similar to that of vocatives and imperatives” (Nordgren 2015: 80). They are said to a person or animal from the basic meaning of ‘I (don’t) want you to do something now’ (Wierzbicka 2003: 293) for six main reasons. They are:

a) ‘I want silence’ (*shh!*; Pol. *sza!*, *cii!*),²⁵ b) ‘I don’t want you in this place’ (e.g. *shoo!*; Pol. *sio!*), c) ‘I want you to jump’ (e.g. Pol. *hop!*, *hopla!*), d) ‘I urge you to X’ (e.g. Pol. *hej!*, *nuże*), e) ‘I want you to hear me (from a long distance)’ (e.g. *hello!*; Pol. *halo!*, *ahoj!*), and, f) ‘I give it to you’ (e.g. *here!*; Pol. *na!*). Because of this ‘command’ function, conative interjections “are often followed by a vocative identifying its target” (Cuenca 2011: 187), e.g. *Psst, Annie!* or in Polish, *Sza, mamo!* (‘Hush, mom!’).

Wierzbicka (2003) divides conative interjections into two classes in Polish, namely those used with animals (e.g. *prrr!* ‘whoa!’ to get a horse to stop, *sio!* ‘shoo!’, and reduplicative *cip-cip-cip* to get birds to come) and the class used with human beings (e.g. *shh!* or *psst!*). Unlike expressive interjections, conative interjections do not inherently convey a mental state, but they may, as Stange (2016: 13) suggests, “have an emotive component in that their utterance may express annoyance at the noise level (*Shh!*), or the speaker's desire to share delicate news (*Psst!*).” Thus, these interjections may have various layers of nuances and function that require further exploration.

Finally, conative interjections are not necessarily always primary because the imperative verb *quiet!* (Pol. *cicho!*), for example, is secondary. In fact, conative secondary interjections typically derive from nouns, imperatives, and adverbs (cf. Cuenca 2011: 187). While the secondary forms sometimes have an emotive component (e.g. an angry shout of *quiet!*), I do not include them in the secondary emotive interjection group discussed in the following subsection.

1.1.4 Secondary emotive interjections

Secondary emotive interjections can be single or multi-word expressions that derive from other parts of speech (Gehweiler 2011) to primarily convey emotion.²⁶ Several English and Polish emotive secondary interjections function as euphemisms or expletives (swearwords, profanity, or foul language) (see Hughes 2006: 154). I include complex and phrasal interjections (also termed ‘interjectional phrases’) as types of secondary interjections (following Ehlich 1986 and

²⁵ It should be noted that *sza!* likely derives from *cisza* ‘silence’, while *cii!* likely derives from *cicho* ‘quiet’ (cf. Wierzbicka 2003). Wierzbicka (2003: 293-295) discusses each form in more detail.

²⁶ Secondary emotive interjections do not include secondary interjections from other types, e.g. the secondary conative interjections *quiet!*

Bloomfield 1933), such as for example, *dear me!* and *by golly!* Other emotive secondary interjections are derived from syntagms (e.g. *blimey!*) and phrases (e.g. *LOL!*). Therefore, the most commonly cited secondary emotive interjections include the following:

- *(oh) boy, (oh) no, (oh) hell, damn, crap, shit, fuck, goddamn; LOL; Jesus, God, Christ; blimey*
- *cholera* ‘damn’, *psiakrew* ‘dog’s blood’; *Jezu(s)* ‘Jesus’, *Boże* ‘God’, *Maria* ‘Mary’

Secondary interjections in PDE generally appear to receive less scholarly attention than primary interjections, though Mohr (2013), Hughes (1991), McEnery (2006) and Allan and Burridge (2003) provide exemplary research into swear words throughout the history of English. Smaller-scale studies of secondary interjections typically focus on sociolinguistic distribution, language-dependent properties, meaning in social contexts, and their origins through the processes of ‘grammaticalization’ and ‘subjectification’ (Traugott 1995b).²⁷

As we have seen earlier, there is no fixed and demarcated line agreed on by all scholars about which words are ‘secondary’ interjections and how they precisely fit with the group of words known as ‘swear words’. These have many alternate labels, including ‘bad words’, ‘cuss words’, ‘dirty words’, ‘expletives’, ‘profanity’, ‘blasphemy’ and ‘rude language’ (Fägersten 2012: 3). Therefore, they may potentially “be offensive, inappropriate, objectionable, or unacceptable in any given social context” (Fägersten 2012: 3). Of course, not all swear words are secondary interjections because they are not all exclamatory, holophrastic, or syntactically independent. However, secondary emotive interjections seem to have a tendency to be socially unacceptable in many contexts and/or have a higher level of emotional involvement.²⁸

²⁷ Grammaticalization is “the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: xv). (See, e.g., Traugott 1995, Brinton and Traugott 2005).

²⁸ The argument for the idea that secondary forms are more intense than primary is made by Drescher (1997: 238), who suggests, in a discussion of French interjections, “that secondary interjections indicate affectivity in a more intense and differentiated way than the less expressive primary interjections. The most frequent primary interjections *ah* and *oh* seem to have lost part of their expressive potential due to their abundant use.” Thus, *oh!* is less emotive than *damn!*, and *ugh!* is less emotive than *shit!*, particularly in the amount of anger and negative emotion expressed. However, interjections tend to weaken in force over time as they wear out from frequent use (Burridge and Mulder 1998). This lessens the emotive difference between the two types of interjections. Even Drescher suggests that the age and frequent use of primary interjections may account for the fact that secondary interjections may be more emotionally

Crystal (2003: 239) writes that there is “an unclear boundary between [interjections] and other types of exclamation, where some referential meaning may be involved, and where there may be more than one word.” The term ‘exclamation’ is defined as “a vocal act compared to a ‘cry,’ which is itself defined as a loud utterance” (Ozzello 1978: 8). In addition, exclamations “are primarily for expressing the speaker’s own feelings” (Quirk et al. 1972: 386) and “express surprise and unexpected or otherwise remarkable information” (Aikhenvald 2015: 238). Sometimes the adjective ‘exclamatory’ is used because secondary interjections and exclamations are typically defined as ‘exclamatory’ items; that is, they suddenly or strongly vocalize an emotion usually of surprise or shock, and often ends with an exclamation mark in written language.²⁹

There are two approaches taken towards exclamations and interjections that have not solved the terminological problem: in one approach, they are viewed the same, with “no line of distinction between them” (Charleston 1960: 49). In the other, perhaps more popular approach, scholars suggest that “[m]any interjections, and among them all ejaculations, are typically uttered with an exclamatory intonation. But this does not imply that every interjection is an exclamation or the other way around” (Poggi 2009: 180; see Fowler 1850: 331). We would not consider the exclamatory response of *shocking!* or a person’s glad exclamation of *tulips!* when being given a bouquet of tulips in early spring as a surprise gift to be secondary interjections, even though they derive from various parts of speech, including nouns. However, unlike secondary interjections, almost any word can become an exclamation, and there is no rule which states that secondary interjections can never be exclamations.

In sum, secondary emotive interjections often overlap with exclamations, swear words, discourse markers, and other emotive words with alternative aliases; they either derive from or are pressed into service in another part of speech; they are highly innovative; and, typically have a high level of emotional content. In later chapters, I will show how the addition of evaluative suffixes adds a further emotional component to these secondary interjections, e.g. in *dear me!* → *dearie me!* and *Lord!* → *Lordy!*

intense.

²⁹ I exclude exclamatory sentences here; that is, exclamations beginning with *what* (e.g. *what a shock!*) or *how* (e.g. *how horrid!*) because they would not be considered secondary interjections (cf. Leech and Svartvik 1975: 230). Thus, I only consider exclamations that consist of one or two words, e.g. *dear me!*, *hell!* or *oh boy!*

Next, I turn to ‘contact interjections’ (i.e. conversational formulae) that are considered by some researchers, e.g. Norrick (2011), to be secondary or phatic interjections.

1.1.5 Contact interjections

Contact interjections are generally viewed as linguistic items typically found in conversational routines (e.g. *sorry!*, *hello!*, *goodbye!*) and have received much scholarly attention (e.g. Aijmer 1996). Although they were traditionally viewed as interjections (cf. Ameka 1992), they are currently rarely included in the class of interjections. Rather, formulae are generally defined as “intentional and (socially) expected reactions to situations” (Ameka 1992: 109) that are “among the most conventionalized and perfunctory doings we engage in” (Goffman’s 1971: 90).³⁰ In other words, formulae are viewed as ritualized linguistic items that do not (generally) show the speaker’s current and spontaneous mental state or emotions.

However, not all scholars leave formulae completely outside of interjections. Wilkins (1992) and Sauer (2012: 158), for instance, draw on the similarities between conversational formulae and interjections to view formulae as a subdivision or function of interjections. This is a persuasive position because conversational formulae, like interjections, may express or display the speaker’s immediate mental state and are generally holophrastic and syntactically independent. Because of this, I refer to conversational formulae as ‘contact interjections’ (a direct translation of the Czech term *citoslovce kontaktová*) which includes them as a type of interjection.

There is a social expectation to say certain contact interjections, such as greetings when meeting someone. However, a speaker who utters a greeting is arguably in a state of mind at that moment to express a greeting – whether the greeting is an enthusiastic *hi!*, neutral *hi*, cold *hello*, or a mere grunt of acknowledgment. Conversely, emotive interjections may also be ritualized in discourse. The emotive interjections *wow!* or *yay!* may also be said as a type of ritualized social convention; that is, a speaker may say *wow!* after receiving a gift only out of politeness. In addition, one could arguably fake an excited *wow!* the same way as one could force an unwanted *hello*. Thus, *wow!* and *hi!* can both be automatic (ritualized) responses (cf. Ferguson 1981: 22) or (genuine) expressions of feelings or mental states. If the meaning of ‘emotion’ or

³⁰ Sometimes they are viewed as secondary interjections; for example, Norrick (2011) includes *yeah*, *okay* and *hey* as ‘secondary interjections’.

'feeling' is a prime characteristic of interjections, then arguably contact interjections fall into the broad group of interjections.

Like most interjections, contact interjections are syntactically independent and convey meaning. Even Ameka (1992: 109) admits that contact interjections are indexical (though towards an addressee) and "can [like true interjections] constitute non-elliptical utterances by themselves." In addition, contact interjections are holophrastic, unlike DMs. Because of these characteristics, I consider conversational/politeness formulae to be interjections – albeit not generally expressive interjections or *interjections proper*. In this, I am following Wilkins (1992), and consider Ameka's (1992) categorization of interjections vs. formulae as too narrow.

It needs to be mentioned that contact interjections have also been considered separate from interjections because of their historical origins; many derive from full phrases (e.g. *I am sorry* and *I thank you*). However, I follow Bloomfield (1933), Leech et al. (1982) and descriptive grammars by putting these current and shortened forms of polite formulae – for example, *thanks* and *please*³¹ – under the umbrella term of 'interjection'. In purely diachronic terms, these contact interjections underwent a process associated with grammaticalization and/or pragmaticalisation,³² e.g. *I thank you* → *thanks/thank you* (Jacobsson 2002), "whereby linguistic items [...] gradually lose their original, *propositional* meaning and take up *textual* and *interpersonal* functions" (Furkó 2014: 291, original emphasis). The original politeness phrases are now equated with interjections because they "have lost their original sentential elaborations ("if you please") [and now] often occur as pure isolates" (Leech 2014: 66). Not all formulae are interjections, particularly multi-word expressions, such as *I thank you*, but it would be counterintuitive not to acknowledge the similarities.

The contact interjections in English and Polish include the following:

Greetings and farewells: In English and Polish, some frequent greetings are the following:

- *good morning, good afternoon, good day, good evening, hello, hi, hey, yo*

³¹ The origin of *please* is debated – see Allen (1995).

³² Some scholars prefer the term *pragmaticalisation* (e.g. Aijmer 1997), while others prefer the term *grammaticalization* (e.g. Traugott 1995a) for the process that items such as *y'know* and *I mean* undergo to become discourse markers. Since this dissertation is not diachronic, I consider either term suitable because both refer to a change in the pragmatics and grammar of the linguistic item.

- *cześć* ‘hi/bye’, *dzień dobry* ‘good morning / good day’, *dobry wieczór* ‘good evening’, *hej* ‘hey’, *siema* ‘hi how are you’

In comparison, some frequent farewells are the following:

- *goodbye, bye, (see you) later, goodnight, so long, cheers, cheerio, bye-bye*
- *cześć* ‘hi’/ ‘bye’, *dobranoc* ‘good night’, *pa* ‘bye’, *do widzenia* ‘goodbye’, *do zobaczenia* ‘goodbye’, *na razie* ‘so long’, *do jutra* ‘until tomorrow’

Requests: Note that there is only one contact interjection of request in English, but there are two contact interjections of request in Polish:

- *please*
- *proszę* ‘please’ (also can mean ‘you’re welcome’ and ‘here you go’, lit. the verb ‘I ask’), *plis* (< Engl. *please*)

It should be noted, however, that *proszę* for ‘please’ is the standard form, while the newer form, *plis*, would not appear in a standard Polish dictionary. Polish speakers have recently borrowed *please* from English as *plis*, though *plis* is informal and typically used among youth on social media.

Apologies: The English and Polish interjections of apology are the following:

- *sorry, excuse me, pardon me*
- *sory* ‘sorry’, *przepraszam* ‘(I’m) sorry’

Gratitude and appreciation: The contact interjections which convey gratitude and appreciation in English and Polish are the following:

- *thank you, thanks*
- *dziękuję* ‘thank you’, *dzięki* ‘thanks’

1.1.6 Descriptive and onomatopoeic interjections

Last, there is a group of ‘descriptive interjections’ which consists essentially of “ideophones [which] display phonetic symbolism, often iconic, based on onomatopoeia or phonaesthetics” (Award 2001: 728). Unlike the previously-discussed interjections, they do not “index aspects of the speech event” (Award 2001: 728). They include interjections frequently found in comics to represent sounds, such as e.g. *bam!*, *wham!*, *boom!* and *thud!* Some have received slang suffixes: in the OED, we find *whammo!* (*wham* + -o suffix) which first appeared in 1932. *Bammo!* (*bam* + -o), in comparison, appears on Twitter but not in the OED. From these results, we can argue that

several interjections from this group take suffixes that add an expressive nuance. Since they are not (typically) expressive, but rather tend to be descriptive (Ameka 1992), they do not fit within the scope of this dissertation.

1.2 Morphology of interjections

It is commonly thought that interjections “resist virtually all morphological processes, i.e. that they allow neither inflection nor derivation” (Stange 2016: 36); in other words, they are “morphologically simple”. In his definition of the interjection, Wilkins (1992: 124) claims that interjections do not generally “host inflectional or derivational morphemes”. For the Slavic languages, Stankiewicz (1986: 223) writes that primary (‘simple’) interjections, such as Russian *ax!* ‘ah’, *fu!* ‘yuck’, *tfu!* ‘yuck’, “have the lowest degree of lexical specificity, and are morphologically the least characterized elements of the system.”

A closer examination shows that English interjections are subject to morphological processes because they can undergo at least one process (conversion³³ from one POS to another) and to some extent are also subject to (zero-)derivation and/or inflection. One may observe instances of conversion frequently; such forms include interjections to nouns (e.g. *ow!*_{int} → *owie*_n), verbs (e.g. *ouch!*_{int} → *ouched*_v), and adjectives (e.g. *ugh!*_{int} → *ugh*_{adj}). These are found in phrases such as *the ugh factor* and *I have an owie*.

Derivation is somewhat more complicated. Stange (2016: 38) takes the view that “[i]n a first step the [emotive] interjections allow conversion, and only in a second step derivation and/or inflection,” but it seems that some interjections allow derivation before conversion to other parts of speech. The addition of diminutive suffixes to interjections (e.g. *whoops!*_{int} → *whoopsy!*_{int}) show derivation, and interjection-based delocutive verbs such as in *she oohed and aahed over the baby* demonstrate interjection → verb conversion (see Brinton 2014). When conversion is involved, then it is acceptable for converted interjections to become more morphologically

³³ There are several different terminologies and theoretical views on conversion. Bauer, Lieber and Plag (2013) discuss these theoretical views. It is a ‘morphological operation’ and ‘derivational process’ that “links an input form to an output form: [...] it turns one thing into another” (562). In its broadest sense, it takes a form (the input) and *converts* it into another form (the output).

complex. Without conversion, the process is extremely limited, but this does not mean that non-converted interjections cannot receive diminutive/augmentative and slang suffixes.

In sum, what can be agreed upon is that while it is uncommon that English³⁴ interjections receive derivational affixes, they are able to do so. To quote Stange (2016: 32), “speakers subject interjections to morphological processes only rarely, but the matter of the fact is that they do it in the first place.” They can be found in advertising slogans, e.g. the television commercial which claims that the product advertised is “Tough on Yuck, Gentle on Everything Else”. Here, *yuck* is used as a noun. These processes also depend on the suffix used in the formation of the affixed form, and I will provide an in-depth look at these affixes in Chapter 2.

1.3 Interjections in the Slavic languages

The Slavic languages currently consist of at least thirteen languages that comprise three main groups: a) East Slavic (Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian), b) West Slavic (Polish, Czech, Slovak), and, c) South Slavic (Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Bosnian, Montenegrin).

Originally, the Slavic languages came from one language (called Proto-Slavic or Common Slavic) that changed over time; it was not until after the 12th century that the different groups of Slavs were no longer able to understand each other. Therefore, the languages in each group are often very similar because of shared history, geographical situation, and religion. For example, several of the South Slavic languages are nearly identical, but are different due to their socio-political, historical, and religious backgrounds. Their religious and political divisions often were reflected in language, such as the choice of alphabet (Cyrillic or Roman). Besides natural linguistic changes, there are a variety of ways that one group attempted to establish itself as separate from another.³⁵

Each Slavic language has numerous interjections, most of which came from the same Proto-Slavic roots, that are shared with other Indo-European languages. Many primary interjections

³⁴ I note ‘English’ here because the morphological processes described here are not always applicable to Polish. Unless a process or feature has been shown to be universal by cross-linguistic analysis, it seems reasonable to specifically state which language(s) such descriptions may be applied to.

³⁵ See Stankiewicz (1986), and Sussex and Cubberley (2006) for a more detailed discussion of the history of the Slavic languages.

are easily transferable because they are still shared by most, if not all, of the Slavic languages, such as for example, *o!*, *ach!*, *och!*, *oho!* (Karamysheva 2012: 232), and the secondary interjection *Boże!* ‘God.VOC’ (< *Bóg*). Other interjections are more localized to a Slavic language or group and may not easily transfer into other Slavic languages. However, translating an interjection from a Slavic language to a non-Slavic language is more difficult. While there may be several equivalents between, e.g. Polish and Russian, these are unlikely to carry over to a different language group. The differences between a Slavic language such as Polish and a Germanic language such as English are notably greater and are a rich source for the cross-linguistic investigation of interjections.

1.3.1 Polish interjections

Interjections have received much attention by Polish scholars (see, e.g. Daković 2006, Wierzbicka 2003, Grochowski 1993).

Milewski’s (1965) grammar of interjections is the most frequently referred to text on interjections by Polish scholars (cf. Kryk-Kastovsky 1992). It shows many similarities between Polish interjections and mainstream thought about interjections, e.g. their division into ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ forms. Milewski’s categorization of interjections is not unlike contemporary views by English scholars; namely he distinguishes between primary interjections (e.g. *ej!* ‘hey’, *ah!* ‘ah’), appeals (e.g. *hop-hop!* ‘hey-hey’, *halo!* ‘hello’), onomatopoeic forms (e.g. *sza!* ‘hush’, *hu-hu!* ‘boo’) and secondary interjections (e.g. *Jezus, Maria!* ‘Jesus, Mary’). The categories are the same, but some interjections are categorized differently than, e.g. Ameka (1992). For example, *sza!* ‘hush’ is viewed as an onomatopoeic form instead of a conative interjection. Only slight modifications have been made to Milewski’s categories, namely by Wierzbicka (1991), who divides interjections further into emotive (‘I feel something’), volitive (‘I want something’), and cognitive (‘I think something’). Overall, it appears that mainstream Polish scholars have not made any momentous deviations from our general understanding of interjections.

There are a number of Polish interjections that do not appear in English (and vice versa) because “interjections (with the exception of the simplest forms) do not have a universal scope, but are specific to each individual language” (Weinsberg 1983: 15, my trans.). Cultural and social issues (e.g. the importance of the Virgin Mary in Polish Catholicism) thus distinguish Polish

from not only English but other Slavic speakers. For example, Goddard (2011: 184) writes that the English interjections *gee!* and *wow!* do not have equivalents in Polish.³⁶ Likewise, the slightly outdated Polish interjection *hejże!* ‘hey’, which urges the listener to do something, does not have an equivalent in English. English *well!* and Polish *no!* ‘well’ are also seen as not precise equivalents. Tabakowska (2000: 321) compares the frequent use of *Jeżus, Maria, Józefie Święty!* ‘Jesus, Mary, St. Joseph!’ in Polish to its rare occurrence in English where it is used with (slight) reverence towards these religious figures.

Wierzbicka (2003) compares emotive interjections of disgust such as *tfu*, *fe*, *fu*, Russian *fu*, and English *yuck* and notes that there is no direct correspondence between the Polish and English interjections of disgust. Broadly, *tfu!* expresses “contempt and moral disgust” (312), *fe* “expresses a mild moral disgust”, while *fu!* is used “when one’s nose or mouth comes close to something perceived as ‘bad’ and when one feels something bad because of that and wants to avoid the offensive contact (or closeness)” (303), particularly in ‘disgusting’ food, smells and eating habits. In more specific terms, Wierzbicka claims that the Polish interjection *fe!* places the speaker on a higher moral ground because it roughly “expresses a mild moral disgust [and] is always a reaction to human behaviour” (306), and is used particularly to shame children into changing their behavior. In this way, *fe!* is not interchangeable with the similar Russian interjection of disgust, *fu!*, or even its Polish counterpart *fu!*, both of which have a broader sense of being an almost physical reaction to an object or thought that the speaker finds repulsive or, at the very least, annoying.

Sieradzka and Hrycyna (1996) include the contemporary *fuj!* in their discussion of interjections of disgust. In addition, they suggest that *tfu!* is significantly different than the other Polish interjections of disgust; namely that it has the meanings of ‘I despise’ and ‘I am surprised I said that’. It only joins the other interjections of disgust in the meaning of ‘I loathe it, I am disgusted by it’, as shown below:

- ‘I am dissatisfied’: *fe*, *fu* (*fuj*), *pfe*, *pfu* (*pfuj*)
- ‘I am surprised I said that, how could I have said that, that’s a stupid mistake’ and ‘I despise’: *tfu*

³⁶ See Szkapienko (2016) for a study of borrowed English interjections *wow!* and *yes!* in present-day Polish and Russian.

- ‘I loathe it, I am disgusted by it’: *fe, fu (fuj), pfe, pfu (pfuj), tfu*
- ‘be ashamed of yourself, it is wrong, I negate it, I do not like it’: *fe, uj (202-203)*.

The interjection *(o)jej!* is, perhaps, an ‘overarching’ interjection that can convey many different meanings, ranging from dismay to delight depending on context. According to the *Słownik Języka Polskiego (SJP)*,³⁷ it is an interjection that conveys “various emotional states, e.g. admiration, helplessness, fear, threat, surprise, astonishment” and has several synonyms, including *oj!, ojoj!, ojojoi!, ojeju!, joj!, jej!*, and the diminutive forms *ojejku!, jejciu!* and *jejciu!*

In sum, while views of Polish interjections and where they fit into the typical classification and functional typology are similar to those of ‘standard’ English perspectives, the Polish language possesses a wide variety of interjections that do not correspond well to their standard dictionary English equivalents. Polish *no* does not quite have the same colouring as English *well*, and the three Polish interjections of disgust – *tfu!, fu!, fe!* – each have a meaning that does not correspond to English *yuck!* without explanation. The Polish interjections also have slightly different meanings or connotations than their Slavic counterparts, such as Czech and Slovak, or Russian, which I briefly discuss below.

1.3.2 Czech and Slovak interjections

There have been numerous studies of interjections in the Czech and Slovak languages (see, e.g., Trávníček 1930, Uhríková 2012). Some of the major findings of these studies have been that Czech and Slovak share many interjections in common with each other and with Polish. Overall, the definition of an interjection and its typology between English and the West Slavic languages of Polish, Czech and Slovak are very similar. For example, Trávníček (1930) focuses on two important aspects that do not appear often in English, namely the ‘verbalisation’ of interjections and interjections that appear in other parts of speech. In addition, Trávníček (1930: 11) uses the (perceived) origin of Czech interjections to place them into two main groups: *subjektivní* ‘subjective’ (e.g. ‘original’ (primary) interjections such as *ach!* ‘ah’ and ‘non-original’ (secondary) interjections such as *pst!* ‘psst’) and *objektivní* ‘objective’ (e.g. sounds not naturally produced by humans, such as *mú* ‘moo’). For Slovak, Uhríková (2012: 114) concludes that spoken Slovak

³⁷ The *Dictionary of the Polish language*.

interjections “are more evenly distributed than in English.”³⁸ It is fair to conclude that these results would be similar, if not the same, in Czech. In the following chapter, I discuss the many suffixes available for Czech and Slovak interjections.

1.3.3 Russian interjections

Russian interjections have been well studied by linguists across the 20th century (e.g. Wierzbicka 1991, Liston 1971). These linguists have characterized Russian interjections as having no connections with words in a sentence, no denotational meaning, and no derivative or inflectional morphology – much like the typical English perspectives of grammarians discussed earlier. In fact, Rochtchina (2012: 72) notes that interjections, adverbs, modals, and conjunctions differ from the main synthetic parts of Russian and rather “appear as islands of analyticity (or analytism), as they are indeclinable and express their grammatical meaning in context by means of syntax.” Russian linguists also note several features that often are left out by English scholars; for example, they examine conversion of interjections to verbs, reduplicative morphology (e.g. *oj-oi-oi*), marginal suffixation with affixes (e.g. *nate-ka*), the particle *-ka*, and special sounds, such as in *t’fu* to express disgust (cf. Liston 1971: 479). While some of these features, namely the particle *-ka* and diminutive suffixation through the *-k-* affix are not applicable to English interjections, they are a frequent and well-established aspect of Russian interjections.

Russian verbal interjections and many primary interjections are easily and frequently converted to (semelfactive) verb infinitives by the addition of the verb ending *-kat’* or *-nut’*. The verbs may then be easily conjugated for first-person, second-person, etc. forms in the past, present, or future tenses. This process of converting interjections to verbs is an example of how the Russian “interjection is productive and constantly enlarges its domain at the expense of the others” (Matthews 1953: 75). The process creates verbs such as, e.g., *стукнуть* [*stuknut’*] ‘to knock’ and *ахнуть* [*axnut’*] ‘to exclaim’. Pontoppidan-Sjövall (1959: 56) adds several more ‘imitative verbs’ that derive from interjections, namely *увы* [*uvy*] > *увыкать* [*uvykat’*] ‘to cry alas!’, *да* [*da*] > *дакать* [*dakat’*] ‘to say yes’, *уф* [*us*] > *уфкать* [*uskat’*] ‘to cry woof!’. In addition, Liston (1971: 482) adds *ajkat’* ‘to pronounce or exclaim *aj*’ and *nukat’* ‘to say *nu* [well] to someone;

³⁸ Uhriková (2012: 107) also compares spoken Slovak and English interjections, and finds that the ten most frequent Slovak interjections are *aha!*, *jaj!*, *jáj!*, *joj!*, *jéj!*, *jój!*, *ó!*, *ach!*, *fuj!*, and *wow!*

to hurry a person up by saying *nu*'. In sum, through these verbs we can see some different processes at work in Russian than an English or Polish; notably, the easy conversion of interjection to verb for many, if not most, interjections.

The Slavic slang/informal particle *-ka* appears frequently in Russian (but not in Polish) and is joined with a hyphen at the end of words (particularly verbs) for additional emphasis or attitude. While it looks like the diminutive suffix *-ka*, the “Slavic emphasizing particle =ka/=ko [...] [is] cliticized to pronouns, adverbs and imperatives; e.g. Russian *mne=ka* ‘to ME’, Ukrainian *tút=ka* ‘here’, Bulgarian *áz=ka* ‘I’, Czech *dnés=ka* ‘today’; Russian *podí=ko!* ‘do come!’” (Hewson and Bubenik 2006: 182). Generally, the particle adds a certain attitudinal nuance to the word; for example, the translation of *skaži-ka* by Koktova (1999: 110) adds the attitudinal *just* in “just tell me”, whereas *skaži* straightforwardly means ‘tell me’. The particle can also serve to emphasize the interjection *nu* ‘well’. Andrews’ (1989: 130) example of *Nu-ka družok, sognite-ka ruku v lokte* ‘Well friend, bend your arm at the elbow’ shows the interjection *nu* ‘well’ and the verb *sognite* ‘bend’ using the particle *-ka* in a speech situation explicitly between friends. Generally, like diminutives, they “possess a unified general meaning [as both] require a special between the speaker and receiver” (Andrews 1989: 130) such as conveying a feeling of emotion and intimacy. Overall, the *-ka* particle changes a verb from an imperative command to an appeal and an utterance with an interjection to a more intimate, lower register utterance that would not be found in formal language. Despite its popularity in the East Slavic languages, the particle is not used in the Polish language.

Overall, interjections are thought of in similar ways across the Slavic languages and English. The individual properties found in each language contribute to some differences, such as for example the formation of verbs or other parts of speech from interjections, and their likelihood of diminutive affixation. The syntactic property of interjections as *interjectio* ‘thrown in between’ and function as a ‘cry’ is shown through the word for ‘interjection’ across the Slavic languages. Russian *междометия* [*meždometija*] contains the word *meždo* ‘between’, Czech *citoslovce* contains the word *cit* ‘feeling/emotion’ and Polish *wykrzyknik* contains the word *krzyk* ‘cry’. This further contributes to the view that interjections have properties and functions we may apply to both languages under study.

1.4 Chapter conclusions

In this chapter, I have introduced interjections by identifying the semantics, pragmatics and morphology of interjections across English and Polish with some attention to other Slavic languages. I presented the classification of interjections as primary emotive, secondary emotive, contact, cognitive, conative, and descriptive, and described terminological overlaps with other similar words such as DMs, exclamations, and swear words.

Some differences arise in the morphological potential and transfer of interjections between English and Polish. For example, Polish does not have interjection-based delocutive verbs, while English, though not to the same extent as Russian, sometimes converts interjections to verbs, e.g. *she oohed and ahed over the baby* (see Brinton 2014). Polish has also borrowed interjections from English to fill a gap in the lexicon, namely the contact interjection *sorry!* and *wow!* An important feature arises during translation and finding equivalents, namely adequately capturing meaning when transferring between the two languages. There are some interjections that exist in PDE that do not (yet) exist in Polish (e.g. *wow!*), while interjections such as Polish *no* have more meanings and different nuances than the typical English equivalent *well*, or are simply not used in English (e.g. *Jezus Maria!* 'Jesus Mary') because of cultural and historical reasons.

I have also shown that English and Polish interjections are fundamentally similar; that is, scholars in both English and Polish have similar ideas about interjections – namely their classification, types, and syntax. English and Polish have interjections that can be considered either primary or secondary, which is usually determined by the use of the interjection in other parts of speech. Also, both have a wide range of interjections that fall into the subcategories of (primary) emotive interjections (e.g. *oj!* 'oh'), cognitive interjections (e.g. *aha!* 'aha'), conative interjections (e.g. *sza!* 'shh'), contact interjections (e.g. *dobranoc!* 'good night'), secondary emotive interjections (e.g. *cholera!* 'damn') and descriptive interjections (e.g. *bum!* 'boom'). Finally, both English and Polish interjections may be suffixed, elongated, reduplicated, converted, or be altered in other ways, especially to make an interjection more expressive – and, in the case of Polish, to convey a greater degree of 'warmth' and affection. Rules of word formation are applicable to interjections in English and Polish, even if the individual interjections may differ in acceptability in adult language, certain contexts, and the like.

Thus, based on the above characteristics of interjections in English, Polish, Czech, Slovak and Russian languages, my definition of interjection for English and the Slavic languages is the following:

an interjection is a holophrastic, meaningful, and syntactically independent linguistic item which either expresses or displays the speaker's current mental state, and may become polymorphemic by hosting derivational (i.e. diminutive, augmentative, and slang) morphemes.

While outside the scope of this dissertation, it would be beneficial in future to compare this definition with unrelated languages such as Greek, Spanish, and non-Indo-European languages to establish a universal definition of interjection without Anglo bias. In this way, we can avoid a faulty assumption that some characteristics (e.g. hosting affixes) apply to all languages.

In the following chapter, I focus on the various affixes that may be added to interjections. Therefore, the following chapter will expand on the central concept of affixation by providing a detailed background about the formation, meanings, and types of suffixes that are added to words (with a focus on interjections) to support my argument that the overall trajectory of each language, religious and historical influence, and contemporary views on expressing emotion play a vital role in determining which interjections across English and Polish are suffixed and when.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

In this chapter, I introduced interjections in English and Polish; specifically, their definitions and types, their morphology (or lack thereof), and some comparison with the other Slavic languages of Czech, Slovak and Russian.

Chapter 2 provides background on diminutive, augmentative and slang suffixes in the English and Polish languages historically and in present-day language.

Chapter 3 lays out the methods of data collection used. It provides a description of 'digital communication', 'literary dialogue', established corpora and dictionaries that are the focus of this study. Thus, I discuss the three main types of language: the microblogging site Twitter, blogs and blog comments, and literary dialogue from fiction and fanfiction. I give an overview of each web and literary genre, and suggest limitations and restrictions of each. Other resources used in this study, including online corpora and dictionaries, are also described. It also introduces Appraisal theory and semantic and pragmatic features that are used in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 shows the suffixes that create affixed forms of interjections in English and Polish. It examines the meanings of affixed interjections in online slang dictionary entries along with their raw frequencies in established online corpora. The results of the analysis of dictionary meanings and feature analysis suggest that in both English and Polish, many affixed forms are considered ‘new’ items (although a few first appeared in the 19th century). Also, they are thought to function as ‘extreme’ forms of the base interjection which add additional features such as [+SILLY] and [+CHILD] in English.

The following three chapters examine the functions and meanings of diminutive interjections based on Appraisal analysis (Martin and White 2007). I begin with positive themes and end with the most negative themes. Thus, in **Chapter 5**, “Admiration, astonishment, and delight”, I focus on the positive APPRECIATION and AFFECT of diminutive interjections, as found in praise, expressions of admiration, joy, and emphatic positive nuances. **Chapter 6**, “Sarcasm and play”, addresses the jocular, playful and non-serious meanings of diminutive interjections in the contexts of (non)-serious threats and intimidation shown through negative JUDGEMENT and raised FORCE and FOCUS, male-female gender roles that (playfully) reinforce the stereotype of the large male and the small female, and other ‘playful’ functions such as sarcasm and irony. Last, **Chapter 7**, “Pain, sympathy, and disgust” deals with the negative and serious aspects of affixed interjections that occur in contexts of physical and emotional pain, disgust, and revulsion. These are frequently expressed through negative AFFECT. While we would consider the offer of sympathy a positive gesture to make, I view it also as painful because a speaker is drawn into the other person’s pain when reaching out in solidarity to sympathize with another who is suffering.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation.

Chapter 2: Background to evaluative and slang suffixes

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, evaluative (i.e. diminutive) suffixes are discussed in terms of their morphology, semantics-pragmatics, emotional connotations, and sound symbolism. Augmentative and slang suffixes that may attach to interjections are also briefly considered.

This chapter begins by providing the definition of evaluative suffixes and their two main types (diminutive for ‘small’ and ‘little’, and augmentative for ‘big’ and ‘large’), followed by the emotional connotations, senses, and their interactional functions. It should be noted that while diminutives are the focus of the present study, they are linked to augmentatives by their semantics and pragmatics. Because of this, I include some background for augmentatives along with diminutives. The chapter continues with a discussion about the continued disagreement as to which English affixes are diminutive based on their productivity, integration and use in English, history, and diminutive senses. There is also some terminological confusion that contributes to the dispute about the inventory of diminutive suffixes used in slang, nursery talk, and so on. Section 2.3. looks at various English diminutive suffixes per Schneider (2003) with their definitions and brief history.

Evaluative suffixes are often conflated with slang suffixes that produce slang words typically found in the colloquial and stylistically-neutral register. Slang suffixes are widespread and more extensively-studied than the evaluative diminutive and augmentative suffixes. Many scholars tend to classify diminutive suffixes as ‘slang’ because they might appear to lack the typical senses of diminutive or augmentative suffixes, such as [+LITTLE] or [+CHILD]. In order to show how diminutive suffixes may be (mis)construed as slang suffixes, I briefly look at the known slang suffixes and then turn to the ‘diminutive-slang’ suffixes *-o*, *-er(s)*, and *-s* in section 2.3. As diminutive and slang suffixes are prevalent in the Slavic languages, section 2.5 examines diminutive/augmentative suffixes in Polish, and the scope is extended to Czech, Slovak, and Russian diminutives in 2.6 to better situate Polish diminutives among the Slavic languages.

Suffixed interjections have received some previous scholarly examination in the pilot studies (Lockyer 2014, 2015a, and 2017). In section 2.7, I present the main findings from these previous studies.

2.2 Defining diminutives and augmentatives

There is a substantive body of literature about evaluative affixation (see, e.g. Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, Lieber 2015) - a term that refers to “a special subset of derivational morphology [that is, evaluative morphology] in which affixes are attached to bases to form new derivatives that convey a meaning of either size or emotion,³⁹ in the form of diminutives or augmentatives” (Albair 2010: 1). Diminutives have received much scholarly attention across the languages of the world (see, e.g. Lockyer 2013, Schneider 2003, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994, Bratus 1969), though it is arguably useful to examine augmentatives to properly situate evaluative suffixation within a language or cross-linguistically.

The OED provides some useful history and definitions of the terms ‘diminutive’ and ‘augmentative’. The term ‘diminutive’ entered English through French in the 14th century from the Latin past participle *dī-*, *dēminuēre* ‘to lessen’ (OED). ‘Augmentative’⁴⁰ was partly borrowed from Middle French in the 14th century from classical Latin *augmentāre* + *-īvus* ‘causing increase’ (OED). For ‘diminutive’, the definition of “[e]xpressing diminution; denoting something little: usually applied to derivatives or affixes expressing something small of the kind denoted by the primitive word” (OED) continues from its first use in the late 16th century, as does “[c]haracterized by diminution; hence, of less size or degree than the ordinary; small, little. In later use, generally, a more forcible expression for ‘small’: = minute, tiny. (Usually in reference to physical size.)” from the early 17th century (OED). The term ‘augmentative’ still fits the definitions from the 16th and 17th century, namely “[h]aving the property of increasing or adding to something; characterized by augmentation” and “[o]f an affix or derivative: that augments or increases in force the idea conveyed by a root word; esp. that indicates something large of its kind. Also, more generally: (of a word) that expresses augmentation or intensification of an idea” (OED).

The traditional meanings of diminutives given by the OED are too restrictive in present-day English and Polish because they place diminutives and augmentatives as binary opposites that

³⁹ *Emotion* refers to the ‘evaluation’ or ‘attitude’ directed towards a referent or hearer.

⁴⁰ The term ‘diminutive’ in Polish is *zdrobnienie* (< *drobny* ‘small’); the term ‘augmentative’ is *zgrubienie* (< *gruby* ‘thick’ or ‘fat’).

never converge (e.g. ‘to lessen’ and ‘causing increase’). Recent studies of the diminutive have shown much less predictability; that “[diminutives] ample polysemy, often paradoxically contradictory, [has made] identifying stable connotations [...] difficult” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015b: 35). In a similar way, there are too many pragmatic functions of diminutives, and differences between languages, to propose a ‘universal’ model that can adequately show diminutive functions in all situational and/or social contexts.

Diminutives may be simplified to a certain extent. First, it is possible to describe them in terms of three-fold functions: denotational meanings (to specify properties of size and related extensions), emotional connotations (to show the speaker’s emotional shading of the situation), and interactional functions (to manage the effects of politeness and speech acts) (Ponsonnet 2018: 7). The denotational function has received ample study and diminutives have come to be seen as having denotative meanings which differ noticeably from their source words (Kryk-Kastovsky 2000: 167) without downgrading the importance of small size in noun diminutives and large size in noun augmentatives.⁴¹ Diminutive forms of interjections have yet to receive any such study.

Diminutives typically convey positive emotional connotations such as endearment, tenderness, and affection; for example, *He’s the cutest little doggie!* But the emotional connotations are not restricted to positive meanings, as it is not far-fetched to use a diminutive in derogatory/ironic and angry ways, such as in Merlini Barbaresi’s (2015a: 1134) examples: *He’s got a wife and a couple of wifies* (‘girlfriends’) and *Do me a teensy weensy little favour! Get out.* Thus, although we typically presuppose diminutives to occur in positive (especially affectionate) contexts, we must examine the situational context to correctly identify the meanings and functions expressed.

Ponsonnet (2018: 9) presents another inventory of connotations by dividing the emotional connotations of diminutives into two ‘levels’ of emotions: ‘mild’ emotions and ‘serious’ or ‘deep’ emotions. ‘Mild’ (child-related) emotions include *fun (jocular), affection, endearment, approval*

⁴¹ Merlini Barbaresi (2015a: 1135) cautions against the downplay of denotative meanings “in favour of emotional values whose meanings and effects depend on the context, the participants’ attitudes and the type of speech act” in the study of diminutives. In this study, the ‘emotionalization’ of diminutives and augmentatives do not apply (much) to interjections, which primarily convey emotion and cannot be evaluated in terms of physical size.

(*positive judgement*), *familiarity and proximity*, and *disapproval (negative judgement)*. The ‘deep’ (serious) emotions derive from the ‘mild’ ones: *affection* → *compassion* or *romantic and/or sexually-oriented love*; *approval* → *admiration* and *respect*, *familiarity* → *comfort of familiar routines*; and, *disapproval*⁴² → *contempt*, *humility*, and *self-irony*. It is not unreasonable, then, to suggest that diminutives in adult-to-adult speech may convey ‘deep’ emotional and psychological emotional connotations that have more layers to them than previously thought.

Scholars of evaluative morphology have attempted to classify the ‘universal’ semantic and pragmatic meanings/features of diminutive categories in numerous ways. Regardless of the theory used or representation of these meanings, they generally include the following semantic and pragmatic features: [little], [child], [female] as the most frequent, followed by [intense], [dear], [flirt], [commiserate], [attenuate], [euphemism], [pejorative], and [irony] (Prieto 2005), along with [affection], [pets], [intimacy], [contempt], [hedges] and the semantic [imitation], [exactness], [partitive] and [approximation] (Jurafsky (1996). There has been a movement away from the idea that the central meaning or association of diminutives is the feature [child]; more recently, Prieto (2005) has aptly argued that [child] should be replaced with the feature [little]. This is a persuasive position because diminutives are not primarily used to or by children about physical size, but are often used to refer to ‘little’ things that evoke affection (e.g. [young] animals, [cute] objects and places). Also, the emotional distance between two people (e.g. between mother and child) may demonstrate the feature [little].⁴³

⁴² The connotation of *disapproval* is linked to the denotational semantics of ‘small’, for example in *it’s only a short-term boom-let*, where the diminutive conveys ‘unattractiveness’ (Merlini Barbaresi 2015b: 35) because a ‘short’ boom of increased economic or political interest, activity, or growth is less appealing or attractive than a steady, long-term boom.

⁴³ In comparison, augmentatives convey emotional connotations typically associated with negative meanings because the increase in size intrudes on our personal space and causes feelings of hostility (Inchaurrealde 1997: 139). This causes an ‘augmentative effect’ that includes “exaggeration and intensification” (Bakema and Geeraerts 2004: 1045), *negative judgement*, *contempt*, *revulsion*, and *fear* (Ponsonnet 2018: 24). These connotations tend to stem from the metaphor BIG IS UGLY - that is, ‘big’ lacks positive aesthetic qualities and thereby causes augmentatives to become associated with *excess*, *disgust*, *revulsion*, *contempt*, and *vulgarity* (Ponsonnet 2018: 25), to name a few. It is, however, possible for augmentatives to convey positive emotions, including *admiration for high social status*, *endearment*, and *compassion* (Ponsonnet 2018: 25), e.g. *a huge success*. Inchaurrealde (1997: 139) explains that the object’s increase in size may also allow others to enter and thereby creates positive emotional connotations.

The meanings of diminutives typically are not based on empirical studies of diminutive interjections. Instead, the majority of studies focus on noun diminutives, followed by adjectives, and then adverbs and verbs. Arguably, nouns most frequently undergo diminutivization, and finding examples of the much rarer diminutive forms such as interjections is a difficult task, but is required to present a complete view of the potential meanings and functions of all diminutive forms without bias towards a POS. Based on the data presented in Chapter 4, these features (with the exception of Jurafsky's strictly semantic meanings) may be applied to DIs and further elaborated on with associations such as [silly], [cute] and [naive]. Thus, the so-called 'universal' meanings require re-evaluation when applied to diminutive interjections and could be labelled with tags to indicate those which are specific to one or more languages.

Sometimes these emotional connotations resemble the affection found in pet names or the meaning of familiarity. Such approaches have developed terms such as 'hypocoristic', 'affectionate' and 'familiarizing' (suffixes) that replace 'diminutive'. The term 'hypocoristic' is strongly associated with pet names and endearment terms used as vocatives. Because of the loosely and broadly-applied term 'hypocoristic' in scholarly studies, I use the definition supplied by the OED. This is: "[o]f the nature of a pet-name; pertaining to the habit of using endearing or euphemistic terms," such as the pet name *Patty* for *Patricia*. It may convey affectionate connotations in pet names or more rarely be used sarcastically or as a put-down. In my view, the use of such terms undermines the diminutive category and causes undue confusion; thus, I do not use 'hypocoristic' in this dissertation except for truncated pet names.

Interactional functions are "crucial to the understanding of diminutive use in conversation" (Schneider 2003: 118). These functions include, but are not limited to, the following:

- [Diminutives] more often than not [make] an emotional comment on the relationship of the object and/or person mentioned and the speaker (Castro 2006: 6);
- Diminutives function as praise minimisers, which maximise, so to speak, the success of a compliment (Schneider 2003: 233);
- Diminutives are used in requests and orders to mitigate the strictness of the speech act (Dabašinskienė and Voeikova 2015: 218);
- [Diminutives] express the speaker's wish to maintain or establish common ground and solidarity with the addressee (Dabašinskienė and Voeikova 2015: 223)

In sum, diminutives are typically ‘other-oriented’ (i.e. they seek to maintain positive relationships).

Diminutives may be formed synthetically (with an evaluative affix) or analytically (with an analytic marker) in different parts of speech, and with divergent emotional strength. On many occasions, speakers may be able to include both the analytic marker (e.g. *little*, *small*) and evaluative suffix in the same utterance; e.g. *What a darling little doggie!* and *Jaki malutki domek!* ‘What a little.DIM house.DIM!’. The more suffixes or analytical markers a diminutive has, the stronger its emotional meaning (Schneider 2003: 118). Of course, the POS determines the emotional strength as well, for diminutive adverbs, e.g. Polish *prędyutko* ‘quickly.DIM’ conveys the meaning of ‘very’ or ‘absolutely’ in an affectionate way.

Although the meanings and functions of diminutives overlap to some extent in all languages, as I have shown, as a whole they are too complex and tied to society and culture to fit into one ‘universal’ mold, as some scholars (e.g. Jurafsky 1996) have attempted. Some functions may appear more often in one language than another, and some meanings may be more prevalent in one language than another (as shown by Wierzbicka 2003, Sifianou 1992) due to many factors, such as the attitudes towards emotion and cultural dimensions of rationality/emotionality (Wierzbicka 1997), uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010), and politeness strategies. However, such a cultural analysis is outside the scope of this study. Therefore, section 2.3. turns to various diminutive affixes in English, especially to the productive -y affix. In 2.5., the study points out key features of Polish diminutives.

2.3 Diminutive affixes in English

Schneider (2003: 76-77) writes that “[t]here is no agreement in the literature regarding which affixes of English are diminutive suffixes and how many diminutive suffixes exist in the English language” because scholars adopt “different criteria in deciding which suffixes should be included” (Schneider 2003: 76-77).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Scholars agree that outdated suffixes from Latin and earlier English and French are no longer diminutive: the Latin *-ul-*, *-ll-*, *-eolus*, *-idium*, and *-podicum*, and the non-productive *-ina*, *-en*, *-inzel*, *-ol*, *-oon*, *-ot* and *-rel* suffixes from Old French, Old English, Proto-Germanic and Middle English (cf. Schneider 2003). These may be easily eliminated from the inventory of PDE diminutive suffixes.

Wierzbicka (1985) supports the popular and restrictive view that, although creating childish diminutives, *-ie* is the main diminutive suffix in PDE. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), in addition to *-ie/-y*, look at *-ette*, *-let*, and *-s*. Quirk et al. (1985) view *-ette*, *-let* and *-ling* as the only diminutive suffixes. Marchand (1969) identifies ten different diminutive suffixes, plus four variants. Bauer (2013: 392) claims that *-o*, *-a*, *-er*, *-s* and *-kin* are diminutive suffixes. Schneider (2003) provides a substantively longer list of eighteen diminutive suffixes plus combinations: *-a*, *-chik*, *-een*, *-er*, *-et*, *-ette*, *-ie*, *-ing*, *-kin*, *-le*, *-let*, *-ling*, *-o*, *-ock*, *-poo(h)*, *-pops*, *-s*, and *-sky*. He acknowledges the potential for many second-degree forms that can be formed with *-s*, such as *-kins*, *-ies*, *-ers*, *-sy*, and so forth. Charleston (1960) includes 34 diminutive suffixes.⁴⁵

The lack of agreement about diminutive suffixes in PDE stems from different criteria for inclusion in this category, such as: register (e.g. the claim that *-ette* used more often in business language or child language, cf. Schneider 2003: 77), polysemy (e.g. *-ette* for a female) (Schneider 2003: 92), productivity (whether the suffix creates new diminutives) and phonological distortion (i.e. truncation). Some consider the prominence of [+CHILD] conveyed by the suffix as the defining criterion of the diminutive or as grounds for exclusion from the term diminutive (e.g. Jurafsky 1996). Others claim that English diminutive use must match that in Polish or Spanish in terms of frequency. Overall, it appears that many scholars simply follow (older) English grammars and notions of cross-linguistic frequency and do not provide much – if any – definite criteria for their inventory of diminutive suffixes (Schneider 2003: 77).

Based on the differing views on diminutives in English, it appears that only *-y*, *-let*, and *-ling* can be claimed with any certainty to be diminutives (in the strictest sense) in PDE based on the denotational semantics of [+LITTLE] or [+SMALL]. However, if we view diminutives as an onomasiological category, following Schneider (2003), then a longer list of suffixes may be counted as diminutive or diminutive-slang suffixes. This study only considers *y*-suffixed interjections as ‘diminutive’ because interjections do not receive *-let* or *-ling* suffixes, and the additional diminutive suffixes posited by Schneider need to be critically evaluated in terms of

⁴⁵ There are also diminutive prefixes in English; for example, we can find the prefix *mini-* in *miniskirt* and *minibus*, *nano-* in *nanobug*, and *micro-* in *micro-cosmos*. However, these formations generally belong to technical language (Schneider 2003: 7) and are never affixed to interjections, e.g. **miniwhoops*, **nanowow*, or **microwhoops*. See Schneider (2003) for a more comprehensive overview of diminutives in English.

their strong slang (e.g. in-group and colloquial) and hypocoristic (e.g. pet names in *Rosiepops*) associations before we add, for example, *whoopser!* or *whoopso!* as diminutive interjections.

In contrast to the lack of unanimity over the inventory of diminutive suffixes, scholars agree that English does not have any (prototypical) augmentative suffixes (cf. Schneider 2003: 16) as a rule. Augmentatives are typically formed using the adjectives *big*, *large*, and so on. However, it can be argued that there are augmentative-like suffixes in English, namely *-rama* (e.g. *fawnorama*), *-zilla* (e.g. *bridezilla*) and *-ola* (e.g. *problemola*) (Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2013: 411). The *-ern* suffix may be viewed as a non-productive augmentative suffix, as Bauer (2014: 4) comments that “the strange thing about *-ern* as a suffix is that it appears to mark an augmentative” such as in *cavern*, which the OED defines as “vaguer and more rhetorical [than *cave*], usually with associations of vastness.” Likewise, the *-ard* suffix (e.g. *dullard* ‘a very dull person’) was sometimes seen as an augmentative suffix (Duxbury 1884: 178). The *-ern* and *-ard* suffixes are attached to nouns only, while *-rama*, *-zilla* and *-ola* may be added to interjections.

This does not mean that augmentatives (and diminutives) cannot be formed in English. Analytic constructions (e.g. *little house*) are typically viewed as the “most common equivalent for [synthetic] diminutives in other languages” because *little* “suggests that the speaker harbours feelings of affection, sympathy, or pity for the thing or person in question” (Charleston 1960: 112), creates a term of endearment, or shows feelings of “friendly amusement” or of scorn (Charleston 1960: 113). Like the diminutive suffix, the marker *little* focuses more on emotion than size while the “non-emotional” marker of size is *small* (Charleston 1960: 112). Augmentatives are formed with the analytic markers *big*, *large*, and *huge*, among others before nouns. Analytic markers never precede interjections (e.g. **oh, little oops!* or **big wow!*) because analytic constructions can only be formed with nouns.

2.3.1 -Y (-IE)

The *-y* suffix is “certainly the most productive diminutive category in English” (Bauer 2013: 392). Diminutives formed with *-y* most often include proper names, such as *Bertie* (< *Albert*) and *Annie* (< *Anna*), and nouns, such as *beddie* (< *bed*) and *beastie* (< *beast*), but can also include adjectives and discourse markers, such as *comfy* (< *comfortable*) and *alrighty* (< *alright*) (cf. Plag 2003: 120). Diminutives formed from kinship terms include *auntie* (< *aunt*), *mommy* (< *mom*) and *hubby* (< *husband*), regional memberships include *Aussie* (< *Australian*) and *Newfie* (< *Newfoundlander*),

and we infrequently find (lexicalized) diminutives from professions, e.g. *goalie* (< *goalkeeper*) and *bookie* (< *bookmaker*) (Schneider 2003: 89).

There is no widespread consensus as to whether -y should be considered a diminutive suffix. The suffix is sometimes termed a ‘familiarizing suffix’⁴⁶ by Mattiello (2013b), who supports her choice of terminology with words including *goodie* (“an expression of delight”). Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (2017: 507) cannot seem to decide on one term and use three terms in “the evaluative/familiarizing/nursery suffix -y/ie” likely because the -y suffix conveys evaluation towards a referent (e.g. *sweet wife*), typically shows that the speaker and hearer know each other (e.g. in lover’s talk; *sweetie*, *duckie*), and in many cases, are used towards babies and small children (e.g. *birdie*, *doggie*). In comparison, Bauer (2013) and Schneider (2003) argue that -y is a productive diminutive suffix.

The origin of -y in the Middle English period helps little in the quest for a consensus because the suffix remains an “etymological mystery” (Shields 2001: 141). Sunden (2010: 162) hypothesizes that the suffix originated with Scottish personal names - but not as hypocoristics - rather, -y started as “a general onomastic suffix tending to increase its sphere of application according as weak final -e [with hypocoristic value] was dropped.” Jespersen (1922: 402) uses sound symbolism as a lens to conclude that “the vowel [i], especially in its narrow or thin variety, is particularly appropriate to express what is small, weak, insignificant, or, on the other hand, refined or dainty.” (Shields 2001: 141) argues that -y originated with “caretaker speech,” a speech register used by adult speakers to help children understand their linguistic environment and learn new words. Thus, the first attestation of the -y suffix occurred with *baby* (< *babe*, first recorded in 1377) because the suffix was “simply a caretaker speech (or nursery speech) variant of *babe*, the older of the two variants” (Shields 2001: 141) that eventually became lexicalized into the standard form found in PDE.

Why, then, should the -y suffix be put in the diminutive category? Schneider (2003: 87) argues that that the -y suffix “cannot be referred to as a hypocoristic suffix and is, therefore, best defined as a diminutive suffix which usually indicates familiarity between speaker and hearer.” Moreover, it has been claimed that -y is the most common suffix used to create diminutive forms

⁴⁶ A ‘familiarizing’ marker is a suffix that has a highly informal tone and implies close, affectionate affiliation between speakers (cf. Schneider 2003: 80).

(Naciscione 2010: 135). But there are other aspects of the suffix which fulfill criteria for admission into the diminutive category: its associations with infants/children in the form of semantic associations such as *silly* and *non-serious*, its sound-symbolism, its associations with ‘female’, use in different varieties of English, its history as a diminutive suffix, and its relatively high frequency of use in words with emotional connotations.

Diminutives formed with the *-y* suffix are often simple, clipped, and reduplicated diminutives that most frequently appear in nursery language, child-directed speech, and language used to infants (baby-talk). In baby-talk, “rhymed lexical pairs [...] function as diminutives in the discourse such as: *meany-weeny*, *tigey-wigey*, and *wormy-worm*” (Varga 2012: 366). The repetition of syllables in the rhymed pairs could form hundreds of words (MacWhinney 2000: 48), including *goody!* to express delight and *beddie(bye)* for ‘go to sleep’. However, the rhyming scheme is not necessary for the creation of diminutives in child language as for example in the simplified consonant clusters in *tummy* (< *stomach*), *milky*, *potty*, *shoesies* (Fader 2009: 106), and the childish names for animals in *birdie* and *horsie* (Wierzbicka 1992: 384).

There is a dichotomy between the unsuffixed/suffixed *-y* form corresponding to *adult/childish*, *serious/non-serious*, *foolish/sophisticated*, and *wise/foolish* because children feature predominantly in the semantic associations of diminutives (Jurafsky 1996) rather than serious and sophisticated adults. Moreover, the *y*-affixed diminutive “conveys a childish effect” (Wierzbicka and Goddard 2008: 220). The *y*-diminutive is also viewed as ‘cutesy’; it is associated with subjective feelings of emotion (*affect*) alongside ‘cute’, ‘clever’ and ‘twee’ (OED, s.v. “cutesy”) that make a speaker of ‘cutesy language’ seem immature and unsophisticated. For this reason, using a diminutive in formal contexts would give the term depreciatory or comical meanings, and might weaken a speaker’s argument. In this way, there is an association between *-y* diminutives and adults speaking immaturely and irrationally, like small children.

The high front/*i/* vowel produced by the *-y/-ie* suffix has been claimed to be “symbolic of smallness” (Jespersen 1922) and often indicates that which is “small, slight, insignificant or weak” (Jespersen 1922: 283).⁴⁷ The connection extends beyond the suffix, however, as Matisoff (1994:

⁴⁷ Sound symbolism also is important to Polish. Stolarski (2015) suggests a strong association between ‘smallness’ and /*i/* in diminutive suffixes; that is, the /*i/* diminutives are perceived as ‘smaller’ than /*a/*, for example. Stolarski concludes that “the theory of sound symbolism [...] relevant to the Polish diminutive

124) suggests a strong “universal sound-symbolic connection between high-front vowels and notions of smallness.” The connection can be seen in words with *ee*, including *wee*, *teeny*, *twee*, *peep*, *seed*, *peek* (Crystal 2002), and also the slightly different sound in *skimpy*, *flimsy*, *slim*, *slinky*, *spindly*, *piddling* (Jespersen 1922: 283). Moreover, humans sometimes describe the sounds of small or baby animals by words with *ee*; for example, baby birds *peep*, cf. Jespersen (1922).⁴⁸

So far, I have shown how the *-y* diminutive suffix has a strong association with children. Empirically, the use of the suffix in TV dramas such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (see Adams 2003) suggests a departure from playground language. The *-y* diminutive suffix is also used differently in Australia and New Zealand,⁴⁹ and is extremely frequent in Scottish English.⁵⁰ A sociolinguistic survey of diminutives in different varieties and their influence on *y*-diminutive interjections, however, is outside the scope of this study.

system”, but that “[s]uffixes containing the high front /i/ [are viewed] as “smaller” than suffixes containing the open central /a/” (114).

⁴⁸ The notions of smallness do not apply to all words that end in *-ee*; for example, *addressee*, *referee*, and *refugee* do not have associations with smallness because here the suffix does not function as a diminutive. As such, we must not give too much importance to sound symbolism.

⁴⁹ The *-y* suffix has become firmly established in Australian English (AusE) and New Zealand English (NZE). Wierzbicka (2003) and Peters (2009) include many curious formations: *gummies* ‘gumboots’ in NZE and *sunnies* ‘sunglasses’ which is iconic in the culture of Australian beach life (Peters 2009: 116). Peters (2009: 116) concludes that the momentum that keeps the *-(e)y* suffix alive and productive is Australian English. In contrast with British English and other Englishes, “in the antipodes its use as a hypocoristic is greatly extended into a general marker of familiarity and social belonging among adults [and] are characteristically colloquial and often ad hoc or situation-bound” (Peters 2009: 115). However, Wierzbicka (2003) is adamant that the *-y* suffix is not diminutive, but hypocoristic, in AusE because of its lack of the feature [+little]; instead, it conveys [+AFFECTION] that is implied through familiarity and hypocorism. Most words formed with the *-y* suffix are a form of slang that developed differently in NZE and AusE and cannot be considered diminutive.

⁵⁰ Bratus (1969: 2) writes that “English dialects are richer in diminutives than standard English”; this is particularly true of Scottish English. In this variety, the *-y* diminutive suffix is not seen as fundamentally belonging to a child’s environment; instead, it “happens with a freedom and frequency which is startling to speakers of other [varieties] of English” (Dorian 1993: 134). The diminutives formed with *-y* in Scottish English include: *bairnie*, *hillie*, *housie*, *knifie*, *laddie*, *lassie*, *lambie*, *ninnie* and diminutives with double suffixes, such as *mitherikie*, *bittikey*, *housikie*, *lasseckie* or *wiefiekie*, among many others (cf. Bratus 1969). Most, if not all, nouns may receive the diminutive suffix. Some view this extensive inventory of diminutives in Scottish English a remnant of the “large number of diminutives which [English] formerly possessed” (Mackay 1888: 300), though such a view is more hopeful speculation than proven fact. The suffix can also create other words besides diminutives; for example, *riddie* ‘a red face; a blush’, *kiltie* ‘a highlander’, *cludgie* ‘a toilet’, *grippie* ‘greedy’, and *goskie* ‘luxuriant’ (Jones 2002: 38).

The *y*-suffix appears in three different variants orthographically: *-y*, *-ie*, and *-ey* (Lappe 2007: 14, Merlini Barbaresi 1999, Marchand 1969); these are orthographic variants only. They are “one suffix” (Schneider 2003: 71) where the choice of orthographic variant used is merely caused by “preferences in different varieties of English” (Lappe 2007: 15). The *-ey* variant tends to be preferred in AusE and typically appears in words including *matey* (but not **matie*, < *mate*), *lovey* (< *love*), and *dovey* (< *dove*). The *-y* and *-ie* orthographic variants do not seem to differ across varieties of English, as found in *Charlie* (< *Charles*), *kitty*, *dolly*, and *doggie*. I refer to these three orthographic variants as the *-y* suffix unless specifically referring to another variant.

2.4 Slang suffixes in English

Affixes which create words labelled as ‘slang’ are group-related, (typically) short-lived, innovative, playful, and metaphorical words “that are *below the level of stylistically neutral language*” (Stenström, Andersen, Hasund 2002: 67, original emphasis). Slang endings change the register to informal and colloquial, and are typically invented and used by youth, ‘rejuvenate’ words that have become old-fashioned or stale (Akmajian et al. 2017: 204), and raise levels of playfulness and jocularity. From these characteristics, the term ‘slang’ here is meant to be viewed without pejorative connotations.

A language requires new words to maintain a certain linguistic and emotive balance, which gives rise to slang forms. Intensifying adjectives (e.g. *awful*, *fearful*, *terrible*) “wear thin” (Charleston 1960: 114) and gradually lose their emotive impact. Moreover, “[i]n order to be vehicles of emotion, these words must also continually be changed [...] and must be replaced by something stronger, racier, or more novel” (Charleston 1960: 115). Words from various parts of speech are also ‘recycled’ by the addition and replacement of suffixes to keep the emotional impact fresh and vivid.

In English, there are many well-documented suffixes that are socioculturally tied to various regions, particularly America, Britain, and Australia (Belladelli 2013: 215). An American English productive suffix is *-eroo*, and its variants *-aroo*, *-roo* and *-oo*, which convey “playfulness and jocularity” (Belladelli 2013: 215) in *flopperoo* (< *flop*) ‘a failure’ and *pipperoo* (< *pip*) ‘a particularly remarkable or pleasing person or thing’. American colloquial language has borrowed the Australian suffix *-o*, a so-called ‘depreciative’ hypocoristic of Australian and New Zealand in

words such as *nutso*.⁵¹ British English prefers the *-er* suffix (e.g. *rugger* < *rugby*) and *-ers* (e.g. *nutters* < *nut*).

Slang suffixes include the *-aroo*, *-aroonee*, and *-io* suffixes, the (borrowed) Slavic *-ski* suffix briefly outlined below:

- *-aroo* (or: *-eroo*, *-roo*, *-oo*, and *-amaroo*): This suffix has been most notably studied by Wentworth (1942), who suggests that *-eroo* is a “neo-pseudo-suffix” with slang origins. By the term “neo” suffix, Wentworth likely refers to a new or modified form of a suffix because of the sudden influx of words suffixed with *-eroo* after 1939. The suffix is “pseudo” because of its “deceptive resemblance” to real suffixes that include *-ness* and *-er* (Wentworth 1942: 11) and because the suffix did not yet have a “firmly settled meaning” (Cassidy 1978: 51).⁵² These are thus “curious toy-words” that are most often found⁵³ in “certain circles – notably radio, sports, advertising, and motion pictures” (Wentworth 1942: 10) for the purposes of “dramatic heightening” (Cassidy 1978: 51) and to create amusing, slangy variations of whatever is prefixed” (González 1995: 421). Words affixed with *-aroo* include *checkeroo* (a night-club check), *crusheroo*, *kisseroo*, to *jokeroo*, the adjective *snoozemarooed*, and the interjection *jiggeroo*, a dialectal word used among vagrants to warn each other “to be careful or escape” (Wentworth 1942: 10).
- *-aroonee*: This suffix may be a combination of *-aroo* + *-(n)ee*, and in modern English includes, e.g. *switcharonee* ‘a switch, swap’) that has been in use since 2006, if not earlier (Coleman 2012: 36). According to Quinon (2008), *-aroonie* (*-aroo* + diminutive *-ie*) has been used in the USA since the 1960s, e.g. *smackaroonie*.

⁵¹ Several of these, particularly the *-y*, *-o*, *-er*, and *-s* are considered diminutive suffixes (e.g. Schneider 2003, Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2013), though often with a hypocoristic function. I take the view that while the *-y* suffix is diminutive due to sound symbolism; the other suffixes should be analyzed in context and by the basis of use and the base word.

⁵² Cassidy (1978: 51), considers the *-aroo* suffix to have been introduced “due to a twentieth-century perception of the cowboy”, but does not provide a strong case for this claim.

⁵³ Peters (2009: 117) writes that the suffix is informal and Australian in origin, having appeared first in AusE in the late 19th century, “which seems to have had some early takeup in NZE and in spoken US English.” The various forms, likewise, are caused by “its equivocal origins, involving the convergence or coincidence or several morphemes” (Peters 2009: 117).

- *-ski* (or: *-sky*, *-skie*): This slang suffix includes *brewski* ‘beer’ and *buttinski* ‘one who butts in’, and is thought to be a “linguistic parody” (Akmajian et al. 2017: 287) of the Slavic languages, particularly Polish or Russian. In addition, the suffix “applies to the same classes of words as slang *-s*, leading to diminutive forms” (McCumber 2010: 127). Like the *-s* suffix, *-ski* makes the language more casual and informal (McCumber 2010). Sometimes the suffix combines with *-s* to create an *-skie + -s* ending.
- *-za* (alt. *-sa*): This suffix tends to be a popular slang suffix, especially in the slang interjection *wowza*. Used with personal names in AusE (Australian English), e.g. *Barry > Bazza*, *Sharon > Shazza* (Rojo 2009: 230).

2.4.1 Diminutive-slang suffixes *-O*, *-ER(S)*, *-S*

The *-o*, *-er(s)* and *-s* suffixes viewed as diminutive by Schneider (2003) are relatively controversial. They are sometimes viewed as slang suffixes or so-called embellished clippings because they are used between youth and adults or in informal register and/or are attached to clippings. I take the common position that they are likely not ‘true’ diminutives.

-O

The origin of the *-o* suffix is somewhat complex and is extensively discussed in the OED (updated 2004). According to the OED, this suffix can be attached to full and truncated words, and has three main and different origins, namely the following:

- i. as the final syllable of words of chiefly Romance origin;
- ii. as the vowel that became final after the shortening of a word by dropping the syllables following a medial *o*, especially in compounds truncated after a prefix or combining form ending in *-o*;
- iii. < *ho* int.1, *O* int., and *oh* int., occurring as a second element in various exclamatory phrases. (OED, accessed 22 September 2016)

In the first origin, words such as *camisado* (< Spanish *camisada*) and *lingo* (< Portuguese *lingua*) appeared in the 16th century and became assimilated into English by the late 17th century. According to the OED, the second source, *-o* “first appears in the late 17th cent. and early 18th centuries” namely in words such as *memo* and *hypo*, which “probably established an association of the ending *-o* with causal or light-hearted use which it has retained ever since.” Thus, as with

the *-eroo* endings, these words are generally considered non-serious words and casual. In the third origin, the OED links the suffix to the call signal ‘oh!’ and thus has a strong reference to the interjections *ho*, *oh* and *o*. These attached to words and formed cries during late Middle English, e.g. *heave ho*, *hey-ho*, *alive ho*, and the expressions including *righto*, *cheero* from the later 19th century. Later, interjections such as *rabbit-o*, *milko*, *whizzo*, *socko* and the nouns *kiddo* and *daddy-o* appeared. After the 19th century, the suffix became attached to words from all parts of speech, creating *ammo*, *arvo*, *whacko*, and *cheapo*.⁵⁴

-ER(S)

The *-er* (and *-er +s* form) suffix originated at Rugby School and Oxford in the late 1800s and remains productive as a “British upper-middle-class all-purpose suffix” (Ayto 2002: 364). According to the OED, the suffix originated “at University College, in Michaelmas Term, 1875; used to make jocular formations on ns., by clipping or curtailing them and adding *-er* to the remaining part, which is sometimes itself distorted.” Some of the earliest formations are associated with university life and sports; they include *footer* (< *football*, 1863), *rugger* (< *rugby football*, 1893), *brekker* (< *breakfast*, 1889) and *ekker* (< *exercise*, 1891) from the mid to late 1800s. *Soccer* was formed in this way from *Association Football* in 1891 (Mattiello 2013b: 81). Over time, these words lost their jocular meanings and are now “stylistically neutral” (Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986: 27). The *-er +s* formation originated together with *-er*, and creates humorous or familiar nicknames, nouns, or adjectives. For example, words suffixed with *-er +s* include *preggers* (< *pregnant*), *starkers* (< *stark naked*), *shampers* (< *champagne*) (Schneider 2003: 111),

⁵⁴ One of the stages in the development of *-o* not mentioned by the OED is its link to Australia and Ireland. In fact, there are two conflicting views on the origins of the suffix in Australia. The first view posits that the Irish brought the *-o* suffix to Australia, where it caught on and developed differently from Irish English (IrE) (Peters 2009: 117). The expanded use of *-o* did not catch on in New Zealand but was used in Dublin (Fritz 1996), and the Australian use likely was borrowed from IrE (Taylor 2001: 336). The second view stems from the observation that Australia was not influenced to the extent as Britain by the Spanish; thus, the so-called “calling-out” origin is another probable explanation. The “calling-out” origin posits that the “suffix originated from the early nominal uses of the cries of various street vendors. Thus, the milkman used to sing out “milk-oh!” and so became the milko” (Dalzell and Victor 2012: 560) and so on. However, the second view is rather simplistic, as it does not account for expanded uses of the *-o* suffix in AusE after WWII, namely the following: “as an abbreviatory device for familiar inanimate concepts” (e.g. *susso*, *bizzo*, *rego*); “a way of referring to eccentricity or social difference in others” (e.g. *tropo*, *reffo*, *derro*); and, thirdly, its “essential agentive role” (e.g. *garbo*, *journo*, *muso*) (Peters 2009: 117). As such, it can be safely argued that the suffix has strong historical roots in the Romance languages, and developed independently and/or from Irish in Australia.

AusE *bathers* (< *bathing shorts*), *Honkers* (< *Hong Kong*), *Johnners* (Brian Johnston), *Aggers* (Jonathan Agnew) and *Athers* (Atherton) as popularized on BBC's Test Match Special of cricket (Rundell 2009).

-S

Langenfelt (1942: 210) claims that the suffix "originated in slang" and the OED claims that it is a "shortened form of the hypocoristic [diminutive] suffix *-sy*" seen in *Babs*, *Toots*; *ducks* and *moms*. In more current usage, *-s* is "becoming popular for creating informal, slang versions of common words and phrases" (McCumber 2010: 124), such as *oh noes!* (< *oh no!*) and slang terms in other parts of speech including *totes* (< *totally*), *peeps* (< *people*) and *maybs* (< *maybe*) (McCumber 2010: 124).

However, the fact that the *-s* suffix serves many functions can cause some confusion as in English, the *-s* suffix can mark the following: the plural (e.g. *cat-s*, *door-s*), the third singular present tense of verbs (e.g. *he serve-s*), the formation of nouns from adjectives (e.g. *acrobatic-s*), and the possessive (e.g. *George's*) (Lett 2009: 162). Some problems arise when the *-s* suffix appears in utterances where it is difficult to distinguish between the slang and plural marker, e.g. when used by itself in *Wows!* Does the speaker mean 'many wows' or a slang *wow*?

The slang *-s* suffix tends to be added to clipped base forms (e.g. *turps* < *turpentine* or *Becks* < *David Beckham*). The *-s* suffixed interjections change the register without any distortion, conversion, or clipping of the base form; *hells no/yeah* (< *hell no/yeah*), *(oh) noes* (< *(oh) no*), *okays* (< *okay*), and *(oh) wows* (< *(oh) wow!*) (McCumber 2010). There is also a spelling variant, *-z*, which appears in, e.g. *lolz*, and *(oh) noez*. Likely, these words are not clipped because of the short base (but see Trast 2010 for a comprehensive overview).

In sum, there is a lack of consensus as to which suffixes in English are diminutive, and as such there are several suffixes that seem to straddle the diminutive-slang divide. That is, they create 'toy-words' that are mainly jocular, informal, and function to increase dramatic connotations. This study does not attempt to solve this long-standing issue, but rather takes the common position that *-y*, *-let*, and *-ling* are diminutives, while the rest in Schneider's (2003) list are potentially diminutive and/or slang. The most frequent affixes that appear with interjections (see Chapter 4) have been discussed: *-y*, *-aroo(nee)*, *-io*, *-sky*, *-za*, *-o*, *-er(s)*, *-s*, and the pseudo-

augmentative suffixes *-ola*, *-rama*, and *-zilla*. Next, the discussion turns to Polish diminutive affixes in 2.5. before turning to other Slavic languages in 2.6.

2.5 Diminutive affixes in Polish

Diminutive affixes in Polish (and most, if not all, of the Slavic languages) are particularly productive and have been studied extensively (see, e.g. Biały 2015; Lockyer 2013; Gorzycka 2012; Szymanek 2010; Kreja 1969). There is agreement about which affixes are diminutives and augmentatives in Polish. Diminutive derivation is so frequent and productive in Polish that any new formation is accepted “as a correct, acceptable word in standard adult Polish” (Hamas 2003: 43).

Polish diminutives are put into two groups: *diminutives proper* (Pol. *deminutywa właściwe*) and *diminutives formal* (Pol. *deminutywa formalne*). *Diminutives proper* include those from nouns that mainly signify small, e.g. *domek* < *dom* ‘house’. *Diminutives formal* fall into three main subgroups. They are, from Długosz (2009: 274):

- Diminutives where there are some commonalities between the basic expression and the derivative, as in shape or function. E.g. *dzwonek* ‘bell’ < *dzwon* ‘gong’.
- Diminutives which carry the meanings of singularity, attenuation, a small amount of the object, or part of a whole (Pol. *syngulatywności* and *partytywności*), which may be simply a single element of the concept encoded in the basic expression, or its part; e.g. *ciastko* ‘cookie’ < *ciasto* ‘dough’ or ‘pastry’.
- Emphatic diminutives, which are divided into three subtypes:
 - those fixed in terms of size, e.g. *słonko* < *słońce* ‘sun’
 - abstract nouns, e.g. *idejka* < *idea* ‘idea’ and *ambicyjka* < *ambicja* ‘ambition’
 - names of young things, e.g. *prosiątko* < *prosię* ‘pig’

Across most Slavic languages, the *-k-* affix forms diminutives mainly from nouns; e.g. the grammatically masculine Polish *domek* (< *dom* ‘house’), Czech *domek* (< *dům* ‘house’), Ukrainian *dubok* (< *dub* ‘oak’), Russian *domik* (< *dom* ‘house’), Kashubian *grzibk* (< *grzib* ‘mushroom’) and Slovene *čajček* (< *čaj* ‘tea’). The *-k-* affix changes for the masculine, feminine and neuter genders

as *-ek*, *-ka* and *-ko* respectively.⁵⁵ Feminine and neuter diminutives include Polish *główka* (< *głowa* ‘head’), *drzewko* (< *drzewo* ‘tree’) and *masełko* (< *masło* ‘butter’). Diminutives can also be formed from adjectival diminutives (e.g. *bialutki* < *biały* ‘white’), adverbs (*szybciuśko* < *szybko* ‘quickly’), and the rare verb (e.g. *plakusiak* < *plakać* ‘to cry’). In non-noun words, however, the *-k-* diminutive affix tends to be replaced with other related diminutive affixes.

A diminutive formed by the *-k-* affix may receive more diminutive suffixes to change the ‘degree’ of the diminutive. Degrees of diminutives are formed as follows: “(basic) NOUN → DIM₁ ‘small NOUN’ → DIM₂ ‘small DIM₁’ → DIM₃ ‘small DIM₂’” (Manova and Winternitz 2011: 116). Each degree adds on to the diminutive from the previous step and therefore adds emotional meanings.⁵⁶ In the formation of DIM₂ and DIM₃, Polish has the masculine second-degree diminutive suffix *-(ecz)ek*, *-(icz)ek*, *-uszek*; feminine *-(ecz)ka*, *-(icz)ka*, *uszka*; and, neuter double diminutive *-(ecz)ko*, *-(icz)ko*, *uszko*. Second-degree diminutives include *koteczek* ‘dear little cat’ (< *kotek* < *kot*), *buciczek* ‘dear little boot’ (< *bucik* < *but*), and *wierszyczek* ‘dear little poem’ (< *wierszyk* < *wiersz*) (Kreja 1969: 85-87). Diminutives do not have to end with the third degree, though, a fourth-degree (and higher) diminutive is rare and would not be accepted as adult language.

The suffix alone does not necessarily indicate the degree of the diminutive or diminutive intensity of an utterance. Many diminutives have a long history where the base word evolved into different words or became lexicalized. We might identify *króliczek* ‘dear little rabbit’ as a double diminutive because of the *-iczek* suffix, but the base is *królik* ‘rabbit’, not *król* ‘king’. The base makes *króliczek* a first-degree diminutive (Kreja 1969: 86). A similar process may be seen in *sałata* ‘lettuce’ and *sałatka* ‘salad’; or, *chusta* ‘a head-kerchief usually worn by old women’, *chustka* ‘a scarf fashionably worn by younger women’ and *chusteczka* ‘facial tissue’. Many first-degree diminutives are now the standard form as in *jajko* ‘egg’ < *jajo*, which now functions as an augmentative⁵⁷ form (a ‘big egg’), and *jajeczko* is now the first-degree diminutive form.

⁵⁵ However, the differences in the South Slavic languages of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are more obvious, e.g. *nosić* (< *nos* ‘nose’) (cf. *nosek* in Polish).

⁵⁶ The choice of suffix within each grammatical gender tends to depend on phonological rules of diminutive affixation (see Manova and Winternitz 2011). Of course, the endings also change according to the case of the base word.

⁵⁷ Augmentative suffixes are well-attested in Polish and are used to produce opposite meanings than diminutives, namely [+LARGE] rather than [+SMALL]. Polish augmentative suffixes include *-icho*, *-ucho*, -

Personal names may have up to “ten different derivatives, all commonly used with respect to the same person, each of them implying a slightly different emotional attitude, and ‘emotional mood’” (Wierzbicka 2003: 51).⁵⁸⁵⁹ The diminutive suffixes that tend to occur with names are *-qtko*, *-ulka*, *-uchna*, *-ycha*, *-ychna*, *-ś*, and *-usia*. Wierzbicka (1992)⁶⁰ provides extensive analysis of the specific emotional colourings for each suffix; for example, she argues that the *-eńka* suffix in e.g. *Marysieńka* implies that the speaker thinks of the person named as ‘someone small’, while the *-ulka* suffix in e.g. *Marysiulka* suggests ‘something small’. As such, only the former can be used to both children and adults. Not every personal name may be suffixed to the extent of *Anna* or *Maria*. *Anna* may have ten derivatives, but *Agata* and *Ewa* have fewer diminutive versions partially due to phonological rules of affixation, and partially due to whether the full first name

ucha, *-(i)sko*, and *-ensje* (Piekot 2008: 104) to create, for example, *kocisko* (< *kot* ‘cat’) and *konisko* (< *koń* ‘horse’). In addition, Dziwirek and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2010: 30), include 20 different augmentative suffixes, including (but not limited to): *-al* (*brzydal* ‘an ugly person’), *-ara* (*nudziara* ‘boring woman’), *-isko/-ysko* (*dziadisko* ‘unpleasant old man’), *-sko* (*babsko*, ‘unpleasant, rude woman’), *-uch* (*leniuch* ‘lazy-bones’), *-ucha* (*starucha* ‘unpleasant, rude woman’) and *-ula* (*brzydula* ‘ugly woman’).

Augmentatives in Polish tend to be similar to the English analytic expressions ‘big X’ (size) and/or ‘old X’ (affection), but are difficult to translate from Polish to English. English translations of Polish augmentatives through adjectives such as *unpleasant*, *rude*, *ugly*, *boring*, and *lazy* show the metaphor big is bad. Wierzbicka (1985: 125) notices these associations with her meaning of “I can say that I think of you as of someone big and that I feel bad feelings towards you as one does towards something big.” Yet augmentatives may also convey the positive associations of *maturity*, *stature*, *magnificence*, *softness*, and *wisdom* typically attributed to ‘old’ referents (cf. Lockyer 2015b) such as *szare nosisko* ‘grey nose.AUG’.

⁵⁸ Several diminutive suffixes are used more often with proper names and relationship terms; these include *-cia*, *-sia*, *-zia*, *-unia*, *-la*, *-ina*, and *-qtko*. The *-qtko* suffix exists in the realm [+YOUNG] people as in *dziewciqtko* ‘little child’ (< *dzieciq* ‘child’) or [+YOUNG] animals as in *kociqtko* ‘little kitten’ (< *kociq*) (Kreja 1969: 99-100).

⁵⁹ Perhaps one of the familial contexts that tends to enforce the idea that diminutives are vastly more extensive in Polish is the possible derivations in Polish for *matka* (mother) compared to English. In English, only one suffixed form exists – *mommy* – and it is used by children. In contrast, in Polish, the number amounts to 47: *mateczka*, *matunia*, *matuńka*, *matuńcia*, *matunieczka*, *mateńka*, *matuchna*, *matusia*, *matuś*, *matuśka*, *matusieńka*, *matusina*, *matusiczka*, *matusieczka*, *matusienieczka*, *matyńka*, *matyneczka*, *matuchniczka*, *matuniczka*, *matula*, *matulka*, *matuleńka*, *matulejka*, *matejka*, *matulina*, *matulinka*, *matuleczka*, *matuluś*, *mamcia*, *mamka*, *mamusia*, *mamuś*, *mamuśka*, *mamusieńka*, *mameczka*, *mamunia*, *mamuchna*, *mameńka*, *mamunieczka*, *mamusieczka*, *mamiczka*, *mamula*, *mamulka*, *mamuleńka*, *mamunieńka*, *mamusińka*, *mamuliczka*. (See Handke 2008: 105). However, the difference is not always as extensive.

⁶⁰ See also Grabias (1981) for a comprehensive survey of Polish diminutive suffixes.

is marked or unmarked.⁶¹ By the time a person becomes an adult, she tends to go by a certain form (e.g. *Tosia* instead of *Tereska* < *Teresa*), and the other diminutive forms are for special occasions where the speaker feels particularly affectionate, tender, or the like.

I have already established the overall emotional connotations and pragmatic functions of diminutives and augmentatives in 2.1. The Polish diminutive system tends to amplify those emotional connotations and interactive functions as Polish diminutives primarily function to “personalize the human interaction and make it affectionate” (Hřebíčková et al. 2002: 71) and to add ‘warmth’ and ‘emotional spontaneity’ to linguistic expressions (cf. Wierzbicka 2003). Slang suffixes may do the same for youth and in-group affiliation, but I do not discuss them here.⁶² Next, I turn to diminutives in the neighbouring Slavic languages of Czech and Slovak (also West Slavic languages like Polish) and the East Slavic language of Russian.

2.6 Czech, Slovak, and Russian diminutives

The other two West Slavic languages, Czech and Slovak, and the East Slavic language of Russian and have numerous ways of creating diminutives (see Bratus 1969 for Russian and Gregová 2015 for Slovak). All Slavic languages are rich in evaluative suffixes, particularly diminutive and augmentative suffixes (Panocová 2011: 176) that are affixed to words from various parts of speech. Diminutives in the Slavic languages express ‘endearment’ and ‘smallness’ and are typically formed by the *-k-* diminutive affix.

⁶¹ Full first names may be marked or unmarked. Those with marked names, such as *Jan*, *Jerzy* and *Zofia*, are more likely to be referred to by a first-degree diminutive form, e.g. *Janek*, *Jurek* and *Zosia* in normal adult-adult interactions. Those with unmarked names, such as *Adam*, *Michał* and *Andrzej* are more likely to be typically referred to by their full first names because the diminutive versions, *Adamek*, *Michałek* and *Andrzejek* convey affectionate and childish connotations (Wierzbicka 1997: 270-279).

⁶² Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, English has contributed many ad-hoc neologisms and calques into non-standard Polish, including *dens* ‘dance’, *totalnie* ‘totally’ and most notably the contact interjection *sory/ sorki* ‘sorry’. Clipping typically forms Polish slang, e.g. *impre* < *impreza* ‘party’, *spoko* < *spokojnie* ‘no panic!’ (which can also mean ‘you’re welcome’), and *komp* < *komputer* ‘computer’ (cf. Fellerer 2014: 171). Also in effect is the depreciating slang suffix *-ol*, found in *glupol* ‘a stupid person’ (< *glupi* ‘stupid’) and *psychol* ‘a mentally ill or unstable person’ (Kucelman 2015: 32). The slang and hypocoristic affixes *-ki* and *-ś* are thought to create forms including *koleś* < *kolega* ‘matey, friend’ and *sorki* ‘sorry/sorries’, though they may be viewed as diminutive suffixes.

Czech exhibits derivational processes such as suffixation, in e.g. onomatopoeic *bums!* (< *bum* ‘boom’), the contact interjection *čaues!* (< *čau!* ‘hi/bye’) and the secondary interjection *jémináčku!* (< *jemine!* ‘gosh’) (Krzempek 2015: 122), and “diminutives are most often formed from interjections of contact (greetings), followed by emotional [...] and volitive (encouraged by exhortation)” (Káňa 2016: 289, 292, my trans.). The suffixes that can be added to interjections are: **-ek**: *nazdárék!* (< *nazdár!* ‘hi/bye’), **-ček**: *páček!* (< *pá!* ‘bye’), **-ík**: *ahojík!* (< *ahoj!* ‘hi/bye’), **-ka**: *ahojka!* (< *ahoj!* ‘hi/bye’),⁶³ **-ičko**: *(na) zdravičko!* (< *(na) zdraví!* ‘cheers’), **-ičky**: *pacičky!* (< *pac!* ‘clap’), **-ky**: *ahojky!* (< *ahoj!* ‘hi/bye’), *čauky!* (< *čau!* ‘hi/bye’), *fujky!* (< *fuj!* ‘yuck’), *jupínky!* (*jupí!* ‘hurray’), *mňamky!* (< *mňam!* ‘yum’), **-ku**: *jéminku!* (< *jémine!* ‘golly’), **-í/anku**: *božítku!* (< *božé!* ‘God’), *jeminánku!* / *jéminánku!* (< *jémine!* ‘golly’) and **-ity**. There is likely little difference between the various diminutive forms of a certain word except for emotional ‘flavoring’ and personal preference.

Slovak, like Czech, frequently forms diminutives that are considered colloquial and/or acceptable in adult speech. Although Bóhmerova (2011: 76) suggests that diminutivization in Slovak “is systematically and communicatively extremely marginal,” Slovak diminutives can be found across many parts of speech (cf. Kačmárová 2010, Štolc 1958). Bóhmerova lists the “colloquial diminutives” from contact interjections *ahojček!* and *ahojko!* ‘hi/bye’, *čauko!* ‘hi/bye’ and *dobré ránko!* ‘good morning’ as Slovak suffixed diminutive interjections,⁶⁴ though the latter *ránko* ‘morning’ is a substantival diminutive. Slovak has verbal diminutives that also follow a linear structure, e.g. *driemkat’* (< *driemat’* ‘to doze’) “where *driem-* is a root morpheme, *-a-* is the so-called thematic morph, *-t’* is a form morpheme and the segment *-k-* is a diminutive suffix” (Gregová 2015: 296). The *-k-* affix is so linguistically embedded in the Slovak speaker’s mind that Slovak learners of English may say, *Look, snailik here?* instead of *Look, is there a little snail here?* (Bobčáková 2017: 154). The ‘error’ made by the Slovak learner of English suggests that Slovak diminutives are not marginal to the language.

⁶³ The multiple diminutive versions of the base contact interjection *ahoj* ‘hi/bye’ tend to be found in between intimate and jovial contact (Káňa 2016: 292).

⁶⁴ According to Schneider (2003: 214), diminutive greetings are possible in German, e.g. *hallöchen* (< *hallo* ‘hello’), *tschüs(s)chen* (< *tschüs(s)* ‘goodbye’) and the Swabian farewell of *adele* (< *ade*). They appear in other languages: Italian *salutini* (< *saluti* ‘greetings’), Slovene *pozdravček* (< *pozdravi* ‘greetings’) and Lithuanian *labukas* (< *labas* ‘hello’) and *labanaktukas* (< *labanaktis* ‘goodnight’).

Russian diminutives have been studied extensively (e.g. Lockyer 2013, Volek 1987, Bratus 1969), and it has been found that diminutive suffixes can be added to several primary emotive interjection bases (with processes including reduplication) to greatly raise levels of emotion. Diminutive interjections that may be found in Russian include the following double diminutives: *ойойошеньки!* [oyoyoshen'ki!] 'oy.oy.DIM', *охохониюшки!* [oxoxoniushki!] 'oh.oh.DIM', *охохошеньки!* [oxoxoshen'ki!] 'oh.oh.DIM' (Dufková 2011: 168). Doludenko (2012: 22), in her study of the social media site "VKontakte" (similar to Facebook, but in Russian), found that the site "is notable by the high number of expressive suffixes – a tendency typical for modern colloquial Russian" across all parts of speech. In addition, translations from English tend to add diminutives, especially in works of children's literature that is comparable to similar translations into Polish.

In sum, diminutive interjections differ from (Slavic) language to language: Slovak and Czech have a high frequency of diminutive contact interjections with various suffixes, while Russian boasts of reduplicated *oj* 'oh' interjections with first and second-degree diminutive suffixes. Likewise, Polish speakers are also different as to which interjections become diminutive forms, along with their meanings and functions, as briefly addressed in the pilot studies discussed in section 2.7 below.

2.7 Pilot studies

Considering the formal and functional properties described above, the question remains: how do these various diminutive affixes function when applied to interjections? To answer this question, I completed several pilot studies (2014, 2015, 2017) in anticipation of the larger study that follows.

My 2014 study briefly examines the existence and core meanings of DIs in English from an analysis of Twitter posts, while my 2015 and 2017 studies turn to Polish *(o)jejku!*, *(o)jejciu!* and affixed forms of the expletive *Jezu(s)!* 'Jesus', e.g. *Jezuniu!*, *Jezusiczku!* All the studies find similar evidence: DIs are multifunctional and emotionally-varied items that make the emotional colouring of the base interjection and/or utterance more vivid. They may lessen the emotional impact and soften any 'blow', or intensify the emotional meaning of the base. They convey emotions across the spectrum from positive to negative. They tend to convey sympathy and support, exaggeration and joy or excitement, the concept of 'children' or 'childish', affection

(love and appreciation), appreciation and gratitude, feelings for pets and young animals, and embarrassment due to a mistake. The affixed interjection can also be more lighthearted and a reaction to something less serious in some contexts, while ‘deeper’ in emotional loading in others; the DI “comes from a deeper place emotionally” (Lockyer 2015a: 215) than the base.

My studies have found that diminutives, as markers of affection and other aspects of emotivity, are particularly compatible with interjections to form synthetic diminutive interjections. Emotive interjections are ideal candidates for diminutive (and slang) suffixation for the following reasons:

- They express emotive meaning(s) ranging from positive (appreciative) to negative (depreciative).
- They are linguistic features that can express the mental state of a speaker, a speaker’s attitude towards an action or referent, or a speaker’s reaction to a situation.
- They are generally used in informal and casual speech and are commonly avoided in formal speech (perhaps with the exception of lexicalized diminutives including *droplet* and some primary interjections including *oh*). (Lockyer 2014: 71)

Following Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s (1994) ‘complex’ and ‘simplex’ forms, I argue that diminutive interjections - and, indeed, all diminutives - are ‘complex’ phenomena in comparison with their non-diminutive ‘simplex’ counterparts because of a greater psychological processing. That is, base interjections are ‘simplex’ because they “are the shortest phonologically, can be more quickly exclaimed, and have less emotional depth” (Lockyer 2015a: 204). In comparison, affixed interjections are ‘complex’ because “they consist of more elements which add additional speaker attitude” (Lockyer 2015a: 204), are longer phonologically and take longer to exclaim. The ‘size’ of an interjection (i.e. the number of morphemes) is “inversely proportional to the amount of information that is recoverable from context” (Stange 2009: 46). To show this concept, I developed the following formula:

INTJ (e.g. *jej!*, *ovej!*) = ‘emotional reaction’

INTJ ‘emotional response’ + *-k-* > INTJ ‘emotional reaction that conveys [+LITTLE] (deeper/‘softer’) emotional reaction (e.g. *jeku!*) (Lockyer 2015a: 204).

The rest of this dissertation takes the results found in my small-scale pilot studies and applies them to larger corpora and other forms of written communication. It uses a different theoretical framework – Appraisal theory (Martin and White 2007) – to fill in the gap left by the pilot studies

and previous research on diminutives and interjections. Namely, the dissertation shows which interjections may receive suffixes and how frequently in Chapter 4, and qualitatively analyzes positive, playful and negative *y*-affixed diminutive interjections across written corpora in Chapters 5 through 7.

2.8 Chapter conclusions

In this chapter, I introduced diminutives in English and Polish by their formal and functional aspects. For the English language, I presented the extremely productive *-y* diminutive suffix and the various other suffixes that often overlap with slang, including *-o*, *-er(s)*, and *-s*. For Polish, I gave a background of the diminutive suffixation, most notably through the *-k*- diminutive affix that produces endearing and positive words which help build positive relationships among individuals in both written and oral communication. Augmentatives, which are the “opposites” of diminutives (Schneider 2003) also were briefly mentioned as words meaning [+BIG] instead of [+SMALL/LITTLE].

At the word-formation level, phonological rules and available suffixes largely determine which base words can be suffixed, and with which suffixes. Polish is easy to describe in this regard because the language contains a vast array of affixes that can be added onto each other to create first-, second-, or third-degree diminutives. While there are lexicalized diminutives, and some words do not accommodate certain suffixes, these issues are typically minimal. Polish speakers have many opportunities to choose a certain diminutive suffix to convey emotive colouring, especially in the formation of diminutives from personal names. In some communication, the use of a diminutive is a conventionalized cultural norm. This freedom in diminutive formation is shared among Czech, Slovak, and Russian speakers as well.

The chapter showed that there is disagreement about the inventory of diminutive suffixes in English. The term ‘diminutive’ has associations that differ amongst English speakers who typically form diminutives analytically using *little* or *small*. Some scholars use the term ‘diminutive’ suffix loosely and with criteria that allows for many suffixes to be considered diminutive (e.g. Schneider 2003); others have a restricted set of criteria and allow for very few diminutive suffixes in English. The *-y* suffix, despite being extremely productive in forming new words used to children, by children, and among adults, has received the most criticism as a potential diminutive suffix because of its frequent use to and by children. In this dissertation, I

follow Schneider (2003) in my interpretation of *-y* as a true diminutive suffix that conveys [+SMALL/LITTLE]. The other suffixes that have been suggested to function as diminutives, namely *-o*, *-er(s)* and *-s* do not appear particularly affectionate or endearing; rather, they often merely add splashes of colour to an utterance.

The following chapter presents the methods used for the study and its theoretical background. The datasets that were mined for *y*-affixed diminutive interjections are also introduced.

Chapter 3: Research methods and texts

3.1 Purpose of the present case study

The present case study will consider the use of affixed interjections as they are used by adults and teenagers within two different written text types: online and literary discourse. It first identifies all the affixed interjections in use in reference corpora, then turns to focus specifically on diminutive interjections in Twitter, blogs, fanfiction, and fiction digitized in Google Books. The major goal of the study is to show how, when, and why diminutive interjections are used in fiction and in written online communication.

The purpose of the present case study is to add to the findings in Lockyer (2014, 2015a, and 2017). These pilot studies began to combine research on diminutives and interjections to suggest meanings and emotional connotations for diminutive interjections. Using Twitter and reference corpora, the pilot studies investigated the English diminutive interjections *wowee!*, *whoopsie!*, *oopsie!*, *ouchies!*, and Polish *(o)jejku!*, *(o)jejciu!*, *jezusku!* and other diminutive forms of *Jezu(s)!* While the small Twitter corpus and the national Polish corpus were only able to provide enough data for the main diminutive interjections, the pilot studies made it possible to suggest some basic (emotional) semantic and pragmatic meanings of these linguistic items, including ‘children’, ‘sympathy’, and ‘(augmented) excitement’.

The first part of the present study (Chapter 4) combines qualitative and quantitative analysis for all affixed interjections in English and Polish; that is, those interjections with diminutive, augmentative, and slang affixes. Qualitatively, it sets out to investigate which interjections receive affixes, how they are defined by users in online dictionaries, and which semantic, pragmatic and registerial features can be extrapolated from user definitions. Quantitatively, the chapter presents raw and normalized frequencies of affixed and unaffixed forms from several reference corpora. These results form the basis of the three chapters that follow.

The second part of the present study applies the semantic system of Appraisal to only the *y-* diminutive interjections in English and *-k-* affixed diminutive interjections in Polish. It will attempt to extend the semantic and pragmatic analysis beyond the few emotional meanings identified in the small-scale pilot studies. In order to understand and explain emotions, emotional evaluations are polarized and divided into ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ (Ben-Ze’ev 2000). Those emotions that are humorous (e.g. sarcasm) can be considered playful evaluation.

Therefore, the chapters are divided into three main groups: positive (Chapter 5), playful (Chapter 6), and negative (Chapter 7). These chapters will focus on situational and contextual factors to review the lexical Appraisal resources used with diminutive interjections.

3.2 Research questions

The present study presents the first comprehensive qualitative and corpus-based study of affixed interjections in English and Polish. The study is qualitative because the aim is to provide a complete, detailed description of the linguistic items, and is corpus-based because it “assumes the validity of linguistic structures derived from linguistic theory; the primary research goal is to analyze the systematic patterns of use for those pre-defined linguistic features” (Biber 2009: 276). In this study, the linguistic features are affixed interjections, which refers to those interjections that have any expressive affix, e.g. diminutive, augmentative, and slang. In other words, the term includes all interjections with endings. The term *diminutive interjection*, then, refers to interjections with diminutive affixes. This is the focus of Chapters 5 to 7.

Written language differs from spoken language in various ways, and digital communication tends to fall in-between the two (see Biber 1988, Crystal 2006). The findings of the present study are limited to written language, notably internet language and adult fiction. Online spoken interactions through, e.g. Skype and YouTube are excluded. Children’s literature is likewise excluded. Thus, I do not claim that the results from this study apply to spoken language, though to a certain extent they may inform which affixed interjections may be used, and some of their corresponding functions.

1a. *With which affixes are affixed interjections typically formed?*

The first part of this study relates to the variety of expressive affixes available in English and Polish that are added to interjections. Before we proceed to the analysis of diminutive interjections, we must consider the broad palette of all potential affixed interjections. To answer this question, prior research of English and Polish diminutive, augmentative and slang affixes informed potential affixed interjections, and the search function in online slang dictionaries, reference corpora, and the micro-blogging site Twitter show the variety of affixed interjections.

1b. *Why are these affixes used, and how can online slang dictionaries inform these choices?*

Since there are many affixes available to an English or Polish speaker, there is a point where the writer of a text decides to choose one affix instead of another, or decides to use an affix instead of the unaffixed base form. Since affixed interjections rarely appear in standard dictionaries, user definitions in online slang dictionaries tentatively answer the research question by decomposing affixed interjections into semantic and pragmatic features (see 3.5).

2. *Which fundamental semantic, pragmatic and registerial features underlie the formation of affixed interjections?*

Interjections and diminutives convey semantic and pragmatic features and emotional attitudes. They are also often linked to register, particularly slang-affixed interjections. This focal research question aims at investigating the meanings and attitudes conveyed by diminutive interjections based on previous scholarly work on the emotional connotations of diminutives (e.g. Ponsonnet 2018, Biały 2015, Jurafsky 1996). It also adds to the pilot studies of diminutive interjections, especially those in Polish, which have suggested the key semantic and pragmatic functions of:

- conveying sympathy and giving support (e.g. ‘I feel for you; I feel grief-stricken, sorrowful, etc.’);
- exaggerating and intensifying an emotion or reaction;
- conveying the sense of ‘cute’ or ‘infantile’;
- showing affection (e.g. ‘I like/love you’; ‘I appreciate and am grateful for you’);
- reacting to a mistake (e.g. ‘I am embarrassed’). (Lockyer 2015: 209)

These may be expressed more simply as the features [+COMMISERATE], [+INTENSE], [+CUTE], [+CHILD], [+DEAR], and [+MISTAKE]. However, other semantic and pragmatic features that have been previously identified with either diminutives or interjections should apply to affixed interjections as well and are identified in Chapter 4.

3. *What can Appraisal reveal about the evaluations expressed through diminutive interjections in digital communication?*

The discourse semantic systems of Appraisal (and, to an extent the related system of Involvement) consist of resources that provide speakers with ways to express attitudes and emotions towards each other and the world (Eggins and Slade 1997: 116), especially through lexical choices. Following Eggins and Slade (1997: 116), I suggest that the expression of attitude in contexts with diminutive interjections “is an important device for constructing and signaling

degrees of solidarity and intimacy in relationships.” It allows for the discussion of playful devices, including teasing, swearing, and using nicknames/endearments. It is suggested that these devices, which lessen (emotional) distance and serve a diminutive function, are particularly relevant in using diminutive interjections. Indeed, diminutive interjections are likely by themselves important lexical choices that fit under Appraisal (see 3.3.2).

The internet is a focal resource in this study because it presents a kaleidoscope of communicative, lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic uses of language and interacts with trending ideas and socio-political and cultural discourse. When linguists began examining computer-mediated communication (CMC) in the 1980s, a strong interest developed to identify the characteristics of its “micro-linguistic structural features” (Bieswanger 2013: 463) that have now broadened to include interjections and diminutives. While literary dialogue and (casual) communication are the most-frequently analyzed modes of communication when studying diminutives (e.g. Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf 2011 about the diminutive suffix *-let*) and for enacting a text analysis of Appraisal (Martin and White 2005), this study looks at literary dialogue and its online counterpart, fanfiction, in addition to Twitter conversations and messages, (culinary) blog posts and comments.

It is important to note that this study follows Tagg’s (2015: 5) definition of the term *digital communication* as “interactions between people that are mediated by digital communications technology (tools which transmit information in digital form),” such as tweets and blog comments. Interactions between characters in novels are termed *literary dialogue*. As written forms of communication, it is possible to explore what writers do with affixed interjections through and with language.

3.3 Theoretical background

This dissertation analyzes the terms under study through a semantic lens, and uses semantic and pragmatic features to explain the meanings and uses of affixed interjections. The theoretical approach that is adopted for the textual/digital investigation of diminutive interjections is Appraisal framework (Martin and White 2007), from Systemic Functional Linguistic theory (Halliday 1985). The descriptive standpoint of this study thereby employs some theoretical considerations of Appraisal resources, emotions and semantics and pragmatics.

This section provides background for semantic and pragmatic features in 3.3.1, and then for Appraisal in 3.3.2.

3.3.1 Semantic and pragmatic features

Diminutives, interjections, and other linguistic items are often described in terms of their semantic features. Lexical semantics posits that semantic features are “theoretical constructs which can characterize the vocabulary of a language” (Leech 1974: 96). They “are usually presented as a matter of opposition, paired positive and negative features, denoting the presence or absence of the particular feature in the meaning of the word” (Brinton and Brinton 2010: 139). Pragmatic features are also concerned with meaning, but with consideration to context, utterance, and/or speech act (e.g. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994 for the pragmatic feature +FICTIVE). In this study, these features are recognized as typical associations of affixed interjections. These associations are valuable because they “predict precisely the attested range of pragmatic implicatures associated with the semantic representation” (Olsen 1997: 21).

Semantic and pragmatic features often appear in studies of diminutives, such as the model of universal semantic (and pragmatic) features by Jurafsky (1996). The basic semantic feature of [+LITTLE] or [+SMALL] is at the core of diminutives, and other scholars have proposed other features, as seen with Prieto (2005) in section 2.2. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (2001: 44) propose the pragmatic feature [+FICTIVE], which they view as a “more basic” and “common” feature for Italian, German, and other languages including English. Interjections are also defined in terms of their emotional semantic meanings, e.g. [anger], [annoyance], [approval], [contempt], [delight], [disgust], [joy], [pain], and [pity] (Jovanović 2004: 22-23). These semantic and pragmatic features are important for the results in Chapter 4 because, following Fillmore (2003), they answer ‘when’ and ‘why’ one affixed interjection may be used instead of another, or an affixed form instead of an unaffixed form.

As with any model, semantic features have weaknesses. The erosion of emotive force and nuances and the tendency of words to adapt and gain new meanings over time cause a semantic feature to become less valid. As Brinton and Brinton (2010: 139) point out, semantic features are not likely to comprehensively capture meaning. These features are not necessarily universal or translatable; in many contexts, they do not ‘mean the same’ when translated or understood by someone from a different culture. Scholars like Anna Wierzbicka and Cliff Goddard follow the

idea that ‘semantic primes’ are needed to explain words in a clear and understandable manner. While I think that in theory, these NSM explications are helpful, I do not view such explication necessary for the present systematic and detailed description of affixed interjections.

3.3.2 Appraisal

Appraisal was developed over the course of over a decade in the 1990s by researchers in Australia.⁶⁵ The theory began within the idea of ‘interpersonal metafunction’ in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)⁶⁶ and was seen as “a particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships” (White 2015). Martin and White (2007) provide the first comprehensive account of Appraisal.⁶⁷

Despite its roots in SFL, appraisal theory has diversified: it has been applied widely by researchers who are not systemic linguists because it “can be adopted [as a methodological tool] in a more theory-neutral way to the analysis of language” (Bednarek 2008: 12) alongside complementary tools of pragmatic and corpus analysis. Some view Appraisal as a form of discourse semantics “oriented towards mapping semantic domains as they operate in discourse” (White 2011: 21). It “seeks to describe the linguistic resources speakers or writers use for evaluative purposes, always bearing in mind at least one real or virtual person as a co-active recipient” (Becker 2007: 123). In discourse analysis, it is most closely linked to stance – the idea that “whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it” (Martin and White 2005: 92).

Some of the questions that Appraisal can investigate include, from White (2015):

- the linguistic basis of differences in a writer/speaker's ‘style’ by which they may present themselves as, for example, more or less deferential, dominating, authoritative, inept,

⁶⁵ See Iedema, Feez, and White (1994), Martin (1995), Christie and Martin (1997), and Martin (2000).

⁶⁶ See Halliday (1985) for more on SFL.

⁶⁷ Although this study uses the term ‘Appraisal’, there is a more recent tendency to avoid terms such as ‘Appraisal theory’ or ‘Appraisal framework’ because it is more precisely considered as a discourse semantic system.

cautious, conciliatory, aloof, engaged, emotional, impersonal, and so on;

- how the different uses of evaluative language by speakers/writers act to construct different authorial voices and textual personas;
- how different genres and text types may conventionally employ different evaluative and otherwise rhetorical strategies;
- the underlying, often covert value systems which shape and are disseminated by a speaker/writer's utterances;
- the different assumptions which speakers/writers make about the value and belief systems of their respective intended audiences.

The resources/categories that are offered through the appraisal framework are represented in Figure 1; namely the wider categories of Engagement, Attitude, and Graduation.

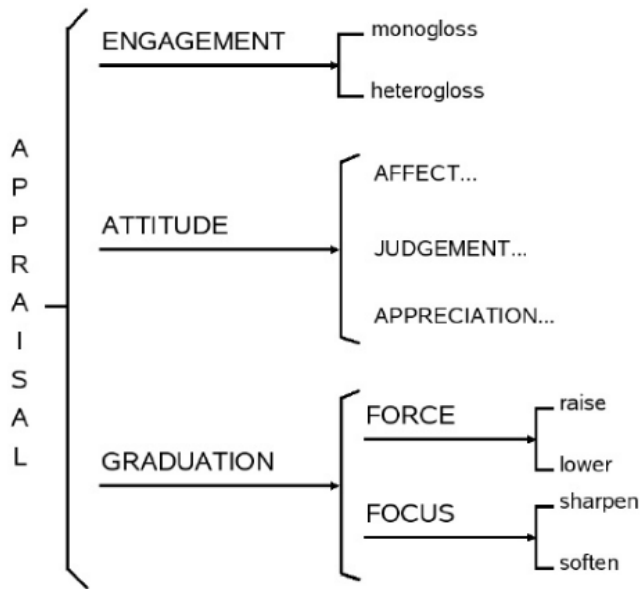


Figure 1: An overview of appraisal resources (© 2005 Peter R.R. White and James R. Martin, by permission)

Attitude

Attitude divides positive and negative assessments (i.e. attitudinal meanings) into three categories, namely JUDGEMENTS (moral evaluations), AFFECT (emotional responses) and APPRECIATION (opinions about ideas or things) and combines with Graduation to measure their

force and/or focus (Tagg 2015: 170).⁶⁸ Despite the distinctions between the three categories, they are fundamentally linked; that is, the framework “sees the three categories as fundamentally interconnected in that they are all to do with the expression of ‘feelings’. It is just that the ground of that feeling varies across the three modes” (White 2011: 19).

AFFECT is concerned with the emotional response, such as *I’m sad*, *I’m happy*, or *I hate sweets*. It is fundamentally linked to the speaker’s emotion – indicating “positive or negative views via either reports of the speaker/writer’s emotional responses or reports of the emotional responses of third parties” (White 2011: 16). In this category, “the action of emotion is directly indicated – feelings are presented as the contingent, personalized mental reactions of human subjects to some stimulus” (White 2011: 19). AFFECT is perhaps the most ‘natural’ category of linking emotion and evaluation. In the other two categories, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION, feelings “are institutionalized in some way and are recast as qualities which inhere in the evaluated phenomenon itself” (White 2011: 19).

JUDGEMENT uses positive and negative feelings as “proposals about correct behaviour – how we should or shouldn’t behave” (White 2011: 19) based on “the social acceptability of the behaviour of human actors, assessment by reference to some system of social norms or morality” (Martin 2011: 16). The statement, *He cruelly set up his dog for an Ice Bucket challenge*, redirects the negative feelings into a moral judgement on the concept of ‘right and wrong’ behaviour towards dogs (cf. White 2011: 19). Typically, judgements are made on the moral, legal, or religious basis, and can be made about ‘social esteem’ (having to do with normality, capacity, and tenacity) and ‘social sanction’ (veracity, propriety). The category acknowledges adverbials (e.g. positive *justly*, *honestly*, *truthfully* and negative *oddly*, *stupidly*, *deceitfully*), attributes and epithets (e.g. *a corrupt politician*), nominals (e.g. *a brutal tyrant*) and verbs (e.g. *to cheat*, *to triumph*) (cf. Martin 2002).

APPRECIATION occurs when “meanings by which assessments are made of semiotic and natural phenomena by reference to their value in a given field, perhaps most typically by reference to their aesthetic qualities” (White 2011: 17). Furthermore, “feelings are reconstrued as propositions about the value of things” (White 2011: 19). The category subdivides into five

⁶⁸ I follow SFL conventions by using SMALL CAPS for appraisal categories.

assessments: reaction (impact: 'did it grab me?', e.g. *arresting, dull*), reaction (quality: 'did I like it?', e.g. *lovely, plain*), composition (balance: 'did it hang together?', e.g. *balanced, irregular*), composition (complexity: 'was it hard to follow?', e.g. *simple, ornate*), and valuation ('was it worthwhile?', e.g. *profound, shallow*). Other words that are employed in this category include a *masterpiece, dramatic proportions, a gorgeous arrangement*. We can see positive APPRECIATION occur with compliments, admiration and praise, an negative APPRECIATION in e.g. *an ugly garment, boring proceedings, a flop*.

Martin (1997; 2000) developed the following six factors that classify different instances of AFFECT. They are replicated by White (2011: 22) as the following:

- i. Are the feelings popularly construed by the culture as positive (enjoyable) or negative ones (unenjoyable)?
- ii. Are the feelings represented as a surge of emotion involving some kind of paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation (for example, weeping or trembling), or more internally experienced as an emotive state or ongoing mental process?
- iii. Are the feelings represented as targeting or responding to some specific emotional stimulus or are they represented as a general ongoing mood?
- iv. Where do the feelings lie on a scale from low to high intensity?
- v. Do the feelings involve intention (rather than reaction), with respect to a stimulus that is not yet actualised (irrealis) as opposed to an actual stimulus (realis)?
- vi. Finally, emotions can be grouped into three major sets having to do with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, anger, happiness, and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect.

In this study, these six factors form the basis of analysis of diminutive interjections. The construction of positive-negative feelings, the addition of paralinguistic manifestations (e.g. emoticons in tweets), the existence of a stimulus, and the intensity of feelings are considered for the diminutive interjections under analysis in Chapters 5 to 7. They are considered as such because of the inherent emotional connotations conveyed by both interjections and diminutives in both English and Polish.

Graduation

The semantics of scaling are found in the graduation of FORCE (*slightly, somewhat, very*) and FOCUS (*a true friend or pure folly*) and in the progression of verbs, e.g. *to like* → *to love* → *to adore*. The category of FORCE, thus, can be viewed as a type of amplification system, whereby evaluations and the strength with which we view something or someone as upgraded or downgraded (cf. Bednarek 2008: 30). These affect interpersonal relationships; for example, Crespo-Fernandez (2015: 180) suggests that one function of upgrading FORCE in an online forum could be to “make the participants in the thread agree with his views” and to establish dominance. The graduation of FOCUS, on the other hand, either ‘sharpens’ (e.g. *award-winning, all alone*) or ‘softens’ (e.g. *sort of, kind of*). Both amplify ATTITUDE.

It has been shown by Tagg (2015) and Zappavigna (2012) that Twitter users frequently ‘upscale’ their emotions with FORCE (e.g. exclamation marks, capital letters). A tweet showing the concept is given by Zappavigna (2011: 170):

HOLY CRAP [FORCE]. OBAMA WON [JUDGEMENT+] HE WON [JUDGEMENT+]!!! [FORCE]
IM SO [INCREASED FORCE] HAPPY [AFFECT+]!!! [FORCE]⁶⁹

The tweet suggests that the secondary interjection *holy crap!* works as FORCE (signaling commitment to the statement) that is relatively mild (or less explicit) than *holy shit!*, which in turn is milder than *fucking hell!* This item is used as an emotional reaction that precedes the descriptive context that Obama won the election, and other such emotive features as exclamation marks, intensifiers (*so*), positive AFFECT (*happy*) and positive JUDGEMENT (*won*). The choice of all capital letters is often described as yelling.⁷⁰

Expletives – alongside terms of address, slang, idioms, euphemisms and interjections – tend to be viewed through the interpersonal system of Involvement. This system complements and works together with Appraisal because it uses nongradable resources to negotiate tenor

⁶⁹ Unlike semantic features, the plus (+) sign following the term indicates a positive evaluation, and the minus (-) sign a negative evaluation.

⁷⁰ In the present study I modify these features of graduation slightly for clarity. Intensification (raised force) is indicated by [R-FORCE], while de-intensification (lowered force) is indicated with [L-FORCE]. Instead of indicating [FOCUS], I use [SOFT] or [SHARP].

relations, e.g. solidarity (cf. Martin and White 2005: 33). Involvement also offers “interactants ways to realize, construct, and vary the level of intimacy of an interaction” (Eggins and Slade 1997: 143-144). Because diminutives (along with augmentatives) express a high degree of intimacy between speakers, they may be assessed best under Involvement. In this study, the focus remains on Appraisal. It does, however, consider how Appraisal resources, slang, naming, and swearing may negotiate what is termed ‘emotional involvement’; that is, the level of emotional solidarity and intimacy between tweeters or characters in literary dialogue.

Appraisal seems a useful tool in the linguistic analysis of interjections and diminutives; however, few scholars have applied it to these emotional linguistic items (see, e.g. Vian 2008) apart from passing mentions in the larger context of emotions. When the appraisal-emotion relationship is studied, scholars tend to discuss emotions in general; some look at one language specifically, while others look at the role of culture in feeling emotions (e.g. Mesquita and Ellsworth 2001). When analyzing lexis, Bednarek (2008: 13) writes that “its classification of resources of interpersonal meaning lends itself in particular to discourse analytical purposes [and] is also specifically suited to the analysis of emotion talk.” I would argue that it is also suited to the analysis of emotional talk (e.g. affixed interjections) because of the inherent evaluative component of these linguistic units.

Prior literature on Appraisal treats interjections in three different ways. Hood and Martin (2007) write that interjections and related phenomena are not included in Attitude. In contrast, Martin and White (2005: 69, original emphasis) take the approach that interjections (i.e. prototypical interjections, expletives, and related euphemisms) should be viewed “as outbursts of evaluation which are underspecified as far as type of **attitude** is concerned.” According to Zappavigna (2012), the secondary interjection *holy crap!* can be classified as (raised) FORCE. Thus, the position that interjections fall into the Appraisal framework because they convey a speaker’s appraisal of a particular situation (Michaelis 2001: 1039) is persuasive. However, interjections arguably can be classified under Graduation (as emotional FORCE) and/or a type of Attitude because of their capacity to express, for example, positive AFFECT through joy (e.g. *yay!*) and positive APPRECIATION/JUDGEMENT through surprise about something (e.g. *wow!*). This study takes the position that situational context determines the Appraisal resource(s) of the interjections, and they are typically a combination of Attitude and Graduation.

Appraisal considers the “changing variables, interaction, and context” (Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014: 12) of evaluation in a way unafforded by semantic features. That is, Appraisal can suggest why some lexical items have a critical and evaluative stance when “their semantic features do not include anything that could be labeled as negative or critical” (Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014: 12). Thus, while semantic and pragmatic features can give a broad overview of meaning, it is often one-sided and is not able to consider interaction, context, and mode of communication, which are important aspects of any study of (emotional) language. As Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014: 13) point out, “the resources deployed to realize evaluation may vary according to the medium that is used [...] [causing] a relatively new use of the evaluative resources of a language” found in, for example, Twitter and blogs. Thus, Appraisal is suitable for a dynamic study of diminutive interjections across written modes.

It is important to consider whether Appraisal, a system inductively developed on the basis of analyzing English texts, can simply be applied to the analysis of Polish texts. The answer is arguably in the affirmative.⁷¹ Polish texts employ FORCE through intensifiers (e.g. *bardzo* ‘very’), and positive/negative AFFECT (e.g. *kapitan był smutny/szczęśliwy* ‘the captain was sad/happy’), APPRECIATION (e.g. *łzawe wykonanie piosenki* ‘a weepy rendition of the song’) and JUDGEMENT (e.g. *on grał umiejętnie* ‘he played skillfully’). The Polish language is not different enough from English that Appraisal could not be applied to it. In future, it would be of value to comprehensively assess the application of an Appraisal analysis to texts beyond the English language.

Another Appraisal category is ENGAGEMENT, which positions a speaker relative to her proposition, and is briefly presented next.

Engagement

Engagement is a newer sub-system of Appraisal that “is concerned with the ways in which resources such as projection, modality, polarity, concession and various comment adverbials position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position” (Martin and White 2005: 36). They may be grouped

⁷¹ Scholars have developed and extended Appraisal to other languages, e.g. Vian 2008 for Brazilian Portuguese. I am, however, not aware of studies using Appraisal in Polish.

together under four headings: disclaim, proclaim, probabilise, and attribute. Disclaim includes ‘denial’ and ‘counter-expectation’: *Amazingly/Bizarrely, this damaged the trust between the President and his bodyguards*. Proclaim includes ‘expectation’ and ‘pronouncement’: *The action will, of course, damage the trust between President and bodyguard*. Probabilise includes ‘evidence’, ‘likelihood’ and ‘hearsay’: *It seems that this damaged the trust*, and *I hear that this has damaged the trust*. Attribute includes ‘extra-vocalisation’: *The head of Clinton’s security division says this will damage trust*.

Engagement is not used in the present study; rather, the resources of FORCE, FOCUS, AFFECT, APPRECIATION, and JUDGEMENT are most frequently accessed for diminutives and interjections. These Appraisal resources can also show (emotional) evaluation in the literary and digital communication found from the datasets described in the next section (3.4) for the analysis in Chapters 5 to 7.

3.4 Datasets

This study uses corpus linguistics methodology, which investigates language by using a large collection of texts (Deignan 2005: 5) in order to conduct “a thorough and exhaustive analysis of the feature as it occurs” (Wynne 2005: 2). Four main sources⁷² form the basis for the case study in Chapters 5 through 7, and the following sections will briefly describe them. They are:

- Twitter
- blogs and blog comments
- fanfiction and fanfiction comments
- Google Books (adult fiction)

As points of reference, various standard corpora and online slang dictionaries were employed: they included The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), The National Corpus of Polish (NKJP), the Polish Web Corpus 2012 and *Urban Dictionary*. These were searched

⁷² At an early point in the study, other corpora were somewhat compiled but not used. A corpus of online consumer reviews was compiled from Amazon; however, the number of diminutive interjections was very low. A corpus of TV show dialogues in English was partially compiled, using online transcripts from *The Big Bang Theory* and *Once Upon a Time*, but there were no online transcripts of Polish TV shows. In future, a comparative study of affixed interjections in contemporary TV dialogue, especially from a multimodal perspective, would be useful.

for each affixed interjection: the number of occurrences in corpora were used for quantitative results, and the definitions were decomposed into keywords, and semantic and pragmatic features, for the qualitative results for Chapter 4. The methods for Chapter 4 are discussed in 3.5.1., while methods for Chapters 5 through 7 are discussed in 3.5.2.

It is important to stress that the four sources in this study are ‘live’. That is, unlike typical corpora which are built by the researcher and fixed in terms of size, live sources are online websites/platforms that are constantly in flux (e.g. being added to). In live mining, the researcher repeatedly revisits the sources for new instances of the linguistic item over a period of time when needed, adds useful examples to the study as they appear, and may interact with users by asking questions about their choice of lexical item, etc. On Twitter in particular, entire or parts of conversations may be used or referred to for context. This is a variation on using data mining applications that gather published tweets and retrieve tweets as they are published (see Bonzanini 2016 on using Python for data mining). This method was chosen in lieu of typical corpora because of the particularly rare instances of affixed interjections in standard corpora, dictionaries, and so on.

3.4.1 Twitter

The microblogging site Twitter “is defined as an information network [...] open to all users” (Demirhan 2014: 288). Since its beginnings in 2006, Twitter has become a useful resource in corpus-based linguistic studies of language use and change because of the sheer number of tweets posted daily by 313 million monthly active users (as of December 2016). This amounts to thousands of tweets per hour by all types of users: individuals, businesses, news networks, celebrities, bots and so on.⁷³ Because of this thriving online environment, “Twitter potentially offers access to massively big data sets, of people’s passing thoughts, ideas, comments, interjections, observations and information sources (e.g. new articles) that they are interested in. There is really no offline equivalent to tweets as a source of data” (Hewson, Vogel and Laurent

⁷³ According to Demirhan (2014: 288), Twitter remains the most popular micro-blogging site on the internet. Individual users can communicate with each other in Twitter ‘conversations’ and ‘re-tweet’ information that they want to share with their followers. Businesses use hashtags and retweets, and buy ‘promoted tweets’ to extend message reach (Chaston 2015: 172). The Twitter bot, an unmanned account, posts the information programmed into it.

2016: 67). Because of this, Tagg (2015), Zappavigna (2012) and many other scholars have studied Twitter extensively from various perspectives (e.g. sentiment analysis, digital communication).

Compared with other social media platforms, Twitter is unique as “a short-form genre⁷⁴ [...] better suited than blogs for quick, near-synchronous exchanges” (Lomborg 2013: 96). Twitter imposes a strict word limit of 140 characters or fewer, though as of November 2017 the character limit has been extended to 280 characters for most of its users. However, Twitter, like other forms of digital communication and literary dialogue, are asynchronous, meaning that the interlocutors do not have to be present at the same time. At the same time, they present an illusion of synchronous communication. The asynchronous mode is perhaps more frequent on the internet in direct contrast to synchronous CMC, e.g. in instant messaging, online gaming, and chat rooms.⁷⁵ From the sources mined in the present study, Twitter is perhaps the most synchronous online platform that may provide context through substantial interaction.

Zappavigna (2012: 67) notes that Twitter users tend to ‘upscale’ emotion by “[intensifying] interpersonal systems as a way of increasing solidarity through emphasising both positive and negative appraisal as shared experience. Users deploy playful typography and punctuation to assist with this upscaling.” These “[substitute] for paralinguistic cues (such as volume, proxemics, and facial expression) for expressing emotion” (Baron 2009; qtd. in Zappavigna 2012: 67). Users tend to use these resources to intensify emotion, “perhaps with the exception of the kind of interpersonal softening seen with emoticons”⁷⁶ (Zappavigna 2012: 67). Thus, punctuation

⁷⁴ I adopt the common view that the concept of ‘genre’ is an elastic and flexible one, generally referring to “a group of texts that are connected by a network of overlapping similarities” (Lomborg 2013: 16),

⁷⁵ In comparison, CMC is sometimes viewed through a three-dimensional space, where Skype, FaceTime, webinars, and voice chat for gamers, along with text-based communication, are included under the term (Segerstad 2002). Scholars who apply discourse analysis to CMC often refer to the mode as ‘computer-mediated discourse’ (CMD), where they focus on language and how CMC affects language use (Segerstad 2002).

⁷⁶ Emoticons differ from these features as they do not necessarily enhance emotion. Rather, they are used “to connect with others in convivial, friendly and generally interpersonally positive ways” (Zappavigna 2012: 71) and “can be used to diffuse tension” (78).

and other typographic resources – sometimes together with the immediate context – frequently serve to intensify the emotive content.⁷⁷

Danet (2010: 148, cf. Sindoni 2014: 39) adds that digital writing tends to be “informal and playful” (original emphasis). She lists several features of ‘digital writing’ that often appears on Twitter that I have modified in the following:

- **reduplicate punctuation marks** for *emphasis, playfulness*: e.g. What?????!!!!???
- **reduplicate phonemes** for *emphasis, playfulness*: e.g. Whaaaat? Oooh
- **non-standard spelling** for *emphasis, playfulness*: e.g. txt me, 4u, bizy
- **capitalization** for *expression of anger, resentment, aggressive behavior or, if it concerns a single word, emphasis*: e.g. oh my fucking GOD i hate messages like this
- **acronyms, shortenings, abbreviations** for *playfulness*, e.g. LOL (laughing out loud), bff (best friends forever)
- **descriptions of actions, events, states of mind** for *emphasis to a certain word or attitude*, e.g. *pantones*; <pantones>; >>pantones>>
- **emoticons, emojis and other visual items (e.g., sending a photo, a picture, a text file)** for *visual contents*, e.g. 😊 😂 🎄 🙌 🤖
- **onomatopoeias** for *playfulness, to mimic speech*, e.g. argh, mwuhahahahahaha!

These features occur because writers have difficulty expressing emotions and nuances without the paralinguistic gestures found in spoken language (e.g. facial expressions, intonation and body language). Emoticons, as representations of facial expressions, replace visual cues in CMC; “with the help of emoticons writers can emphasize the tone of what they write and show the

⁷⁷ Twitter has been a cause for concern to those who fear that technology is ‘ruining’ language. As Tagg (2015: 25) argues, there are three myths and misconceptions which contribute to underlying fears of digital communication; namely that “all young people” use the kind of digitaese that is portrayed by the media (for example, ‘If u cn rd ths, u mst b gr8 at txt spk, u gk u! Jk:-.’ from the Daily Herald, March 2001), that adults cannot enter into this illicit ‘code’, and “that digitaese and ‘proper’ forms of a language are somehow in competition with each other.” While a study from 2013 by the social media monitoring company Bandwatch showed that Twitter users are the worst spellers, the results showed that the spelling ‘mistakes’ were typically frequent shortening of words such as omitting apostrophes and using acronyms such as LOL and YOLO ‘you only live once’ (O’Mahoney 2013). The short character limit likely causes users to condense the number of letters, which in turn presses the user to become creative with alternative spelling (O’Mahoney 2013).

reader if something is meant to be funny, ironic, or sad” (Greiffenstern 2010: 43). Emojis, as digital images that express an idea, emotion, etc. also contribute to the overall tone.

Emoticons of laughter (e.g. smiley faces) are a type of linguistic ‘punctuation’ that occurs at specific syntactic points in an utterance for a *punctuation effect* (Provine 1993). In other words, “[l]aughter occurs at places in the speech stream associated with pauses, phrase boundaries, and the beginnings and ends of statements and questions [such as] “You are going where? – ha-ha,” but rarely “You are going – ha-ha – where?”” (Provine et al. 2007: 300). Through its placement in a written sentence, laughter as punctuation is similar to interjections. It can be argued that laughter and interjections are frequently inseparable and function to enrich the emotive content.

3.4.2 Blogs

A blog is a type of web-based genre of written discourse, and is created by “a distinctive Web application which came into prominence in the early 2000s” (Crystal 2006: 15).⁷⁸ According to Crystal (2006: 15), a blog is “a personalized web page where the owner can post messages at intervals.” Myers (2010: 160-161) writes that “blogs provide a vast source of data already in electronic form, so it is easy to download material, save it as text, and use concordance tools to find keywords and collocations” [...] [and] blogs are hard to sample. There is no list of the whole blogosphere, no ‘representative sample’ from that list.” There are many different types of blogs, and opportunities for different types of authorship. For example, many blogs can be viewed as online personal diaries. Others are interactive, have shared authorship, and yet others are static monologues.

A specialist type of blog typically has some distinctive features from other blogs. Food bloggers use different words and phrases than, e.g. music blogs. They more likely engage with words of smell and taste, which are more affectively loaded than those of other senses; “describing something as ‘pungent’ or ‘delicious’ has an inherent evaluative component” Winter (2016: 1). Authors of these blogs build strategies of involving the reader, e.g. “directly thanking the audience” and adding ‘a light-hearted tone to the text, presenting the author as less of a professional authority than an approachable person sharing food-related everyday experienced with likeminded readers” (Diemer and Frobenius 2013: 72). Thus, a food blogger tries to identify

⁷⁸ See Myers (2010) for a detailed overview of the history of blogs.

with her audience, be likeable and friendly, and come across as approachable to bring more traffic to her blog.

Lexical innovation is a salient feature in blogs whereby bloggers may construct norms and personal/group identities. Diemer and Frobenius (2013: 66) describe the feature of “the coining of new, often non-standard, lexical items [which] usually start occurring as hapaxes and then gradually spread through the blogosphere and beyond.” In food blogs, Diemer and Frobenius (2013: 66) identify curious coinages that are typically suffixed, e.g. *superfine*, *wilty*, *superhumanly*, *summerish*, *scoopable*, *awesomer* and *melty*. In addition, amplification resources include “spelling variations used for emphasis or punning (*wedddddddding*, *gorrrrrrgeous*, *thisssssssssssss*, *verrrry*, *Chaaahles*)” (Diemer and Frobenius 2013: 66).

3.4.3 Fanfiction

Fanfiction (also *fanfic* or *fic*) is a form of online literature that is rooted in community-based enjoyment of a variety of stories that individuals want to re-tell with their own endings, explore what could have happened, change characters’ sexual orientations, or to meld together two or more different worlds. It “may be defined as prose fiction of any length, style, genre, and narrative technique, produced by fans of a wide range of cultural products including TV shows, movies, video games, Japanese manga, and ‘classic’ literature” (Thomas 2011: 205). Thus, fanfiction is as broad as imagination itself.

The idea of embellishing and re-writing stories has been a part of human culture since antiquity (Thomas 2011: 205). It is generally accepted that Jane Austen and Sherlock Holmes fan societies date back to the 1920s, while the *Star Trek* media fandom dates back to 1967 (cf. Derecho 2006: 62). Since then, the genre “has substantially gained in widespread popularity as a result of the affordances of digital technology, which enables fans from across the world to come together and disseminate their work” (Tagg 2015: 37) on web platforms such as Fanfiction.net and personal blogs. However, writing fanfiction is a hobby that is written mainly for oneself. While *Fifty Shades of Grey* and *Fifty Shades Freed* by E.L. James were produced as films and received international acclaim, most remain in relative obscurity.

3.4.4 Literary dialogue (Google Books)

Google Books claims to be “the world’s most comprehensive index of full-text books” (Google Books). In 2007, the Google Books project set out its ambitious goal of scanning all the world’s

books and making them available online. While many books were scanned, the project eventually lost its momentum due to criticism, copyright battles, and other issues (Yu 2015). Because of these issues, the project was never finished. By 2015, Google Books contained thirty million volumes, but much of it was - and still is - inaccessible (Yu 2015). Many out-of-print books only provide snippet views or a limited selection of pages, and still others do not provide page numbers. Books without page numbers included in this study are marked with 'np' after the year in the citation.

Polish literature in Google Books is sparse; most literary texts are translations from English, and from those texts, most only provide snippet views. This often makes it difficult to analyze situational contexts and longer interactions. Overall, it is difficult to find a satisfactory number of contemporary Polish works to build a personalized corpus of Polish fiction, especially if the researcher intends to examine rare linguistic items. Because of this, the study focuses more on English than Polish; most of the examples of literary dialogue in this study are from English texts. It would be of use to digitize a larger number of recent Polish novels of fiction for future corpus-based or corpus-driven studies of diminutive interjections and similar linguistic phenomena in literary dialogue.

Fiction dialogue is a text-type that is not a web-based genre, and allows for more developed and described speech acts because of longer length and descriptive context. The author of a text has had time to edit and rewrite the text, and unless the book is self-published, there are numerous people involved in the process before it appears on bookshelves. Editors, proofreaders and possibly the author's writing group or friends weigh in on the characters, dialogue, and other elements of the story. Thus, fiction dialogue has garnered much interest by scholars from many perspectives and disciplines such as in creative writing, stylistics, book editing, and linguistic analyses of literature. Interjections have been discussed in the context of fiction dialogue as well, and studies that have discussed interjections in literary dialogue include Taavitsainen (1995, 1998).

Interjections are used in literary dialogue to produce a certain (emotional) effect and contribute to the aesthetics of the text.⁷⁹ In his works, Chaucer “uses [interjections] in a variety of functions; in some cases, he modifies and colours their meanings with shades of irony” (Taavitsainen 1997: 601). In Early Modern romances, interjections can “convey heightened emotional excitement” (Taavitsainen 1998: 203), add “to the overall affective tone of the text” (207), “enforce the emotive loading” (206) of a passage, and create “narrative suspense” (213). Taavitsainen (1998) shows that interjections have a “foregrounding function [...] but sometimes they are just emotive asides directed to the reader to encourage compassion” (211). Furthermore, she finds that “speech quotations and passages that imply interjections seem to be consciously targeted at manipulating readers’ emotions [...] interjections may gain an almost conative function in guiding audience reactions” (211). In sum, interjections play a prominent role in the emotional ‘landscape’ of a text.

Writing guidelines in manuals and books for aspiring authors⁸⁰ provide advice for using interjections which downplays their significance and meanings in a text as opposed to when they are used in natural, spoken conversation. Linguistic studies of interjections in fiction conclude that well-placed interjections create “the *illusion* of real conversation” (Leech and Short 2007: 132). Thus, studies of interjections in literary dialogue arguably function as commentaries of the literary conventions of creative writing as much as they are expressions of evaluation, attitude and emotion in various societies, cultures, and psychological thought.

⁷⁹ It should be mentioned that this is a generalization because some genres are arguably less edited for style and emotive content than others, e.g. Harlequin romances; however, all publishing companies have some expectation towards the quality of their authors’ works.

⁸⁰ Books and articles on writing suggest that “[i]nexperienced fiction writers seem to begin nearly every sentence of dialogue with interjections such as “well,” “umm,” “huh,” “oh,” or “ah.” In their attempt to replicate speech, they are overburdening it with words that, when actually spoken, usually aren’t heard” (Sharpe and Gunther 1994: 155). This follows writing conventions that have a negative attitude towards “overburdening” dialogue with interjections; not because they are not actually used in natural discourse, but because it does not fit into literary conventions. Style manuals instead urge writers to convey hesitation and uncertainty without interjections, with “dialogue that moves slowly, that sounds uncertain or groping: **Think of dialogue in fiction as what is left when the extraneous verbiage is stripped away**” (Hough 2015: np, original emphasis).

3.4.5 Reference corpora

The reference corpora used in this study are: the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), Global Web-based English (GloWbE), the Corpus of American Soap Operas (SOAP), the British National Corpus (BNC), the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English (Strathy), the Polish National Corpus (NKJP) and Polish Web 2012. They are large balanced corpora that contain a certain number of words per year, are divided by different genres, and include various registers. In the present study, the data from the main sources needed to be tested against a reference corpus, i.e. an alternative data source. Thus, several corpora were used as background corpora to set a baseline for the types and number of affixed interjections for the quantitative section of Chapter 4.

a. English

Most of the corpora consulted were developed by Mark Davies from BYU. They are briefly outlined below (from corpus.byu.edu):

- ✓ *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*: 520 million words, American, 1990-2015. It is the largest freely-available corpus of English, and the only large and balanced corpus of American English. COCA is probably the most widely-used corpus of English [...] and it is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts;⁸¹
- ✓ *Global Web-based English (GloWbE)*: 1.9 billion words, 20 countries/web, 2012-13. It is unique in the way that it allows [the carrying out of] comparisons between different varieties of English. GloWbE is related to many other corpora of English that we have created, which offer unparalleled insight into variation in English. [Its size] makes it about 100 times as large as other corpora like the International Corpus of English, and it allows for many types of searches that would not be possible otherwise.
- ✓ *Corpus of American Soap Operas (SOAP)*: 100 million words, American, 2001-2012. It contains 100 million words of data from 22,000 transcripts from American soap operas from the early 2000s, and it serves as a great resource to look at very informal language.
- ✓ *British National Corpus (BNC)*: 100 million words, British, 1980s-1993. It was originally

⁸¹ COCA was updated in December 2017. 20 million words of data from both 2016 and 2017 were added.

created by Oxford University press [...] and it contains 100 million words of text texts from a wide range of genres (e.g. spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic).

- ✓ *Strathy Corpus of Canadian English (Strathy)*: 50 million words, Canadian, 1970s-2000s. It is a product of the Strathy Language Unit at Queen's University [with] words from more than 1,100 spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts.

b. Polish

- ✓ *The Polish National Corpus / Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP)*: Over 1 billion words. Its website notes that it “is a shared initiative of four institutions: Institute of Computer Science at the Polish Academy of Sciences (coordinator), Institute of Polish Language at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Polish Scientific Publishers PWN, and the Department of Computational and Corpus Linguistics at the University of Łódź. [...] The list of sources for the corpora contains classic literature, daily newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals, transcripts of conversations, and a variety of short-lived and internet texts” (from www.nkjp.pl).
- ✓ *Polish Web 2012*: “a Polish corpus made up of texts collected from the internet. Data was crawled by the SpiderLing web spider in June 2012 and comprise of more than 7 billion words in 22 million documents” (from <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/plnten-polish-corpus>). The corpus was made available in March 2018 and searched 24 March 2018.

Established corpora have the downside of not often containing examples of affixed interjections. Despite this, corpora are good indicators of their frequency and potential meanings and functions across different registers. As put by Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodriguez Gonzalez (2012: 18), “large representative corpora of present-day European languages have become an indispensable resource for modern lexicology and lexicography [...] because large bodies of authentic texts can be stored and linguistic information can easily be retrieved [and] because they offer up-to-date source material from which new Anglicisms or new meanings/senses of Anglicisms may be detected.” In the context of this study, established corpora, such as COCA or GloWbE, can suggest new meanings/senses of affixed interjections.

There are four major limitations with the use of established corpora besides their limited number of affixed interjections. First, while the BNC is the only British corpus used in this study, the language in it comes from before the focus dates of this study (1980s-1993). I include this

corpus, along with Strathy (CanE), only for the comparison of regional varieties. Second, the Polish corpora are fewer than the English corpora; there is only one corpus available of contemporary fiction.⁸² There are no other Polish corpora likely to contain affixed interjections. Third, the corpora sometimes do not easily differentiate between parts of speech; for example, the interjections *dear!* and *good!* gave the ‘no instances’ response when selecting the POS of ‘interjection’. Last, censorship applies to the media language in the spoken part of these corpora as a language-external factor which prevents use of strong swear/taboo words.

3.4.6 Online dictionaries

Rare lexical items are typically not found in standard dictionaries and corpora (cf. Zappavigna 2012: 129). The dictionaries used here contain words, definitions and examples submitted by online language users and are some of the most popular online dictionaries (cf. Cotter and Damasco 2007) in English and Polish respectively. They are: *Urban Dictionary* and its Polish counterpart, *Miejski słownik slangu i mowy potocznej [Urban dictionary of slang and contemporary language] – Miejski* for short. I also referred to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) for the few affixed interjections that are well-established in the language, e.g. *lordy!* and *oh goodie!*

Zappavigna (2012: 129) writes that *Urban Dictionary* is “[o]ne non-scholarly, collaborative resource [...] of slang and popular internet-related expressions.” It can be viewed as a newer populist-type of dictionary (Damaso 2005); that is, “an emergent dictionary genre that joins lexicographic principles with Web-only communication technologies to provide a context in which users collaborate, cooperate, and compete for meaning-making” (Cotter and Damasco 2007: 1). As with any dictionary, *Urban Dictionary* has a unique set of benefits and problems that have to do with, for example, slang, online collaboration, lexicographical practice, and idiosyncratic contribution methods.

⁸² Most Polish corpora seem to be web-based (e.g. Polish Web 2012) or consist of types of texts that do not tend to use emotional language, such as the European Parliament Proceedings (Europarl parallel corpus), news summaries (Polish Summaries Corpus), Wikipedia (Polish Wikipedia Corpus), stock market reports (gpwEcono Corpus). Those that may include emotional language may be too small and specific (e.g. Polish Corpus of Suicide Notes).

Urban Dictionary is helpful to linguists in several ways. It offers “insight into slang practices and their contexts of use, useful for obtaining a starting point for exploring a given instance of slang and also for assessing its stability” (Zappavigna 2012: 130). De Schryver (2003: 157) points out the relevance of *Urban Dictionary* as it potentially never goes out of date like printed dictionaries “and can as such represent the ultimate dynamic repository of knowledge.” Perhaps most importantly, *Urban Dictionary* “captures what most traditional English dictionaries fall short of: recording ephemeral quotidian spoken language and representing popular views of meaning” (Cotter and Damaso 2007: 1).

Coleman (2016: 335) points out that there is no documented proof that “these casual slang lexicographers [in, e.g. *Urban Dictionary*] actually use the terms they are documenting.” *Urban Dictionary* has a “voting system for editorial filtering whereby an accepted term receives a certain proportion more ‘accept’ than ‘reject’ votes from users” (Zappavigna 2012: 129), and users can rate an entry with a thumbs-up or thumbs-down in *Miejski*. Despite these community ratings which are supposed to show the perceived accuracy of a definition, at worst, the “contributors’ energies are often diverted into abuse and uninformed arguments about etymology and usage” (Coleman 2016: 335). It is possible for an individual to create an entry for a fake word, or for a word which only has meaning for a small group of people.

Many *Urban Dictionary* definitions include references to sex, drugs, and alcohol. Notably, they tend to reflect “the interests of the site’s demographic, which *Urban Dictionary* identifies as 53 percent male and mostly under twenty-five” (Baron 2009: 203). For example, one definition for *ow!* is “the word michael jackson likes to say a lot in his songs” [8 February 2004, zee] and *yay!* is “[s]lang for Cocaine, popular in California’s Bay Area” [2 February 2005, Bookworm]. Thus, it must be emphasized that *Urban Dictionary* will be used as “a useful starting point for definitions of unfamiliar slang terms” (Coleman 2016: 335) and only those entries with an overall good rating will be included.

3.5 Methods

This study used corpus linguistic techniques, semantic and pragmatic feature analysis and Appraisal analysis to study affixed interjections in English and Polish. Chapter 4 used corpus linguistic techniques as well as feature analysis to identify and study affixed interjections in English and Polish corpora. The basic method for feature analysis involved decomposing lexical

items into semantic, and sometimes pragmatic, features using mostly abstract level and basic level semantic systems. Existing inventories of semantic and pragmatic features were compiled and, additionally, keywords from user entries in online dictionaries were consulted to identify some features, including specific level semantic or pragmatic features.

In Chapters 5 through 7, an Appraisal analysis is used to look at diminutive interjections in four data sources. The method follows the functional approach for classifying appraisal items into categories (AFFECT, APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT and Graduation) developed by Martin and White 2007 and described in Eggins and Slade 1997, informed by pilot research of types of affixed interjection (Lockyer 2015, 2016). Details of the methods and procedures for data collection and analysis are presented below in sections 3.5.1 (methods for Chapter 4) and 3.5.2 (methods for Chapters 5-7). Section 3.6, Methodological issues, discusses methodological considerations and limitations.

3.5.1 Methods for chapter 4

Data collection and procedures

Twitter

In this study, the entire Twitter database was systematically mined for the first time in October 2016 to discover which affixed interjections were used. However, the English DIs *wowee!*, *ouchies!*, *(wh)oopsie!* and *owie!* were mined several times each month from 2013 to 2014 for the pilot study published in 2014, and the Polish DIs *(o)jejku!* and *(o)jejciu!* were subjected to a similar search between 2014 and 2016 for the pilot study published in 2016.

In the first step for Chapter 4, a list of interjections was put together based on interjections found in previous research on interjections that are used in present-day English and Polish (e.g. Ameka 1992, Jovanović 2004 for English; Wierzbicka 2003, Sieradzka and Hrycyna 1996 for Polish). The initial list of the study was divided into each type of interjection (cf. 1.2). This included primary emotive interjections such as *wow!*, *(wh)oops!*, *yuck!*, *ugh!*, *yay!*, *ow!*, *ouch!*, *whoa!*, *ah!*, *ew!*, and *oh!*, cognitive interjections such as *oho!* and *aha!*, conative interjections including *shh!* and *shoo!* Contact interjections were also added, including *hello!*, *sorry!*, *goodbye!*, *good morning!*, *good afternoon!*, *later!*, *hi!*, *sorry!*, *please!*, *thanks!*, and descriptive/onomatopoeic interjections such as *bam!*, *wham!*, *boom!*, and secondary interjections including *lord!*, *god!*,

jesus!, *oh dear!*, *oh boy!*, *oh no!*, *crap!*, *shit!*, *lol!*, *hell!*, and *fuck!* All Polish counterparts were included in their own list.

Next, all the diminutive, augmentative, and slang affixes were gathered from prior research (e.g. Schneider 2003). These included suffixes including *-ie*, *-ey*, *-let*, *-ling*, *-o*, *-ola*, *-rama*, *-aroo*, and *-s* (see 2.3 and 2.4) for English, and the *-k-* affix for Polish (along with its palatalized form and the slang affixes). Prefixes were also included, namely *mega-*, *mini-*, *micro-*, *hyper-*, and *super-* for English and Polish. Each interjection from the list was systematically given each affix and entered into the search function of Twitter to find out how many tweets had the item and over what period of time. Occasionally, when the form appeared to have many occurrences in another language, the form was put into the Advanced Search function to only display results from a selected language – either English or Polish. A form was included in the study if it occurred at least once or twice a month (or the equivalent in one year) by different users in the language under study.

From the first full and systematic pass, done in 2015,⁸³ it was determined that interjections did not receive prefixes in either English or Polish; thus, the diminutive and augmentative prefixes were excluded. Some primary emotive interjections, especially *oh!* (Pol. *och!*), *eh!* (Pol. *ech!*), *ah!* and *ew!* did not receive suffixes, and were taken from the list. It was found that primary emotive, contact, and secondary emotive interjections were most likely to receive suffixes, and these finalized affixed interjections are listed in 4.1. Occurrences with affixed forms of conative, cognitive, and descriptive/onomatopoeic forms were very sparse (e.g. *whammo!*) and it was deemed that they belonged to a future study.

Next, the list was taken to the reference corpora for a similar systematic analysis.

Reference corpora

Because of the sheer size and colloquial language of Twitter, the affixed forms that never appeared on Twitter were arguably unlikely to appear in any reference corpora. Thus, the list compiled from the Twitter results were searched on the BNC, COCA, SOAP, Strathy, GloWbE for English, and the NKJP in October 2016, and Polish Web 2012 was added later in March 2018.

⁸³ It should be noted that I had sporadically looked at affixed forms of interjections and other linguistic items earlier, and looked at these results again several months later, but this full pass from 2015 represents the first complete and systematic search of all possible forms.

Each affixed form was placed into the search function and the raw frequency added to the corresponding Table. Because it is typical in corpus linguistics methodology to include both raw and normalized frequencies, the normalized frequency counts (normalized to 100 million) were added in square brackets if the raw frequency was above zero.

After the affixed forms were put in their respective Tables, COCA and GloWbE, as representatives of contemporary American English and web-based English, were selected for a search of the base forms of each already-listed affixed interjection. A POS search for ‘interjection’ was first applied, but sometimes this function did not work. When this occurred, the POS function was removed and the entire corpus was searched and all occurrences (including the form in other parts of speech) were included in the Table and marked with an asterisk. Together, the results for the base and affixed forms in the reference corpora were able to paint a quantitative picture of affixed interjection use that cannot be applied to the ‘messy’ internet data found on platforms such as Twitter (cf. Hoffmann 2007: 69).

Dictionary meanings

Chapter 4 focuses on meanings by laypersons who contributed to online slang dictionaries. Arguably, the demographic on these websites are older teens and young adults in their early to mid-twenties, and therefore the definitions proposed by them may be narrow in scope and should be regarded with caution (see 3.4.6). They may be, at best, seen as a rough picture of popular trends in colloquial and informal use by young adult laypersons that contribute to identifying the semantic feature(s) associated with an affixed interjection. Clearly, definitions from *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski* do not reflect the use of affixed interjections by young children and those adults that rarely, if ever, go online and/or use social media.

Each affixed interjection, from the list compiled through the systematic search of Twitter, was searched for in either *Urban Dictionary* (for English) or *Miejski* (for Polish). If the form returned any occurrences that had a high approval rating, was not clearly a fabricated definition, and was used as an interjection, then it was included in the study. Most affixed interjections did not receive more than one or two usable definitions because of creative neologisms submitted by users. (See Cotter and Damaso 2007 for a discussion of neologisms in online slang dictionaries.) Furthermore, *Urban Dictionary* vastly outperformed *Miejski* in terms of

thoroughness (e.g. quality of definition and example sentence) and general number of affixed interjections.

The user entries were then read and analyzed for keywords in the definition (e.g. *new*) and in the corresponding hashtags (e.g. *#accident*). These words helped in identifying the semantic and pragmatic features of each affixed interjection and to group together the most frequent uses of affixed interjections.

3.5.2 Methods for chapters 5 – 7

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the study turns to diminutive interjections that are found in four sources (see 3.4) in a descriptive, discourse-analytic and interactional way. Following Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf (2012) for the analysis of the English diminutive suffix *-let*, this means that the affixed interjections surrounding utterances or tweet messages are taken into consideration, and the situational contexts shows the time, place, and occasion of the dialogue. The approach is synchronic and therefore only examines present-day (21st century) language. The method differs from typical studies of diminutives and interjections by turning to Appraisal analysis (sometimes combined with Involvement) for a new perspective on these lexical items.

Appraisal (see 3.3.2) was applied to the literary excerpts and digital communication using the following method (following Eggins and Slade 1997: 138, 140, adapted from Martin 1994):

- identifying all the Appraisal items in a conversation/text,
- classifying the Appraisal items into the four categories of Attitude as found in [AFFECT+/-], [APPRECIATION +/-], [JUDGEMENT +/-], and Graduation (raised or lowered FORCE and FOCUS).
- summarizing Appraisal choices made by the different speakers (including the author in a literary text)
- interpreting the patterns and use of Appraisal by the speaker(s)

The affixed interjections are divided into three groups: ‘positive’, ‘playful’, and ‘negative’ based on their emotional content and situational context. The three groups are based on the suggestions made in my pilot studies (2014, 2016). These broadly cover all the potential emotional uses of diminutive interjections. The groupings of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ is “a basic division expressing the centrality of the evaluative component in emotions” (Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 99). This may be seen in the positive and negative potential for Appraisal resources (e.g. positive

or negative AFFECT). The group of ‘play’ was added for those uses that did not fit into the conventional mold or could be considered both positive and negative, such as sarcasm, where the emotion shown is contrary to the speaker’s true feelings, and contexts of (humorous) irony, and romance.

Appraisal is applied in these chapters for several reasons. They “[enable] exploration of resources for evaluative meaning” (Schleppegrell 2013: 26), such as Attitude and Graduation. Moreover, Appraisal may show the frequency and type of Appraisal items used by speakers who use diminutive interjections to describe and explore the attitudinal lexis and other language used with diminutive interjections to evaluate, adopt stances, and construct interpersonal relationships in Twitter, blog, fanfiction, and fiction dialogue data.

Data collection

For this study, each dataset was manually searched for clear and appropriate examples that had enough context to apply the Appraisal analysis. They were searched thoroughly and then routinely after that for a period of two years, beginning in late 2015, to look for new examples and to note how the interjections were being used. Over a period of two years each dataset was searched a minimum of 24 times, except for Twitter, which was searched two to three times a month.⁸⁴ Because these datasets were ‘live’, not part of a fixed corpus, and at times difficult to find, it was not possible to give a clear picture of how representative the sample used is for each dataset.

Twitter

For Chapters 5 through 7, the initial tweets found in the full systematic pass for Chapter 4 were identified as positive, playful, or negative and placed into their respective groups. As the study progressed, Twitter was searched three or four times a month between 2016 and 2018 for new tweets and to gain a clearer picture of the frequent contexts that the diminutive interjections were used in. Sometimes the DI with a particular word was entered into the search function to find examples of the DI in a particular context or with a certain emotion, e.g. *wowee* + sarcasm.

⁸⁴ The pilot studies employed searches of Twitter from an earlier date (beginning in 2014); however, the present study, with its current datasets, began in late 2015.

This helped to sort through the variety of possible contexts for DIs, especially those used more frequently, such as *wowie!* and *whoopsy!*

It was important that the tweets included in the study were most likely written by adults or teenagers.⁸⁵ Many of the diminutive interjections searched for brought up usernames, misspellings, retweets, and ambiguous tweets because the Twitter search function does not allow a POS search. The advanced search feature, however, allowed for searches of an exact phrase, within a time period, and in a particular language.⁸⁶ In addition, it was necessary that the diminutive interjections were used as such because they were frequently used as hashtags and could therefore be important for purposes of alignment to a certain judgement or social movement (e.g. the recent #MeToo hashtag to denounce sexual assault and harassment). In this study, they were viewed simply as part of the message. For example, the #StupidDonald hashtag was understood as a negative judgement of Trump that could be paraphrased as ‘I think Donald Trump is stupid’. The study generally did not include diminutive interjections with hashtags (e.g. #whoopsie) because it was unclear whether the term was being used as an interjection.

Blog and blog comments

Beginning in 2016, and monthly afterwards until March 2018, a Google search was run to find examples of each diminutive interjection. This involved entering the DI and a ‘recipe’ into the Google search engine and finding an occurrence, used correctly, that was from a blog comment. (Frequently the food item was named after the DI, e.g. ‘Maui Wowee Dipping Sauce’, which was not included in the study.) Once a suitable match was found, the blog was read at least once and the ‘about the author’ section was checked to confirm that the blog author was an adult or youth over thirteen years of age. The immediate context was read at least twice to understand the

⁸⁵ This was checked by looking at the tweeter’s bio, which sometimes gives personal and demographic information.

⁸⁶ It should be noted that computer programs and algorithms have been developed to extract tweets with certain words or hashtags. These are commonly used in sentiment analysis and/or computational linguistics. In addition, there are websites that pull tweets continuously based on the word or hashtag entered. One of these websites was used for the 2014 pilot study. However, there was a problem with the site: like a regular Twitter search, it brought up misspellings, usernames, and was not always accurate. Navigating through thousands of tweets from a .txt file this way seemed counterproductive, especially since the landscape of Twitter is in constant flux as tweets are added and deleted. A manual search of Twitter seemed a better way to proceed with the present study.

emotional connotations of the diminutive interjection. Because a limited number of blogs had diminutive interjections, it was deemed unnecessary to download and save each blog. Instead, the examples were chosen randomly. Those that were used had the immediate context (that is, a couple sentences before and after the DI) copied into the dissertation file with the date and author.

Blog comments were searched for and treated in a similar way: they were read for correct interpretation, and the previous and following comments were also read in case they could provide clues for the use of the DI. The blog was also read for emotional clues that would lead to a blog commenter using a diminutive interjection. Once the initial survey was completed, the blog comment was extracted into the study along with the username and date of posting. As with the blogs, the blog comments were chosen randomly. If important to the use of the diminutive interjection, parts of the original blog or the blog author's response to the blog comment were also extracted.

Fanfiction

For two years (early 2016 to March 2018), the fanfiction data was mostly found through the search engine, Google, and some were found through a search of Fanfiction.net. Because the search feature on Fanfiction.net only provides data from the title and summary, there was an extremely limited number of usable occurrences from the Fanfiction.net search. Next, Google was searched for the DI + Fanfiction.net, which provided several results from fanfiction (comments) on Fanfiction.net. Next, the DI was searched together with the term 'fanfiction', 'fanfic', and 'fic' to find examples from other fanfiction websites or blogs containing fanfiction.

Examples of diminutive interjections were copied with their situational context to the dissertation file, along with the name of the fanfic writer, the fanfic title, and the link. That is, the situational context means that the characters and situation are specified and the DI speaker's Appraisal resources included. The rest of the fanfic – or several pages before and after the DI depending on the length of the entire fanfic – was briefly scanned to get an improved picture of the story, characters, and style, and also to check that the character who used the diminutive interjection was an adult. The surrounding context was read at least twice to limit the possibility for misunderstanding.

Google Books

For examples of literary discourse, each diminutive interjection was entered into the Google Books search function, beginning in late 2015 and searched monthly until March 2018. All the examples were scanned through the brief previews offered: these ranged from a page to ten or more pages from an entire book (though sometimes with missing consecutive pages). Those from dialogue in adult fiction novels were examined further by reading the context in more detail. The DI was searched within the book in order to find out whether any other character used that lexical item; in (nearly) every instance, the DI was only used once or by one character in a particular scene. If the DI was used clearly, with little possibility of misinterpretation, the literary dialogue excerpt was inserted into the dissertation file with enough situational context to provide a clear picture of the speaker(s) and situation. If the available excerpts were too many to include in Chapters 5 through 7, such as for example *lordy!*, then they were chosen randomly.

In many instances, the books only offered snippet previews that barely put the term into context. This occurred most frequently for Polish fiction. The snippets were not included, causing the amount of Polish literary examples to be much smaller in number than the English ones. Because of this limitation, there is a broader discussion of English literary dialogue than there is of Polish.

3.6 Methodological issues

Before moving on to the results, I would like to briefly discuss the four issues of misinterpretation, cherry-picking, representativeness of datasets, and anonymity/privacy that arose during the study.

(Mis)interpretation

To analyze what emotional connotations and evaluations were being conveyed by the users of diminutive interjections, the study followed that of Stange (2015: 82), where “occurrences were interpreted in terms of why the speaker had used them in this particular situation.” Obviously, misinterpretation was possible; e.g. short tweets were likely to be interpreted differently than the tweeter intended. In addition, sarcasm and irony can be easily misinterpreted. To minimize the chances of misinterpretation, examples with sufficient context were primarily used, and when possible, the tweeters were asked why they chose the diminutive form. This proved difficult because interjections and diminutives are highly dependent on context and tend to

appear in isolation, and most tweeters did not respond to the question. Many texts were subsequently excluded because the emotional connotations or reasons for using the diminutive interjection were ambiguous.⁸⁷

Cherry-picking

A researcher may analyze more data than she may include in a paper or book, and therefore at a certain point must choose examples from her corpus that present her findings in the clearest way. ‘Cherry-picking’ is a term used when a researcher chooses examples that best illustrate her personal views but overlooks inconvenient data (Groom, Charles and John 2015: 9; see also Baker 2006). This method produces skewed results.

Creating a balanced and well-represented corpus that is put through a concordancing program such as *Wordsmith Tools* is typically seen as the solution to this methodological issue because it offers collocations, keywords in context, and other features that help analyze the linguistic items under study. Indeed, this method is important for corpus studies of recurrent linguistic items. When the linguistic item is rare enough that several large datasets are required to find enough examples to show the variety of meanings, then a concordancing program is arguably not the best option. Instead, if the researcher already has a solid basis of meanings from other sources such as dictionaries and reference corpora, then choosing examples that further the argument to supplement results should be acceptable.

In the present study, ‘cherry-picking’ did not occur: inconvenient data was not ignored, evidence was not suppressed, and arguments were not made by selective observation. The most typical semantic and pragmatic features of diminutives were found in previous scholarly research (see Chapter 2, cf. Schneider 2003, Jurafsky 1996), which were then corroborated with the affixed interjections found in *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski* (see Chapter 4) and their

⁸⁷ An obvious way to minimize the risk of misinterpretation would be to ask the writers why they used the diminutive interjection. However, as was discussed in Lockyer (2014), it is difficult to do so. Asking Twitter users proved widely impractical; assuming the user decided to respond honestly, they either forgot why they used it or did not want to participate. Blog writers and blog commentators do not generally have a way of being contacted except by commenting, and most examples used in the study had usually been written at least several weeks prior, and the writers would likewise have forgotten what they had been feeling at the time of writing. Asking them to remember could cause misinterpretation as well. Literary discourse therefore proved the most informative because the text describes how the diminutive interjection is said, and why.

frequencies with quantitative data from reference corpora. The examples for Appraisal analysis gathered from Twitter, blog/fanfiction comments were presented in their entirety; the fiction and fanfic excerpts provided enough situational context and, when needed, a description of context before and after the excerpt. As a whole, these datasets were subjected to random sampling – that is, the excerpts, tweets, etc. were chosen randomly, provided that there was enough context to be able to adequately analyze the text.

Representativeness of datasets

It may appear problematic that four main datasets were mined for examples, and each has a different number of tokens. Twitter is significantly larger than fanfiction, and blogs fall somewhere in the middle. Nor does the literary discourse found in Google Books include all adult fiction written from the year 2000 onwards. Many social media sites (e.g. Facebook), online forums, and consumer reviews were deliberately excluded, even though to some degree the language that appears on each type of site differs slightly from others.

Anonymity and privacy

Anonymity and privacy presented limitations when using Twitter as a ‘live’ corpus. It is not possible to ensure the privacy of each user and there is no guarantee that each user’s identity will be completely protected because of the search function on Twitter and other factors (see Tagg 2015). To protect privacy, I follow Zappavigna’s (2012) method of replacing usernames with, e.g., ‘user’ and ‘user1’. The only usernames I have kept are those mentioned within tweets to refer to public figures or organizations (for example, @realDonaldTrump or the Trump organization @Trump) that are crucial to understanding the tweet correctly.

3.7 Chapter conclusions

This chapter presented the particularities of the datasets/corpora, methods and theoretical considerations that are used in the present study. The semantic and pragmatic feature analysis used in Chapter 4 was discussed, followed by a discussion of the Appraisal method used in Chapters 5 to 7. The four main sources used for the Appraisal analysis were presented and identified, namely Twitter, blogs, fanfiction, and fiction dialogue. In addition, the sources for the semantic and pragmatic features were briefly discussed: *Urban Dictionary*, *Miejski*, and established corpora.

The following chapter turns to corpora and definitions to show which interjections receive affixes in English and Polish. The background presented in this chapter and earlier chapters informs the affixed interjections that I find. Following the structure of Chapter 1, the chapter is organized according to type of interjection: primary interjections (4.2), contact interjections (4.3), and secondary interjections (4.4).

Chapter 4: Corpora and definitions

4.1 Introduction

A search of *Urban Dictionary*, *Miejski*, and Twitter shows which interjections can receive diminutive, augmentative and/or slang suffixes (see 3.5.1 for Methods). They are divided into groups of primary emotive interjections, contact interjections, and secondary emotive interjections, and presented in the following bulleted lists.

The affixed primary emotive interjections in English are:

- EEK > *eeks, eeksy, eeksie, eeky, eeker*
- OW > *owies, owie*
- OUCH > *ouchies, ouchers, oucher*
- UGH > *ugha, ughers, ughies, ughz, ughs*
- WHOA > *whoaies, whoaee, whoazers, whoaz*
- (WH)OOPS > *(wh)oopsie, (wh)oopsy, (wh)oopsies, whoopso, whoopser*
- WOW > *wowie, wowiee, wovies, wowsie, wowza, wowzers*
- YAY > *yayee, yayza, yayzor, yayzors, yayzers, yayzies, yayzella*
- YUCK > *yuckie, yucks, yucko*

In Polish, they are:

- FUJ 'yuck' > *fujka, fujki*
- (O)JEJ '(oh) dear' > *(o)jeiku, (o)jeiciu, (o)jeikuś*

Affixed contact interjections in English are:

- HELLO > *hellosies*
- HEY > *heysies*
- (GOOD) MORNING > *(good) morningsies*
- (GOOD) AFTERNOON > *(good) afternoonsies*
- (GOOD) NIGHT > *(good)nighties, (good)nightsies, (good)nighters, nighty-night, nighto*
- BYE > *byesies, byesy-bye, byedy-bye*
- LATER > *laters*

- SORRY > *sorries*
- THANKS / THANKYOU > *thanksies, thankyousies, thankies, thankie, thankie, thankee*

In Polish, they are:

- HEJ 'hey' > *hejcio, hejcia, hejka, heja, hejeczka, hejo*
- SIEMA 'hi how are you': *siemka, siemanko, siemaneczko, siemcia*
- WITAM 'I greet you' > *witanko, witka*
- ELO 'ello' > *eloszka*
- DZIEŃ DOBRY 'good day/morning' > *dzieńdoberek*
- DOBRY WIECZÓR 'good evening': *miłego wieczorku, dobry wieczorek*
- DOBRANOC 'goodnight' > *dobranocka, miłej nocki*
- PA 'bye' > *papatki*
- NARA (< NA RAZIE) 'so long' > *narka, narazka, narazicho, nareczka*
- DO JUTRA 'until tomorrow' > *do jutierka*
- PLIS 'please' > *pliska*
- SORY 'sorry' > *sorenjca, sor(r)ka, so(r)rki, soreczki, sorewicz*
- DZIĘKI 'thanks' > *dziękowa, dziękujki, dziekowka*

Affixed secondary interjections in English are the following:

- DEAR > *dearie (me)*
- LORD > *lordy, lawdy*
- GOOD > *(oh) goodie, goody, goody me*
- OH NO > *oh noes, oh noez*
- LOL > *lolies, lolers, lolski, lolskies, lolz*
- CRAP > *crappers, crapola, craporama, craparoo*
- SHIT > *shitola, shitorama, shitaroo*
- FUCK > *fuckola, fuckorama, fuckaroo, fuckaroonie, fuckarooski*

In Polish, they are:

- JEZU(S) 'Jesus' > *jezusku, jezusicku, jezuniu, jezusiańku*
- CHOLERA 'damn' > *cholierka, cholercia*

Other types of interjections are not suffixed; for example, cognitive interjections including *aha!* and *oho!* are not affixed in English or Polish; and, neither are conative interjections, e.g. *shh!* or any other types of interjection except to create nonce forms.⁸⁸

In the following sections, the discussion turns to the frequent meanings and associations suggested for affixed interjections by users of *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski*. That is, it shows how online users on sites such as *Urban Dictionary* or *Miejski* define affixed interjections in relation to their unaffixed forms, and which semantic and pragmatic features may be glossed from the main keywords and associations of these definitions. Each section also takes into consideration quantitative data analysis by showing the raw and normalized frequencies for affixed and unaffixed interjections in established corpora. The data from these sources help to answer the above questions about the meanings and frequencies of primary emotive (4.2), contact (4.3), and secondary interjections (4.4).

By using *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski* as my starting points – along with any definitions found in the OED and the affixed forms found on Twitter – I avoid showing results merely based on my intuition as a native speaker of English and heritage/near-native speaker of Polish. I do not claim to include all possible meanings or affixed forms, only those that appear most frequently. In addition, I do not look at traditional dictionaries because these affixed forms rarely appear in them.

4.2 Primary emotive interjections

English seems to have a greater number of affixed primary emotive interjections than Polish, likely because the primary interjection *(o)jej!* in Polish serves to convey many specific meanings attributed to English *EEK!*, *ow!*, *ouch!*, *ugh!*, *oops!*, *yay!*, etc. (SJP; see also Lockyer 2015a). There is also a greater number of suffixes: in English, the affixes that are most frequent are *-y/-ie*, *-s*, *-er(s)*, *-za*, and *-ella*.⁸⁹ The diminutive suffixes *-let*, *-ling*, or *-ette* are not attached to any of these interjections (e.g. **eeklet!*, **whoopsling!* or **ughette!*).

⁸⁸ In Slovak, there is the suffixed interjection *tiško* ‘hush’ (< *ticho*).

⁸⁹ Several affixed forms of a primary interjection can also be used as nouns (e.g. *I had an owie*) or adjectives (e.g. *she was feeling whoopsy*); Polish *fujki!* (< *fuj* ‘ew’) may also function as a noun that could be roughly translated as ‘disgusting things’ or ‘litter’ in colloquial speech because *-i* is also a plural suffix. A clear-cut

4.2.1 English

In *Urban Dictionary*, there are a number of affixed forms that appear from the following primary emotive interjections: *yay!*, *ugh!*, *ouch!*, *wow!*, *whoa!*, *oops!* and *eek!* The semantic and pragmatic features that arise in the dictionary definitions most frequently include [+INTENSE], [+EXTREME], followed by [+CHILD], [+CUTE], [+AFFECTIONATE], and [+FEMALE]. However, diminutive forms, in comparison with slang-affixed forms, are less often found in *Urban Dictionary* and are less likely to be defined as different from the base form.

Affixed forms from the base interjection *yay!* appear in *Urban Dictionary*. The top (and only) definition for *yayza!* defines the term as a “[w]ay of expressing joy, similiar [sic] to ‘woot’. Branches off Yay” [12 September 2006, NekoLynx]. The writer of the entry links the term to *yay*, *yahoo*, *woot*, *wee* and *joy*. In addition, *yayzello!* is “an exclamation of joy” [28 April 2006, Plunketto] and *yayzers!* “[m]akes the word *yay* cooler. An exclamation of happiness” [8 January 2004, Kathy Redden] and “[e]xtreme happiness. Excited for something coming up” [26 January 2014, CharBear]. *Yayzies!*, defined as “[a]n expression used to describe a state of immense pleasure, such as one would experience on receipt of a two-for-one McDonald's voucher” [2 December 2010, BigMacluvrrr] also is included, along with *yayzor(s)!*, “[a] reserved, yet mildly excited exclamation of cheer, agreement, anticipation, or celebration” [20 February 2004, KiloWatts].

As expected from the base *yay!*, defined in *Urban Dictionary* as “an exclamation of pleasure, approval, elation, or victory” [11 March 2004, IAMSODOT], the keywords for the affixed forms are very positive: *joy*, *happiness*, *exclamation*, *cheer*, *agreement*, *anticipation*, and *celebration*. The keywords *cooler*, *extreme*, and *immense* suggest that the affix amplifies the positive base emotion and convey the semantic feature of [+INTENSE] and [+EXTREME].

example is *whoopsy!* from *whoops!*, an exclamation of surprise caused by an accident or mistake. The addition of the -y suffix creates the diminutive *whoopsy!*. However, *whoopsy* is attested in slang and regular dictionaries as (primarily in British) the noun meaning “an act of defecation” (Thorne 2009) or “a piece of excrement” (Ayto and Simpson 2010). In the 1940s it appeared in American English to mean ‘a homosexual’ or as an adjective, meaning ‘homosexual, effeminate’. It is also used as an adjective that is synonymous with ‘queasy’ or ‘nauseous’. Likewise, *wowie* (< *wow*) is part of the term *maui wowie*, which is another name for marijuana, and *owie* (< *ow*), which appeared in the 1990s, is also a noun referring to a minor injury (Dalzell 2009).

The interjection *ugh!*, defined as “[u]sed to describe disgust or boredom” [26 April 2003, Bob], is typically intensified emotionally and used to convey negative feelings. The slang-suffixed *ugh!* is “[a] word people use to express anger or fear in a moment when they can't think of anything logical to say” [19 November 2013, Rainbows_Butterflies_Larry] and carries the semantic feature [-LOGICAL]. The quasi-diminutive *ughers!* is defined as “a new version of *ugh* [...] used during physical activity...of all sorts” [4 June 2009, fjadkfjsdkfla] with the hashtags *#ugh*, *#damn*, *#dang*, *#fuck*, and *#ouch*.⁹⁰ This definition seems to imply that *ughers!* is a newer form of *ugh!* as of 2009.

Slang-affixed forms of *ouch!*, defined as “[a]n interjection said when hurt” [22 March 2003, Aaron W.], also tend to convey a more intense meaning than the base and/or are considered child-speech. One *Urban Dictionary* user defines *ouch!* as “[s]o intense and painful that a normal ‘ouch’ will not suffice” [28 October 2009, Mr. Munroe], with the hashtags *#ouch*, *#pain*, *#more*, *#ow*, and *#damn*. *Ouchers!* is seen as used by small children, but is spreading more widely to teenagers as well [MastaChief93, 11 December 2009]. Therefore, the semantic features associated with slang affixed *ouch!* and *ow!* are generally [+INTENSE] and possibly [+CHILD].

The diminutive interjections *owie!* (< *ow!*) and *ouchies!* (< *ouch!*) are mainly defined in the same way as their unaffixed forms. *Ouchies!* is defined nearly in the same way as the unaffixed *ouch!*; the *Urban Dictionary* user writes that it is “[a] word used when you hurt yourself” [27 May 2004, Mr Miyagi]. The alternate affixed interjection of pain, *owie!*, is likewise similar to its unaffixed base form: “said when hurt” [11 December 2002, Aaron W.] with the example sentence *Owie, I cracked my skull!* There are three other somewhat reliable definitions for the affixed interjection *owie!* in *Urban Dictionary*, all with similar phrasing and hashtags including *#ouch*, *#hurts*, *#pain*, *#feelings*, *#painful*, and *#uncomfortable*. Only one newer definition (with a two thumbs-up rating) differs from the unaffixed form by suggesting that *owie!* “is the sound a mentally deficient child makes after promptly hitting him/her self in the head with either there [*sic!*] fist or various objects” [17 February 2018, Help_me].⁹¹ Thus, the interjection *owie!* might

⁹⁰ There are many slang combinations of interjections that will not be discussed in this dissertation but merit further investigation since the second interjection seems to function like a suffix in creating a new interjection, e.g. *ughew* (*ugh* + *ew*), *ughblah* (*ugh* + *blah*), *ughwoo* (*ugh* + *woo*) and *ughfuck* (*ugh* + *fuck*).

⁹¹ These results support the discoveries I made in an unpublished (2013) study that looked at the results of an online, written questionnaire filled out by respondents in Vancouver, BC about their attitudes towards

have the semantic feature [+CHILD], likely because of the strong child/infant connotations from the noun *owie*.

The unaffixed form *wow!* may have several different meanings. An *Urban Dictionary* user describes the popular meanings this way:

“the word ‘wow’ can be used when somebody says something stupid, when you realize something you should’ve known a looong time ago, when you are told something unexpected, when you are insulted very very badly, whenever someone says something pervy and stupid, when you see something amazing, when you are kissed..XD, and just whenever you feel like it. WOW!” [21 February 2009, mz. Zoi].

These eight different uses for *wow!* has likely caused the interjection to have several affixed forms: *wowsie!*, *wowsa!*, *wowsas!*, *wowoza!*, *wowzers!*, and *wowee!* Several users of *Urban Dictionary* compare *wow!* with the base form and suggest that the affixed form has the semantic feature [+INTENSE], e.g. *wowsa!* and *wowsas!*, which “shows something to be a further breath taker than *wow*” [1 December 2007, Pebbles_14] and occurs “[w]hen you think something/someone is beautiful, fantastic, pretty...When something or someone is WOW!” [13 May 2008, Maura Taylor]. In addition, *wowoza!* is defined as “a form of *wow* that creates a really surprised and wonderful imagery. a beautiful word. similar to *wow*” [14 January 2008, queen lucy], and *wowzers!*, “[which] [m]eans the same thing as *wow* but with more “oomph” & enthusiasm” [17 July 2014, wavyg]. In sum, the slang affixed interjections of *wow!* are defined on *Urban Dictionary* as intensifiers that are generally positive with hashtags including *#surprised*, *#beautiful*, *#breath taker*, *#fantastic*, *#pretty*, *#wonderful*, and *#enthusiasm*.

The diminutive forms of *wow!*, namely *wowsie!* and *wowee!*, are not as differentiated from the unaffixed form as the slang affixed forms. That is, *wowsie!* is defined as “[s]omething you say to express shock, disbelief, or empathy” [25 May 2009, Empathetic Fool], which may easily be applied to *wow!* The diminutive form *wowee!* is also seen as relatively synonomous with its unaffixed form through the definition of “another form of *wow*. You can use *wowee* wherever

and uses of *whoopsie!*, *owie!* and *ouchies!*. The respondents described *whoopsy!* as ‘cute’, ‘whimsical’, ‘condescending’, ‘playful’, ‘humorous’, ‘comedic’, ‘ironic’, and ‘minor’. In comparison, *wowie!* was considered ‘silly’, ‘not serious’, ‘sarcastic’, ‘playful’, ‘extreme’, ‘small’, ‘childish’, ‘cool’ and conveying ‘pleasure’, ‘excitement’, ‘delight’ and ‘amazement’.

you can use wow. It also means "thats cool" [15 January 2005, simma]. Only recently has a new definition suggested difference in meaning by defining *wowie!* as "[t]he proper response when something is so shocking you can't think of any other response" [2 January 2018]. This suggests that *wowie!* can be used to mean *more X* than its unaffixed form, and may therefore have the semantic feature of [+EXTREME].⁹²

Whoa!, like *wow!*, also has several different uses, including "1. To express surprise (interj) 2. To express astonishment(interj) 3. To indicate a desire for one to end that of which they are speaking (interj)" [3 October 2004, Z]. This *Urban Dictionary* user also helpfully notes the alternate spelling *woah!* and gives the example *Whoa! You scared me*. The interjection has two affixed forms in *Urban Dictionary*: *whoazers!*, defined as "1. to be disappointed 2. to be surprised" [15 December 2007, Lostgirlforever92] and *whoaz!*, "cooler and more awesome way of saying whoa" [10 June 2008, born2ride x0]. The definition for *whoazers!* does not compare the affixed form with its base, but does suggest associations with negative surprise and disappointment, while the second user views affixed *whoaz!* as an improvement to the unaffixed form through words such as *cooler* and *more awesome*, which suggest the feature of [+EXTREME].⁹³

The unaffixed *oops!* is defined as "[s]omething people say when they screw up" [1 April 2004, Hannah Banana]; that is, it is a reaction to a mistake. The top definition for diminutive interjection *oopsie!* in *Urban Dictionary* is similar: "1. A Mistake 2. A[n] Accident" [31 March 2010, Johnny Davison], with the hashtags *#accident*, *#mistake*, *#regrets*, *#error*, *#problems*, and *#failed*. Other definitions of *(wh)oopsy!* refer to the term as a noun. For example, the top definition for *whoopsy* is "[a] screaming metrosexual, who uses a female shield (pretend girlfriend) to cover up his secret obsession with men" [7 June 2011, Waz Goody2011]. It appears that the sexual

⁹² Anderson (1998: 126) writes that *wowie!* is an "intensified variant" of *wow!*

⁹³ In established corpora, we find zero instances for both affixed forms in GloWbE and COCA, suggesting extremely rare use. A search on Twitter for *whoazers*, brings up approximately one hit per week, on average and at most; *whoaz*, in contrast, is more frequent, with approximately one hit per day. In sum, the two resources fit together to show this affixed form as 'slanguage' (broadly defined as 'slangy lexis' typically used by youth (Zappavigna 2012)). The affixed form is considerably rare and a neologism, but not (quite) an idiosyncratic nonce form. Thus, for the purposes of this study, such a form would be included as an affixed form in English. Other forms, such as *whoaee*, do not appear in *Urban Dictionary*, but are relatively frequent on Twitter; likewise, these also are included.

connotations of the noun are focused on by users of *Urban Dictionary*, and users of the site seem to find that the affixed and unaffixed form of the interjection *oops!* are similar, if not the same.

The interjection *eek!*, defined as “[a]n expression of unpleasant revelation” [17 January 2003, cruznsquaw], is stereotypically associated with the image of a small girl surprised by seeing a mouse because of its sound symbolism. It appears in *Urban Dictionary* with several diminutive suffixes that mimic the lengthened and high-pitched /i/ sound in the base interjection. The affixes that can be added here are *-s*, *-y*, *-s + -ie* and *-s + -ie + -s*. The affixed forms include *eeks!*, a “[m]ild expletive. Often used by girls when surprised” [2 January 2009, ToniReal], *eeky!*, “[a]n expression showing excitement, surprise and/or joy. Must always be expressed in a loud, high pitched voice” [12 March 2007, Sunshine & Simon]), and *eeksie!*, “1. a mild obscene, profane words [sic!] 2. a cuter way of saying eeks” [24 January 2010, primaverabebe]. While not listed in *Urban Dictionary*, users of Twitter sometimes use *eeksies!*⁹⁴ Therefore, emphasis is placed on (positive) surprise, ‘high pitched voice’, the features [+SMALL], [+CUTE], [+AFFECTION], and ‘used by girls’ [+FEMALE].

The interjection *yuck!*, defined as “something gross” [22 March 2003, Aaron W.], appears mainly with the suffixes *-ola* and *-poo*. The definition of affixed *yuckola!* suggests [+EXTREME] in “[s]omething that is extremely disgusting and or disturbing. Normally used by preps”⁹⁵ [30 October 2006, That one crazy kid]. However *yucky-o-la!* suggests the feature [+CUTE] because “‘o-la’ is meant to soften the word, or make it a little bit cute sounding” [21 January 2006, Aistra Oleander]. The affixed interjection *yuckapoo!* is defined as “[a]n expression often used to categorize a person, thing, or event as unpleasant or undesirable” [25 February 2008, Stanley P. Tencza, Jr.], while *yucky-poo!* is defined as “an exclamation of dislike or distaste when one is informed that they must perform a tedious, time-consuming or difficult task. More commonly used sympathetically when others tell of tasks they dread doing soon” [25 November 2006, Jake & David]. These definition do not expressly differ from that of the base *yuck!*, but the fact that the user’s example uses *yuckapoo!* in capital letters does seem to suggest an intensifying effect.

⁹⁴ *Urban Dictionary* also has an entry for *eeko!*, which is supposedly a synonym for ‘yikes’. However, it is substantially rarer than affixed forms of *eek!* with a diminutive suffix.

⁹⁵ The definition comments on the social aspect by mentioning that *yuckola!* is typically used by preps, i.e. a wealthy class of teens that attend preparatory school on the East Coast of the US in preparation for an Ivy League university (cf. ‘prep’, 27 December 2003, anonymous).

There are other affixed forms of *yuck* that do not appear in *Urban Dictionary*, or are disqualified because of a low rating. The diminutive interjection *yucky!*, defined as “something gross” [6 December 2002, Aaron W.], is disqualified because of 441 thumbs-down votes to 163 thumbs-up. Likewise, *yuckers!*, defined as “[a] fun word thats [sic] used instead of ‘ew’ or just plain ole ‘yuck’” [18 June 2009, CintaaStarr] receives 8 down-votes to 7 up-votes. This suggests that *Urban Dictionary* users likely take issue with either the words or their definitions. The suffixes *-o*, *-sy*, and *-ie* also appear, but only appear for the adjective *yuck*, e.g. “not feeling good today” [2 March 2005, LuCkiEjOaN].

In sum, entries on *Urban Dictionary* paint a picture of the popular meanings ascribed to affixed primary emotive interjections in English that range from the frequent semantic feature [+INTENSE] to the less frequent [+CUTE], [+FEMALE], and [+CHILD]. Although several definitions were similar, or the same, as the unaffixed counterpart, others implied a foundational idea that the suffix(es) used have intensifying functions that are ‘new’, ‘fun’, and ‘cool’ in popular usage of the site’s younger demographic. However, this is expected, as newer forms of words generally are formed or used for the purpose of expressing stronger attitude and emotion from a form that seems outdated and without its original emotional strength. In the case of emotive interjections which primarily convey emotion, it is not surprising that the affixed forms intensify the emotion (e.g. disgust, surprise) of the unaffixed forms.

The number of and types of affixed interjections in *Urban Dictionary* is not dissimilar from the frequencies found in standard corpora. Standard corpora do not typically have many primary emotive affixed interjections. The affixed interjections with at least one occurrence in at least one corpus are presented in Table 1.⁹⁶ In the Table (and the following Tables in the present chapter), the raw frequency is the first number, and the normalized frequency is presented in square brackets if the number is above zero. For comparison, the frequency for the base interjection is included as well.⁹⁷ Here, the GloWbE corpus is most likely to contain an occurrence of an affixed interjection because of its huge size at 1.9 billion words. The results for affixed *yummy!* are

⁹⁶ This table, and all following tables, provide raw frequencies and normalized frequencies. See Chapter 3 for information about each corpus.

⁹⁷ Numbers with an asterisk are all the instances for the term and likely include instances from other parts of speech, while numbers in brackets are the (approximate) number of interjections from a manual count.

inconclusive because of the many occurrences of the adjective in the search results; the affix creates a frequently-used secondary interjection with the same form as an adjective. The least frequent affixed forms that appear in at least one corpus are affixed forms of *ouch!* In addition, *yayee!* has one instance in GloWbE.

ENGLISH Primary interjection	COCA; GloWbE	Suffixed interjection	BNC	COCA	SOAP	Strathy	GloWbE
<i>eek</i>	25 [4.46]; 1133*	<i>eek-s</i>	0	2 [0.35]	0	2 [0.4]	28 [1.4]
<i>oops</i>	1119* [199.8]; 6208*	<i>oops-ie</i>	0	7 [1.25]	21 [21]	0	28 [1.4]
		<i>oops-y</i>	1 [1]	6 [1.07]	8 [8]	0	21 [1.1]
<i>whoops</i>	282* [50.3]; 1135*	<i>whoops-ie</i>	0	6 [1.07]	13 [13]	0	37 [1.94]
		<i>whoops-y</i>	0	1 [0.17]	3 [3]	0	4 [0.2]
<i>ouch</i>	983 [175.5]; 3468	<i>ouch-y</i>	0	0	0	0	11 [0.57]
		<i>ouch-ie</i>	0	0	0	0	8 [0.42]
		<i>ouch-ee</i>	0	0	0	0	1 [0.05]
		<i>ouch-ie-s</i>	0	0	0	0	9 [0.47]
<i>ow</i>	2318 [413.9]; 18	<i>ow-ie</i>	0	2 [0.35]	6 [6]	0	6 [0.31]
<i>wow</i>	13859* [2474.8], 57616	<i>wow-ie</i>	0	2 [0.35]	2 [2]	0	15 [0.78]
		<i>wow-ee</i>	6 [6]	8 [1.14]	6 [6]	0	73 [3.84]
		<i>wow-za</i>	0	3 [0.5]	3 [3]	0	121 [6.36]
		<i>wow-sa</i>	0	0	0	0	15 [0.78]
		<i>wow-sie</i>	0	0	0	0	1 [0.05]
<i>yuck</i>	360* [64.2]; 1486*	<i>yuck-s</i>	0	0	0	0	28 [0.14]
		<i>yuck-y</i>	6 [6]	8 [1.42]	2 [2]	0	14 [0.73]
		<i>yuck-o</i>	0	0	0	0	3 [0.15]
		<i>yuck-ola</i>	0	0	0	0	2 [0.10]
<i>yum</i>	615 [109.8]; 4445	<i>yumm-y</i>	41* (24)	703*	315*	29* (5)	7691*

Table 1: English primary emotive interjections

4.2.2 Polish

The Polish language does not have specific interjections such as, e.g. *oops!*, *whoops!*, *ouch!* or *ow!* Instead, these have been borrowed into the language as *ups!* ‘oops’, *auć!* ‘ouch’ and *au!* (or *at!*) ‘ow’. It is rare for the (relatively recent) borrowings to receive suffixes, though there is some evidence for *ups!* > *upsik!* or *upski!* ‘oops’ and *fuj!* > *fujka!* ‘yuck’. Rather, the multi-functional *oj(ej)!* is used in contexts such as of e.g. pain, accidents, and surprise. In fact, a user of *Miejski* defines *ojej!* as “1. Gdy coś się nam nie uda 2. Gdy kogoś chcemy ośmieszyć” (‘1. When something goes wrong 2. When we want to make fun of someone’) [26 October 2006]. The affixed forms of *ojej!* or other interjections do not have any entries on *Miejski* with the exception of *fujka!*, which is defined as a synonym for *fuj ble* [3 November 2009, *Młodsza*], which can be best translated as ‘ugh yuck’.

As in English, the primary interjections *o!* and *och!* ‘oh’, *oj!* and *aj!* ‘oy’, *ech!* ‘eh’, *uf!* ‘ooph’ and *ach!* ‘ah’ do not receive suffixes to create **ochku!* or **achki!*; neither are there any instances for affixed interjections in *Miejski* or the established corpora, such as *fe!* ‘expression of disgust’, *tfu!* ‘expression of disgust, like spitting’, *ba!* ‘expression of disgust’. Unfortunately, none of the affixed forms of primary emotive interjections can be glossed according to their semantic and pragmatic features because of their rare occurrences in *Miejski*, and the fact that definitions on *Miejski* tend to be shorter and less informative than those on *Urban Dictionary*. Instead, we have to turn to other analyses (see Lockyer 2016) and the semantics of Polish diminutive suffixes to posit features of [+WARM], [+AFFECTIONATE] and an intensifying function.

Table 2 only presents the two main affixed forms of the interjection *(o)jej!* It also shows that *(o)jejku!* is used more frequently than the palatalized form *(o)jejciu!* The diminutive forms *fujka!* and *upsik!* do not have any occurrences in the NKJP or Polish Web 2012.

POLISH							
Primary interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	Suffix(es)	NKJP	Polish 2012	Web
<i>jej</i> ⁹⁸	<i>wow!, gee</i>	--	<i>jejku</i>	-ku	1894 [124.2]	18771 [200]	
			<i>jejciu</i>	-ciu	166 [10.8]	1680 [23]	
			<i>jejcia</i>	-cia	4 [2.62]	76 [1]	
<i>ovej</i>	<i>oh wow!, oh geez, oh dear</i>	3817 [250.3]	<i>ovejku</i>	-ku	547 [35.8]	895 [32]	
			<i>ovejciu</i>	-ciu	29 [1.90]	250 [3]	

Table 2: Polish primary emotive interjections

⁹⁸ The unaffixed form *jej* is also the word for 'her' and is extremely common; thus, I do not include the frequency tokens for *jej* in Table 2.

4.3 Contact interjections

When English contact interjections receive diminutive suffixes, they often come across as child-speech or silly nonce forms. Slang suffixes are more frequently used in English because they indicate the social and age-related linguistic identities of the speaker (e.g. *laters!* < *later!* < *see you later!*) instead of associations with children and/or ‘cute’ things. In Polish, diminutive contact interjections are used to create positive social interactions across a variety of situations.

4.3.1 Greetings and farewells

English

The affixed forms of English contact interjections rarely appear in *Urban Dictionary* or established dictionaries. For this reason, I do not include a table that lists their frequencies from established corpora. The GloWbE corpus produces no instances for the affixed *byesies!*, *morningsies!*, *nightsies!*, *nighto!*, *heysies!*, *hellosies!*, or *afternoonsies!*; they only appear, infrequently at best, on Twitter and a few forums and blogs from a Google search. Only *hiyee!* appears in *Urban Dictionary*.⁹⁹ Several affixed forms – especially *morningsies!* and *afternoonsies!* – appear on Twitter just enough to be included in the list of English affixed interjections, but also could be viewed as too rare to be included.

When affixed, English contact interjections tend to receive the *-ie* and *-s* diminutive suffixes, though these do not have any instances in the BNC or COCA. Only several contact interjections with the first-degree *-y* suffix appear in standard corpora. One hit of *nighty night!* is in the BNC, five in COCA and 11 in SOAP; furthermore, there are three instances of *laters!* in the BNC and two in COCA.¹⁰⁰ Interjections with the *-s* suffix are typically found in *Urban Dictionary*. Otherwise, only the affixed *byes!* and *nighty-night!* appear in *Urban Dictionary*.

⁹⁹ The above seven affixed forms were found through an extensive search of each possible affixed form on Twitter. In the selection process, I only included valid neologisms, not idiosyncratic nonce formations that are nearly non-existent; thus, I only look at forms with the newest tweet posted during the past year and which have at least several instances per month.

¹⁰⁰ Surprisingly none in SOAP, perhaps because it seems British.

Three affixed contact interjections appear on GloWbE: *laters!* produces 123 instances, 38 for *nighty night!*, and 1 for *hiyee!* They are also the only affixed contact interjections of greeting or farewell that appear in *Urban Dictionary*. Here, *hiyee!* suggests heightened emotional force and the semantic feature [+INTENSE] in its definition as “[it] means hiiiiiii-eeeeeeee. Pronounced: Hi-eee. A hyper sense of Hi” [5 April 2011, Zscar]. In comparison, *nighty-night!* is defined as “Good night! Usually said when it’s late into the night” [20 October 2006, Peter Lu] and “[a] cute way of saying good night to somebody or group of people” [17 February 2015, sikknasty], with the example sentence *Nighty night, sleep well now. :*). These two entries suggest that *nighty night!* is said later at night than the unaffixed ‘(good)night’ or ‘night night’ and has the semantic features of [+CUTE] and [+GOOD HUMOUR]. The more frequently-used slang suffixed *laters!* is defined in *Urban Dictionary* as “[t]alk or see you later. Talk to you later” [11 October 2005, Kristina] with the example *Like when you say goodbye to a friend you would say "laters" dude* that suggests social group bonding.

In sum, contact interjections of greeting and farewell in English are sporadic at best, and can be seen to be ‘cute’ expressions, to intensify the meaning to rather humorous levels, and/or to maintain positive solidarity between friends or a group.

Polish

Polish affixed contact interjections of greeting and farewell are significantly more numerous than their English counterparts.¹⁰¹ They include *milego ranka!* ‘good morning’, *dobry wieczorek!* ‘good evening’, *dobranocki/dobranocka!* ‘goodnight’, *hejcia/hejka!* ‘hey’, and *papatki!* ‘bye’. None of these appear on *Miejski* or other dictionaries (except for *siemka!*, *siemanko!*, *siemaneczka!*), which suggests that they are not standard diminutives or slangy enough to merit an entry on *Miejski*.

Table 3 provides a list of the Polish contact interjections that are affixed, their rough English translation, the raw and normalized frequencies of the unaffixed interjection in the NKJP and Polish Web 2012 corpus, and the frequency of the suffixed form. The affixed forms are rarer than

¹⁰¹ In general, they are shared across the West Slavic languages, specifically Slovak and Czech, but also are found in other Slavic languages. In Russian, *privetik!* (< *privet!* ‘hi’) is generally considered less formal and childish than *privet!* Also, Czech and Slovak have *dobre ranko!* ‘good morning’, which does not appear in Polish.

their unaffixed forms by a fair amount except for *siema!* Only three affixed interjections do not have any instances in the NKJP: *cześcik!*, *witka!*, and *eloszka!* Overall, *siemka!* and *hejka!* have the highest raw and normalized frequencies of all affixed interjections.

POLISH Contact interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	NKJP	Polish 2012	Web
Witam	<i>welcome (lit. 'I welcome you')</i>	147289 [9660]	<i>witan-ko</i> <i>wit-ka</i> <i>wit-ecz-ka</i>	51 [3.34] -- 1 [0.06]	711 [8] -- ¹⁰² --	
Dzień dobry	<i>good morning/afternoon, hello</i>	13443 [881.6]	<i>dzieńdober-ek</i>	50 [3.27]	525 [6]	
Elo	<i>hello (< engl. hello)</i>	1974 [129.4]	<i>elo-sz-ka</i>	0	107 [1]	
Dobry wieczór	<i>good evening</i>	1681 [110.2]	<i>miłego wieczor-ku</i> <i>dobry wieczor-ek</i>	24 [1.57] 3 [0.19]	996 [11] 110 [1]	
Dobranoc	<i>goodnight</i>	7432 [487.4]	<i>dobranoc-ka</i> <i>miłej noc-ki</i>	429 [28.13] 36 [2.36]	-- 772 [8]	
Cześć	<i>hi / bye</i>	68791 [4511]	<i>? cześć-ik</i>	0	8 [0.00]	
Hej¹⁰³	<i>hey</i>	38408 [2519]	<i>hej-ka</i> <i>hej-a</i> <i>hej-o</i> <i>hej-cia</i> <i>hej-ecz-ka</i> <i>hejc-io</i>	3950 [259.06] 747 [48.99] 267 [17.5] 169 [11.08] 10 [0.65] 5 [0.32]	450 [202] 1012 [72] 501 [21] 549 [6] 117 [1] 12 [0.00]	
Pa(pa)	<i>bye</i>	22724 [1490]	<i>papat-ki</i>	543 [35.61]	611 [30]	
Nara (< na razie)	<i>bye (lit. 'for now')</i>	1113 [72.9]	<i>nar-ka</i> <i>naraz-icho</i> <i>naraz-ka</i>	477 [31.28] 17 [1.11] 9 [0.59]	578 [38] 127 [1] 151 [2]	

¹⁰² *Witka* is not included here because of the frequent use of the surname *Witka* in the corpus.

¹⁰³ English *hey!* and Polish *hej!* are phonologically and semantically similar, if not identical. Both have the same primary two meanings: first, to catch someone's attention (e.g. *Hey, get off the street!* or *Hej, z drogi!* 'Hey, get off the road!') or second, to greet or say farewell to someone. In this chapter, I only consider the second function as a conversational routine. The numbers from the NKJP reflect *hej!* in both of its functions.

			<i>nara-zisko</i>	6 [0.39]	27 [0]
			<i>nar-ecz-ka</i>	2 [0.13]	77 [1]
			<i>naraż-ko</i>	1 [0.06]	1 [0]
			<i>naraz-ko</i>	1 [0.06]	2 [0]
<i>Do jutra</i>	<i>bye (lit. 'until tomorrow')</i>	4467 [292]	<i>do juter-ka</i>	28 [1.83]	325 [3]
<i>Siema(no)</i>	(< <i>how are ya / hiya</i>	2514 [164.8]	<i>siem-ka</i>	3566 [233.88]	862 [197]
<i>siemasz < jak się</i>			<i>siem-anko</i>	949 [62.24]	785 [54]
<i>masz)</i>			<i>sieman-ecz-ko</i>	97 [6.36]	321 [3]
			<i>siem-cia</i>	15 [0.98]	118 [1]

Table 3: Polish greetings and farewells

Siema! is an unaffixed interjection which originally derives from the phrase *jak się masz?* ‘how are you?’ It has definitions on *Miejski* which generally indicate registerial features instead of semantic or pragmatic ones. The original phrase was first shortened to *siemasz!* (translated by the Oxford Polish-English dictionary, PWN, as colloquial *hiya!*) before being shortened to *siema!* On *Miejski*, unaffixed *siema!* is defined as “[p]o prostu cześć, jak się masz” (‘simply hi, how are you’) [10 October 2006].¹⁰⁴ Diminutive *siemka!*, however, is defined as “[p]opularne “cześć” wśród polskiej młodzieży” (‘popular “hi” among Polish youth’) [Halun, 2 December 2010]. Together with the frequencies shown in Table 4, the definition shows that the affixed first-degree diminutive *siemka!* is now more widely-used than unaffixed *siema!*, suggesting that *siemka!* has become the ‘standard’ or ‘popular’ term to use, particularly among the younger generation of Polish speakers.

Siemka! can also become *siemanko!*, *siemaneczko!*,¹⁰⁵ *siemka!* and *siemcia!*¹⁰⁶ to add additional flavour and intensity. On *Miejski*, *siemanko!* is defined as “a form of greeting” in 2008 (my trans.), and in 2009 a second definition is added, namely “a word for greeting (generally joyful)” (my trans.); interestingly, the author includes *siema*, *siemka*, *hejka*, *hej*, *siem*, *ema*, *emka* as synonyms. The third-degree diminutive, *siemaneczko!*, has a definition that reflects its diminutive affixation: “Przywitanie się z kimś bardzo serdecznie :)” (‘Greeting someone very warmly/heartily’ :)). The smiley face at the end implies that the greeting emphasizes the happy emotional connotations conveyed by this diminutive form. Therefore, each suffixal addition is implied to be slightly more joyful and warm than its previous counterparts and the base interjection.

The affixed forms of *hej!* are nearly identical to each other in function except for a slight difference in nuance, level of colloquialism and, in some contexts, their level of affection and/or

¹⁰⁴ Szymański (2012: 5) notes that the interjection is only used informally and between close acquaintances. In other contexts, the interjection may cause offense or uneasiness.

¹⁰⁵ If a speaker wants to be extremely playful and silly, she can add another suffix to create *siemanezczeczko*, though the triple diminutive sounds funny and absurd.

¹⁰⁶ There are also slang forms that will not be discussed further, e.g., *siemanderko*, defined as a ‘greeting’ on *Miejski* similar to *elo* and *yo*, along with *siemak* and the rhyming greeting *siema ściema*.

silliness. *Hejka!* and *hejcia!* are greetings formed with the *-k-* and palatalized *-ci-* infixes,¹⁰⁷ though the *SJP* does not specifically identify either of these affixed interjections as diminutives. *Hejka!* (and *heja!*) do not appear on *Miejski*, but *hejka!* is defined by *SJP* as “potocznie: słowo wypowiedziane podczas witania się oraz żegnania z osobami dobrze sobie znanymi” (‘colloquially: a word spoken during the greeting and saying goodbye to those who know each other well’). *Hejo!* (and *heja!*) are defined as “[t]akie coś co mówią teletubisie, na powitanie” (‘something what the teletubbies say, as a greeting’) [24 January 2008] and “[c]ześć” (‘hi’) [16 July 2008] with the example *Hejo! Co u was?* (‘*Hejo! What’s new?*’).¹⁰⁸ Thus, there is a frequent implication that the affixed forms of *hej!* are used between (close) friends and possibly with the features [+CUTE] and [+SILLY] because of the reference to the Teletubbies.¹⁰⁹ However, it is also likely that the affixed forms may only be marginally different in terms of semantic and pragmatic features because of the focus on social and registerial features.

The diminutive *narka!*¹¹⁰ (< *nara* < *na razie* ‘for now’) does not appear on *Miejski*, but is defined as “potoczna forma pożegnania” (‘colloquial form of farewell’) in the *SJP*. Based in the suffix, it is not far-fetched to assume that it would not be typically seen as childish as English *good nightsies!*, for example. In a similar way, the affixed *dzieńdoberek!* (< *dzień dobry* ‘good morning’/ ‘hello’) is a first-degree diminutive form that sometimes is written as two words and other times is written as one word. While its unaffixed form, *dzień dobry!*, is generally a formal part of language and thus widely used in professional and formal situations, the affix arguably provides additional diminutive features that are likely mainly registerial, but possibly also semantic and pragmatic.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Szymański (2012: 5) comments that “the latter [*hejcia!*], presumably through its lower frequency and inapplicability to most nouns in Polish, makes the received diminutive more positively emotional.”

¹⁰⁸ It is possible that *heja!* is not an affixed form, but rather a direct transliteration of English *hey!* (< *hey you*).

¹⁰⁹ *Teletubbies* is a children’s television series originally developed for British pre-school kids. It became a hit in the 1990s. The four Teletubbies were four differently-colored characters who demanded hugs and enjoyed repeating themselves.

¹¹⁰ Szymański (2012: 8) also finds that Internet forum users have taken *nar(k)a!* and invented the interjection *ner(k)a!* (and *nereczka!*), which is also the noun *nerka* ‘kidney’ “and whose goodbye function stems from the phonetic similarity” to *nara!*

¹¹¹ Szymański (2012: 4) notes that by “compounding the adjective *dobry* [‘good’] and the noun *dzień* [‘day’],

The farewells *na razie!* (lit. *for now*) and *do zobaczenia!* (lit. *until seeing*) are base contact interjections of farewell that receive the augmentative suffixes *-icho* and *-ysko* in *narazicho!* and *do zobaczyska!*¹¹² respectively. Neither have an entry in *Miejski*. It is curious that from the extensive list of Polish greetings and farewells, the shortened form of *na razie!* and the formal *do zobaczenia!* are the only farewells that seem to receive these augmentative suffixes. They have little in common except for their function as contact interjections of farewell. Because of the augmentative suffixes, the interjections arguably have somewhat different emotive connotations than diminutively-suffixed interjections. Based on the semantics of the augmentative suffix, the augmentative interjections seems to be inflated as the feature [+LARGE] through the connotations of extravagance or the positive or negative intrusion of something metaphorically big into one's personal space (cf. Inchaurrealde 1997).

4.3.2 Requests

Polish

Polish has borrowed English *please!* as *plis!*, and this form is now suffixed as *pliska!* Based on the corpus search presented in Table 4, *pliska!* seems to be used infrequently with only 190 instances in the NKJP. However, this frequency should be taken lightly because *Pliska* is the name of a popular alcoholic beverage in Poland. Because of this homonym, the results from Polish Web 2012 were not included. In addition, only Polish is analyzed here for requests because affixed interjections do not occur in the English requests in the analyzed data sources.

POLISH

[Internet forum users] created the words: *dzieńdoberek* or *dziendoberek* (with a non-diacritic spelling). What is more, the form arrived at underwent also a process of diminutivization. These two word-formation processes combined together culminated in nominalization of the *noun + adjective* phrase into a diminutive noun.” Szymański even finds one instance of *dziendoberki* (a plural form of *dzieńdoberek*) in his corpus, which he suggests has a multiplication function (sending multiple greetings to one person or one greeting each to multiple people) and/or “the function of a positive atmosphere arouser” (4). This interesting ‘diminutive multiplication’ also occurs in, e.g. *sorki* ‘sorry.DIM’ and any Polish DI ending with *-i*. However, the implications of the plural marker *-i* are beyond the scope of this study and will not be discussed further.

¹¹² The *-ysko* augmentative suffix is changed to its genitive form *-yska* because of the preposition *do* and when words end with *-o* in the nominative case, they change to *-a* in the genitive case. In addition, *do zobaczyska* has arguably lost much of its augmentative content because it has existed in the Polish lexicon for well over a century; it appears in Linde’s *Słownik Języka Polskiego* from 1860.

Contact interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	NKJP	Polish Web 2012
<i>Plis</i>	<i>please</i>	467 [30.6]	<i>plis-ka</i>	190 [12.46]	--

Table 4: Polish 'plis'

4.3.3 Apologies

English

The apology *sorry!* sometimes receives the *-s* suffix to create *sorries!* In Table 5, the first number is all the instances for *sorries!* in COCA, while the number in brackets is the number of instances for *sorries!* as an interjection and its normalized frequency. Thus, the affixed *sorries!* is nearly non-existent except as a plural noun (e.g. *she said many sorries*).

ENGLISH							
Contact Interjection	COCA	Suffixed Interjection	COCA	SOAP	BNC	Strathy	GloWbE
<i>Sorry</i>	46231 [8255]	<i>sorr-ie-s</i>	6 (1 [0.17])	19 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	22 (1 [0.05])

Table 5: English 'sorry'

Polish

The Polish borrowing *sory!* has become affixed as *sorka!* and *sorki!*, the double diminutives *soreczka!* and also *soreczki!*, *sorewicz!*, and *sorencja!* (see Dąbrowska 2014). In Table 6, the raw and normalized frequencies are provided first for *sorry!*, and then for the spelling variant *sory!* The raw and normalized frequencies for the suffixed interjections are in the following columns on the right. In sum, the Table shows that affixed *sorki!* and *sorka!* appear most frequently in the NKJP and Polish Web 2012 out of all the affixed forms, and their frequencies are compounded by the alternate spellings *sorrki!* and *sorrka!* In comparison, the NKJP has 3,562 instances for the non-affixed *sory!*, while *sorry* has over 21,000 total instances (though some are quotes from English sources; therefore, the number is likely lower).

POLISH					
Contact interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	NKJP	Polish Web 2012
<i>Sor(r)y</i>	<i>sorry</i>	21956 [1440]	<i>sor-ki</i>	7230 [474]	55455 [591]
		3562 [233]	<i>sorr-ki</i>	506 [33.1]	2820 [30]
			<i>sor-ka</i>	1013 [66.4]	9558 [102]
			<i>sorr-ka</i>	64 [4.19]	412 [4]
			<i>sor-ecz-ka</i>	3 [0.19]	31 [0]
			<i>sor-ecz-ki</i>	4 (o INTJ)	49 [1]
			<i>sor-encja</i>	1 [0.06]	9 [0]
			<i>sor-ewicz</i>	4 [0.26]	86 [1]

Table 6: Polish 'sor(r)y'

Polish *sorki!* and *sorencja* are defined as *przepraszam* ‘sorry/excuse me’ in *Miejski*. A male user from 2010 gives the example sentence *Sorki, ale nie mogłem przyjść* (‘Sorki, but I couldn’t come’) for *sorki!*, and *Sorencja, nie chciałem* (‘Sorki, I didn’t want to’) for *sorencja!* Curiously, *sorka!* is not listed in the slang dictionary. Neither of these diminutive and slang terms, borrowed from English *sorry!*, are listed in any conventional dictionary. Finally, it is also possible to add additional diminutive suffixes to create *soreczka!* and *soreczki!*, but they do not appear in *Miejski*.

4.3.4 Gratitude

English

Table 7 shows that *thanks!* can create *thankee!*, *thanksies!*, *thankies!*, *thanky!* and *thanksy!*, and *thank you!* creates the rare diminutive *thankyousies!* The only forms with any currency in established corpora are *thankies!* (with 16 occurrences in GloWBe), *thanky!* (with a single occurrence in COCA and 15 in GloWBe), and *thankee!* (with 10 occurrences in COCA, two in the BNC and 14 in GloWBe). The alternate diminutive interjection, *thankyousies!* does not have any occurrences in any established corpora. Thus, in comparison with the other affixed contact interjections, affixed forms of *thanks!* are exceptionally rare.

ENGLISH Contact interjection	COCA	Suffixed interjection	COCA	SOAP	BNC	Strathy	GloWbE
<i>Thanks</i>	71762 [12814.6]	<i>thanks-ie-s</i>	0	0	0	0	0
		<i>thank-ie-s</i>	0	0	0	0	16 [0.84]
		<i>thanks-ie</i>	0	0	0	0	0
		<i>thank-y</i>	1 [0.17]	0	0	0	15 [0.78]
		<i>thankee</i>	10 [1.78]	0	2 [2]	0	14 [0.73]
<i>Thank you</i>	108602 [19393]	<i>thank yousies</i>	0	0	0	0	0

Table 7: English 'thanks' and 'thank you'

Only *thanky!*, *thankies!* and *thankee!* have any instances in *Urban Dictionary*. They are generally seen as different than the unaffixed form, *thanks!* (or *thank you!*), which is defined as “[a]n expression, derived from thank-you, to express appreciation [*sic!*]” [29 April 2004, Freak Obscene]. The affixed form *thankee!* is defined as “a happy thank you” [17 February 2002, Bungalow Bill], and “pirate talk for thank you” [27 September 2007, The Jesus1]. The hashtags include *#thank you*, *#thanks*, *#thankey*, *#thankie*, *#piss off*, and *#no problem*. In comparison, *thankie!* is defined in *Urban Dictionary* as “a cuter way of saying ‘thank-you’ or ‘thanks’” [26 January 2010, primaverabebe], *thankie!* is “[s]ame as thanks, but more interesting/annoying!!” [18 October 2003, Sam S.]. These suggest semantic and pragmatic features of [+CUTE] and [+INTENSE]; that is, the suffixed form conveys happier, more interesting, and/or more annoying emotions than the unaffixed base. Other definitions refer to non-emotional properties, e.g. *thankies!* is “[a]nother way of saying thank you with out [*sic!*] saying the two words” [21 July 2011, Sw33tNYCandie], and *thanksies!* is defined in a similar way to the unaffixed form.

Polish

Polish has few diminutive forms of *dziękuję!*, a first-person conjugated verb meaning ‘I thank you’. The only exception comes from the augmentative form *dziękowa!*, defined in *Miejski* as another form of the unaffixed *dziękuję!* The form does not bring up any instances in the NKJP and less than five in the Polish Web 2012 corpus. It is important to note that in digital communication, especially in internet forums, users tend to omit diacritic marks. Thus, a search of *dziekuje* without diacritic marks is included in Table 8.

POLISH					
Contact interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	NKJP	Polish Web 2012
<i>Dziękuję</i> (<i>Dziękuję</i>)	<i>thank you</i>	449,696 [29494] 11,237 [736]	<i>dziek-owka</i>	9 [0.59]	113 [1]
			<i>dziek-ówka</i>	3 [0.19]	59 [1]
			<i>dzięk-ów-ecz-ka</i>	2 [0.13]	80 [1]

Table 8: Polish ‘dziękuję’

In sum, affixed forms of greeting and farewell are more likely to be affixed in English and Polish, though Polish seems to have a greater tendency to suffix contact interjections. Therefore, Polish seems to have a more diverse assortment of affixed interjections than English. Moreover, both languages less often suffix requests (e.g. *please!*), apologies (e.g. *sorry!*) or expressions of gratitude (e.g. *thanks!*) compared with greetings and farewells. Polish is particularly intriguing in this regard because it borrowed the contact interjections *sory!* and *plis!* and afterwards added diminutive suffixes.

4.4 Secondary interjections

Secondary interjections quite often receive suffixes, especially religious expletives in Polish. While English is mainly restricted to *Lordy*, Polish speakers add various diminutive suffixes to *Jezus!* 'Jesus', e.g. *jezusku!* 'Jesus.DIM', and also to other titles and the word for 'God', e.g. *paneczku!* 'Lord.DIM', *Bozie* or *bozienku!* 'God.DIM'.¹¹³ Other secondary interjections include swear words, which only appear to receive diminutive suffixes in Polish (e.g. *cholerka/cholercia!* 'damn' < *cholera*, lit. 'cholera'), and secondary interjections that often are preceded by *oh*, as in *(oh) dearie!* and *(oh) goody!* in English.

English

There are numerous secondary interjections in English: religious expletives, swear words, and mild euphemistic interjections. Only a few receive an expressive affix.

Of the few English religious expletives, e.g. *Christ!*, *Jesus!*, *God!*, they are not affixed outside, perhaps, the rare neologism. We do not say, or write, **Christeroo*, **Jesusie*, **Goddo* or any similar form that suffixes any name of God. In fact, it is not far-fetched to claim that it would not occur to a native English speaker to add suffixes to religious names or expletives. Instead, speakers combine the interjection with more forceful and offensive swear words such as *fucking* in e.g.

¹¹³ Both languages have many euphemisms ranging from *jiminy cricket*, *jeebus*, *golly*, *gosh* in English to *rany* 'wounds' in Polish, these have been modified far beyond diminutive, augmentative or slang suffixation. However, there are slang affixed forms of these euphemisms, such as (from *Urban Dictionary*) *goshness* (*gosh* + *-ness*), *goshies* (*gosh* + *-ies*), *jeezie* (*jeez* + *-ie*), *jeezle* (*jeez* + *-le*), *jeezo* (*jeez* + *-o*), *jeezypoo* (*jeez* + *-y* + *-poo*).

Jesus fucking Christ! in order to strengthen the emotional impact.¹⁴ In fact, *Urban Dictionary* is replete with such combinations: *jesusfuckingchrist!*, *jesusfuckshits!*, *jesus goddamn fucking christ!*, and *jesus H. christ!* Or, speakers decrease the expletive by using a euphemism, e.g. *jeebus!* and *geez!*, or other similar combinations, e.g. *Jesus Jingle Bell Christ!* and *God almighty!*

The only affixed expletive, if it can be considered an expletive, is *Lordy!* (< *Lord*), which has been in use for decades and currently has euphemistic value. None of the other religious names with affixes appear in *Urban Dictionary* as interjections or with any connection to the name.¹⁵ *Lordy* is the only religious affixed expletive with any currency in English and can be assumed to have the feature of [-RUDE].

In literary circles, *lordy!* is perhaps best known from Twain's (1884) *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, where Huck exclaims: "Oh, my lordy, lordy! RAF'? Dey ain' no raf' no mo'; she done broke loose en gone I—en here we is!" (108). In the OED, *lordy!* (*lord* + *-y*), alternatively *lawdy!*, is American in origin, first appearing in 1832. It expresses various emotions from surprise to amazement and is found in two phrases: *lordy mercy!* (also *massy*), probably from *Lord have mercy* (cf. *lud a mercy*) and *Lordy me!* (< *lord help me*; cf. *dearie me*). Entries in *Urban Dictionary* imply that affixed interjections such as *lordy (lordy)!* are considered 'polite' ways of expressing emotion. The top definition defines *lordy!* as a "[p]olite and shorter way of saying "Oh my dear God!" without implying direct begging of the Man above" [25 April 2005, Ladholyman]. The reduplicative form, *lordy lordy!* is an "[e]xpression used to express frustration, exasperation, worry, or tiredness" [1 February 2012, Armygirlo604] and its example of *Lordy Lord, it's going to take my all night to write this essay!*

In *Urban Dictionary*, the non-religious affixed interjection *crapola!* is defined as "[a]n expression of the word crap; double shittiness when something goes wrong" [10 February 2003, CrazyMike] with the example *Crapola, my car stereo is gone!* Compared to the definition for (*oh*)

¹⁴ See, e.g. *lordy-fuck*: "expressing amazement or shock at a sudden fortunate or unfortunate happening or circumstance. This term [*sic*] is frequently heard in the south by men over the age of 60" from *Urban Dictionary*, 7 November 2010.

¹⁵ For example, *geezo* on *UD* is defined as "A mission to get money for drugs. Could be a a theft or a scam. Burglary usually" (4 October 2007); *geezy* is "The act of being a fucking thug of skis or snowboard refering to people who shred, combining the words gee and steezy, yadda mean, sucha s henrik harlaut, tom wallisch, and lucas magoon" (16 August 2009). Slang terms such as *goddie* mean "A fat blunt typically filled with tree" (24 July 2014), while *goddy* is "a super fattie blunt, rolled to perfection" (31 March 2006).

crap!, which is “[t]he sound one makes before exploding violently” [19 May 2010, Everythingtateslikepurple], *crapola!* seems to have the feature [+EXTREME]. To a lesser extent, *craporama!* and *craparoo!* appear, but they are usually directly preceded by *holy*. They are defined as, e.g. “a stand-in for the pejorative use of the words “shit” and “bullshit”; a parental favorite for expressing exasperation whilst still maintaining a facade [*sic!*] of decorum” [31 August 2008, unluckypirate], which points to social functions. The affixed form *shitola!* (< *shit*) is similarly defined as “another word for ‘Crapola’ except using the word “shit” [31 July 2005, Pam A. D.]. The lesser-used suffixes also are used to create *shitaroo!* (e.g. *We are out of beer everybody! Shitaroo!*) and *shitorama!*

The more offensive and forceful secondary interjection *fuck!*, defined as “[a]n expression of contempt” [17 February 2004, EJL], may receive suffixes. An *Urban Dictionary* user defines *fuckaroo!* as “[a]n exclamatory interjection” [15 June 2007, Fingleaf23]), and *fuckorama!* as a “[s]igh of exasperation when relating to unbelievable phenomenon” [18 January 2006, BackStreet Girl]). A double suffix is found with *-aroo-n-ie* in *fuckaroonie!*, which is defined as an “expletive used when something expectedly bad happens” [31 March 2003, Chainsaw Dudley] with the rather playful example sentence *FUCKAROONIE! holding a firecracker in your hand as it explodes DOES hurt!* In another form, the *-ski* suffix is borrowed to create *fuckarookski!*, meaning “a party of mass fucking or a nifty word used to celebrate achievements [*sic!*]” [20 September 2004, bonbly boddy]. Unlike previous definitions for other affixed interjections, none of these explicitly mention how they differ from the unaffixed form. Therefore, we cannot definitively point to a certain semantic or pragmatic feature that distinguishes *fuckaroo!*, *fuckorama!*, *fuckaroonie!* or *fuckarookski!* from unaffixed *fuck!*

The way the definitions are worded suggests that *crap!*, *shit!*, and *fuck!* may be suffixed for emphasis when something “unexpectedly bad” or unbelievable occurs, or to increase or weaken the meaning of the base swear word. The suffix can make the swear word more respectable or polite because of implied semantic features of [+PLAYFUL] and [+NON-SERIOUS], along with [+DRAMATIC HEIGHTENING] and [+AMUSING]. Because users write that these forms “maintain decorum” or are “polite”, implying that they are not more taboo than their unaffixed forms, forms of *crap!* could loosely fit in with Prieto’s (2005) feature of [+EUPHEMISM], even though they

still contain a taboo/swear word morpheme. However, *crapola!* and its alternate affixed forms are the most likely of the three expletives to have the [+EUPHEMISM] feature.¹⁶

It is curious that the affixed forms of the swear words *crap!*, *shit!* and *fuck!* are suffixed with augmentative-like suffixes, namely *-ola* and *-rama*, and also the slang/affectionate suffix *-aroo*, that do not appear in any other type of interjection. We do not find **wowola!*, **oopsola!*, **oopsorama!*, **pleasarooie!* or **yayorama!* in *Urban Dictionary* at all, yet the affixed expletive interjections are attested widely, often with multiple entries for a single form. On the other hand, the expletive interjections do not receive diminutive suffixes: there are no **fucky!*¹⁷ or **crapsies!*, and *shitty* already exists as an adjective. There is an entry for *fucksy!* as an interjection in *Urban Dictionary*, but it is largely downvoted (9 upvotes to 18 downvotes). The double-affixed *fuckarooie!* creates a curious exception as a form with a slang and diminutive suffix. In sum, it can be inferred that expletives with an augmentative-like suffix are more likely to appear than those with a diminutive suffix, while primary emotive and contact interjections are more likely to receive a diminutive affix than an augmentative one.

English speakers also employ secondary interjections that come from base exclamations such as *oh good!* (> *oh goodie!*), *oh no!* (> *oh noes!*) and *oh dear!* (> *oh dearie!*) and are used primarily for sarcasm and/or exaggerative effect. In *Urban Dictionary*, *oh goodie!* is defined as “[w]hen something shitty happens and it’s anything but good you say OHH GOODIE” [11 November 2015, Patty green;]). The *OED* does not mention sarcasm in its definitions of *goody!*, which originated from the adjective *good* plus the *-y* diminutive suffix. Rather, the *OED* defines *goody*¹⁸ as “[e]xpressing childish delight, excitement, or (occas.) surprise. Freq. reduplicated and in elaborated forms” such as *goody goody*. It is similar to *lordy!*; that is, *my goody!* is claimed to be a “euphemistic alteration of *my God* [...] expressing surprise, disbelief, etc.” In comparison, *deary me!* (which first appeared 1785) is considered an extension of *dear me!*, but “usually more sorrowful in its tone” (*OED*, *deary*) than the unaffixed form.

¹⁶ The clean comedian Tim Hawkins compiled a list of alternative Christian cuss words which included *crapola!*

¹⁷ There are two examples of *fucky* as a secondary interjection in GloWbE. The others, including one example in COCA is the exclamation *What the fucky*, and several adjectives in GloWbE

¹⁸ *Goody!* (like *lordy!*) is not a new formation. The first instance of *goodee*, *goodee*, *oh!* comes from 1796, and it still retains its original childish connotations in PDE.

Exaggeration and/or a dramatic, sarcastic effect appear frequently in *oh noes!* (alt. *oh noez!*), defined by *Urban Dictionary* users as:

- “The most awesome [sic] expression of dismay ever” [11 December 2011, TheMouse];
- “A silly term used to express ones [sic] shock towards something said” [27 March 2004, Paradigm];
- “When something bad has happened or is about to happen, you shout OH NOOOOESSS as a replacement to the dull, tired “oh no”. Extra o’s and e’s can be added for extra emphasis” [31 July 2003, eliteor];
- “Used when something that happens that is the worstest thing that could ever happen, seemingly” [24 November 2006, JagShrapnel];
- “Variant of “Oh no!”, used sarcastically to indicate that what is being referred to is NOT, in fact, something to be alarmed about” [12 April 2007, Roger M. Wilcox].

The use of *worstest*, the specific mention of sarcasm, and the use of *oh noes!* as a replacement for the ‘dull, tired’ *oh no!* point to the features of [+SILLY], [+NON-SERIOUS] and [+INTENSE]. Unlike the previous secondary interjections, *oh noes!* is relatively new, with no instances in COCA, and its first mentions in *Urban Dictionary* in 2003 suggests that it may have first appeared around the turn of the century and quickly acquired currency as a new, slang form of *oh no!*

The interjection *lol!* (from the acronym ‘laugh out loud’) has become a ‘filler’ interjection that can mean potentially anything. It is defined as “a brief acronym to denote great amusement in chat conversations. Now, it is overused to the point where nobody laughs out loud when they say it. In fact, they probably don’t even give a shit about what you just wrote. More accurately, the acronym ‘lol’ should be redefined as ‘Lack of laughter.’” [10 August 2005, no_one_2000]. The user provides further meanings of *lol!* that include “I have nothing worthwhile to contribute to this conversation” and “I’m too lazy to read what you just wrote so I’m typing something useless in hopes that you’ll think I’m still paying attention”. Likely because of overuse and a desire to add meaning to *lol!*, several affixed forms appear in *Urban Dictionary*. They include *lolski!* and *lolskies!*, defined as “used by [P]olish gangstas to express feelings of laughter” [21 June 2008, brandon freekin mccandlish], *lolskii!* “another form of the word *lol*” [17 February 2011, SuPeRSTaR101019992], *lolies!* “when someone finds something [sic!] amusing/funny” [14

November 2007, *almighty_yt*], *lolz!*, *lolers!* and *loler!*¹¹⁹ Unlike unaffixed *lol!*, these appear to be deliberately used for a certain effect, even though the definitions do not suggest semantic and pragmatic features.

In sum, the English secondary emotive interjections have several meanings each, which is often transferred to their affixed forms. It is difficult to pinpoint the semantic and pragmatic features overall because they are embedded in social and registerial aspects as well. However, in keeping with affixed interjections in general, we can broadly apply [+INTENSE], [+SILLY], and occasionally [+CHILD]. The feature [+INTENSE] occurs the most because the entries describe them with superlatives and augmentatives; that is, as ‘most X’, ‘more X’, and ‘extra X’.

Table 9 shows the raw and normalized frequencies of several affixed interjections except for *oh noes!* and affixed *lol!* due to zero instances from any of the corpora, apart from one hit in COCA for *lolz!* I do not include frequencies for the unaffixed forms because they often appear in other parts of speech. Overall, *lordy!* is the most frequent affixed interjection of the three.

¹¹⁹ The numerous combinations with other words show the widespread use of *lol!*: *lolsome* (*lol* + *awesome*), *lolsnap* (*lol* + *oh snap*), *lolbye* (*lol* + *bye*), *lolsigh* (*lol* + *sigh*), *lolso* (*lol* + *also*) and many others.

ENGLISH Secondary interjection	Suffixed interjection	BNC	COCA	SOAP	Strathy	GloWbE
<i>Lord</i>	<i>lord-y</i>	193 [193]	146 [26.07]	40 [40]	5 [10]	340 [17.89]
	<i>lawd-y</i>	1 [1]	10 [1.78]	0	0	42 [2.21]
<i>Oh good</i>	<i>oh good-ie</i>	0	0	0	0	23 [1.21]
	<i>oh good-y</i>	7 [7]	6 [1.07]	4 [4]	0	71 [3.73]
<i>Dear</i>	<i>dear-ie</i>	0 [POS]	0	0	0	0
	<i>dear-ie me</i>	6 [6]	3 [0.53]	0	0	41 [2.15]

Table 9: English secondary emotive interjections

Table 9 shows that *lordy!* had the most instances. The alternate spelling, *lawdy!*, produced 10 instances in COCA and three instances in the BNC. There were a few instances for *oh goody!*, but none for *oh goodie!*, even though the latter appears on Twitter and fanfiction frequently. Last, I searched the corpora for *dearie!* in the POS of interjection, but none of these returned any instances; interestingly, a search of the composite *dearie me!* (with POS left unidentified) provided a few instances in the BNC and COCA. Affixed forms of *crap!*, *shit!* and *fuck!* were even fewer, with only one hit of *fuckola!* on COCA and 12 instances of *crapola!* on GloWbE (which I exclude from Table 9).

Polish

Polish has many diminutive suffixes that can be attached to *Jezus!* 'Jesus', *Chryste!* 'Christ' and *Bóg!* 'God'. Some of the most frequent forms are *Jezusku!* and *Jezusienku!* (< *Jezus!* 'Jesus'), *Bozie!* (< *Bóg* 'God') and sometimes *Chrystusku!* (< *Chryste!*), which usually appears in the slangy rhyming *Jezusku Chrystusku!* They are typically translated into English as *oh my God!*, *oh Jesus!*, *oh jeez!*, *golly gosh!*, and *oh dear!* (cf. Lockyer 2017) and they do not appear on *Miejski*. Therefore, the diminutive forms can convey the full emotional and expletive force of the base interjection, or convey a mild and somewhat positive attitude.

There are non-religious secondary interjections that can take diminutive suffixes. A frequent one is *cholera!* 'damn' (lit. *cholera*) > *cholerka!* and *cholercia!* Table 10 shows the raw frequency of the NKJP for each affixed interjection that receives suffixes.

POLISH Secondary interjection	English translation	NKJP	Suffixed interjection	NKJP	Polish Web 2012
Jezus	<i>Jesus</i>	72473*	<i>Jezus-ku</i>	50 [3.27]	227 [2]
			<i>Jezus-iku</i>	3 (0)	26 [0]
			<i>Jezus-ień-ku</i>	5 (3) [0.19]	29 [0]
			<i>Jezu-niu</i>	348 (6) [0.39]	---
Cholera	<i>damn (lit. cholera)</i>	14692	<i>choler-ka</i>	358 (incl. nouns) [23.4]	1736 [41]
			<i>choler-cia</i>	206 [13.5]	411 [24]
Kurwa	<i>damn (lit. whore)</i>	11743	<i>kurw-ecz-ka</i>	1 [0]	5 [0]

Table 10: Polish secondary emotive interjections

In sum, there is a marked difference between affixed English and Polish secondary emotive interjections. English secondary emotive interjections have developed over a longer period of time and/or sometimes have lost their original emotive force which explains the addition of suffixes. *Lordy!* has been in use since the 1800s and its meaning is somewhat cemented. *Lol!*, however, originated in internet chat and quickly became a filler interjection that is receiving suffixes that might convey laughter (as *lol!* originally conveyed) along with a certain flavour. Polish secondary emotive interjections are significantly more frequently attached to religious expletives than English ones, which likely has to do with formal word structure, a (historic) taboo against using God's name in vain and the semantic and pragmatic features of diminutives generally.

4.5 Chapter conclusions

The present chapter turned to online slang dictionaries and standard reference corpora for examining the language of primary emotive, contact, and secondary affixed interjections. In particular, it examined data from the online dictionaries *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski*, and the following established corpora: *COCA*, *BNC*, *Strathy*, *SOAP*, *GloWBe*, *NJKP*, and *Polish Web 2012*. The results showed the popular views of affixed interjections by online users in comparison with their unaffixed forms, the frequent semantic and pragmatic features, and their frequencies in established corpora.

Users of *Urban Dictionary* typically post definitions that include a meaning not dissimilar from the unaffixed base form, then elaborate in terms of semantic, pragmatic, social, and registerial features. For example, the affixed primary emotive interjections in English are often appraised – based on *Urban Dictionary* users' definitions – as 'new', 'cool', and more 'intense' and 'extreme' than their non-affixed counterparts. The user definitions for *yay!*, *ugh!*, *ouch!*, *wow!*, *whoa!*, and *EEK!* infrequently imply that the affixed interjection means the same as the unaffixed form. Rather, some users see the affixed form as a 'development' or 'new version' that has a slightly different meaning than the unaffixed form. Users of the Polish slang dictionary, *Miejski*, are not as detailed in their descriptions. Rather, they seem to suggest the same meaning and sometimes imply differences mainly in terms of positive emotion, register, and social aspects. These were often unable to be glossed for semantic and pragmatic features.

The main features that have been identified for the range of English diminutive and slang affixes are the following: [+GOOD HUMOUR], [+NON-SERIOUS], [+DRAMATIC HEIGHTENING], [+AMUSING], [+FEMALE], [+CUTE], and [+SILLY] and the semantic features [+INTENSE] and [+EXTREME].¹²⁰ The Polish online slang dictionary, *Miejski*, did not provide an extensive and detailed inventory of affixed interjections as provided by *Urban Dictionary* for English. Despite this drawback, a few features were identified, namely [+INTENSE], [+WARM], [+AFFECTIONATE], [+CUTE], and [+SILLY], which follows the semantics and pragmatic features of Polish diminutives and augmentatives in general. Of course, it is important to remember that these definitions only present (individual) popular meanings and uses by laypersons in their 20s, rather than accurate lexicographical description.

An interesting point observed in the results from corpora shows a clear tendency towards creating diminutives rather than augmentatives from interjections in Polish and, perhaps to a lesser extent, in English. These results are supported by Szymański's (2012) study of Internet chat rooms, where he identifies "a diminutivization tendency" in contact interjections. He claims that "[t]he reason for the habit unveiled above might be the willingness of language users to achieve a friendly and polite, sometimes even jocular, atmosphere. They also appear to maintain this atmosphere till the very final stage of the interaction" (10). In comparison, Szymański (2012: 10) found that the function of augmentatives were to show "one's sense of humor [and] to show their jocular mood". These can be glossed as the semantic and semantic features of [+GOOD HUMOUR], [+AMUSING], and [+SILLY].

The established corpora were able to provide a quantitative analysis with raw and normalized frequencies. These suggested the rare use of affixed interjections in comparison with their unaffixed forms (with the exception of *siemka!*, which was used more frequently than unaffixed *siema!* 'hi, how are you'). Some affixed interjections were clearly a greater part of English and Polish speech than others; for example, English *thankee!*, *(wh)oopsie!*, *wowee!*, *wowza!*, and *owie!* were much more frequent than *sorries!*, *thankyousies!*, *yayee!*, and *whoaie!* This allows us to put affixed interjections in their proper place as infrequent, if not rare, linguistic items in English and to a lesser extent in Polish.

¹²⁰ The positive sign indicates that the word possesses the feature, while the negative sign indicates that it does not. A question mark indicates uncertainty.

While the present chapter has presented the popular meanings of all affixed interjections and placed their frequencies in English and Polish into a clear perspective, the following chapters turn to only diminutive forms of interjections (i.e. with the *-y/-ie* suffix in English, and *-k-* affix in Polish). Instead of semantic and pragmatic feature analysis used here, the following chapters examine discourse semantic Appraisal features of Graduation and Attitude. As discussed in 3.5.2, examples from the four sources – Twitter, fanfiction, blogs, and adult fiction – are shown and analyzed. Chapter 5 begins the first of the three results chapters with examples conveying typically positive emotions, e.g. astonishment and admiration.

Chapter 5: Admiration, astonishment, and delight

5.1 Introduction

Diminutive interjections (DIs) seem to have a bias towards positive (emotional) connotations and enhancing social relationships. The discourse and text system of Appraisal values of positive AFFECT, APPRECIATION, and JUDGEMENT help identify the meanings of DIs. In addition, we have seen that affixed interjections frequently intensify the meaning and emotions of the base interjection. Through the lens of Appraisal, attitudinal meaning is amplified when the speaker chooses to use certain grammatical resources such as a diminutive suffix, prosody, repetition, and/or grading words. These positive connotations are found in compliments, (self) praise, flattery, admiration, commendation, recommendation, accolade, positive surprise, expressions of good humour and words of appreciation, all of which belong “to the same evaluative space” (Dayter 2016: 58).

The present chapter examines the DIs that convey positive emotions such as surprise (e.g. astonishment and delight) in 5.2, and compliments and expressions of admiration and respect in 5.3. These are the ‘deeper’ emotional connotations that stem from the milder emotions of approval and positive JUDGEMENT (cf. Ponsonnet 2018). It should be noted that these are serious (i.e. not jocular) expressions of positive Attitude. I turn to playful and non-serious examples of positive and negative attitudes in Chapter 6.

5.2 Positive surprise/shock

This section examines diminutive interjections in their broad contexts of ‘astonishment’ and ‘delight’ as conveyed through English *wowie!*, *whoaie!*, *goodie!* and Polish *(o)jejku!* ‘oh dear.DIM’. Because diminutives tend to be positive, I will mainly suggest ways that diminutive interjections lend themselves to expressions of positive surprise through raised attitudinal FORCE and paralinguistic cues such as *smiling*, *whistling*, and *laughing*.

5.2.1 English

Wowie!

In literary dialogue, the DI *wowee!* and its variations convey positive feelings including astonishment and delight at a positive turn of events, as in example (5):

- (5) One after the other, Jo, Rowan and Max filed out of Henare's office. Max closed the door behind him and turned to his friends, who were grinning [AFFECT+], much like himself. "I don't know about you two, but somebody just lifted a weight off my shoulders. I can't stop smiling [AFFECT+]."
- Jo clicked her fingers. "**Wowee!** I'm in shock [AFFECT+]! Blindsided! I never believed it could end so quickly."
- Max looked at his companions, whose smiles [AFFECT+] were as wide as the Harbour Bridge [R-FORCE]. [Housden, *A Man for Maggie*, 2001: np]

Taken from a *Harlequin* romance,¹²¹ this example involves two main characters: Jo, a police officer, and Max, a Detective Sergeant. Max is characterized as a tall, strong, and muscular man who is the love interest for the novel's female protagonist, Maggie. Here, near the end of the novel, Jo and Max think that they have found the criminal threatening Maggie's life quicker than they had anticipated. In this interaction, Jo is the most expressive speaker through her Appraisal choices of the DI *wowee!*, the accompanying body movement of clicking her fingers, and the exclamations *I'm in shock!* and *blindsided!* These express delight and positive astonishment at this unexpected discovery. The emotive language and gesture serve to amplify her colleagues' positive feelings (as described through *grinning* and *smiling*) and to show her character's emotional investment in finding the criminal.

Sometimes, the speaker uses unaffixed *wow!* to vocalize surprise and positive evaluation, while *wowee!* is thought in-between vocal cries of *wow!*, shown in (6).

- (6) **Wow!** ... **Wow!** ... "And this is the outside?... **Wow!**"

¹²¹ Diminutive interjections are frequently found in (Harlequin) romance fiction and romantic scenes from other genres. Harlequin romances use diminutives in a way that can modify our thinking of how diminutive interjections feature in concepts such as, e.g. 'sexy', 'passionate', 'erotic', 'sensual', 'engaging', 'fantasy', 'intense', 'sweet' and 'emotionally involved' (cf. Ramsdell 2012: 108). When diminutive interjections are used in romantic or gendered contexts, some or all of these features are invoked and expressed through the choice of suffix and immediate context.

The sidewalks, entrance, and bay windows glistened as they shined. Several acetylene lamps had been cleaned and shined ready for the evening darkness. [...] The entrance with its open double door looked waxed. Several boys and girls were scrubbing the building walls along both streets. I noticed that there were three acetylene lamps along both streets and also over the entrance.

Wowee!

Aldo, sweating and grinning [AFFECT+], appeared from inside. “Hey compadre. What do you think?”

“I repeat — **WOW!**”

It was stunning [APPRECIATION+]. Now, I was eager [AFFECT+] to go inside to see what had been accomplished.

“Eddie...”

Eddie? [Douglas, *Cyberville*, 2017: np]

In this literary excerpt, the protagonist, Eduardo Feathertop, a 38-year-old Navy veteran, is visiting an “old shipmate and friend, Aldo Perkins, a former Carpenter’s Mate from the late World War Two, [who] had settled there with his wife, Jennifer.” Their interactions contain several expressive features to amplify emotional involvement and social bonding: *Jesus Christ...Eduardo?*, *EDUARDO? OH MY GOD!*, *oh wow!*, *dammit, Eduardo*, and *holy Toledo, Eduardo!* In this way, the amplification of Attitude establishes their interpersonal bond.

Earlier in the story, Eduardo decides to purchase and rebuild an old, falling-apart hotel with Aldo’s assistance. This leads to the scene in (6), where Eduardo is impressed by Aldo’s work on his hotel. Emotion words such as *glistened*, *shined*, and *stunning* describe the building and surrounding area. Eduardo says *wow!* aloud first, and after observing more impressive aspects of the hotel, he thinks, *wowee!* Then he repeats unaffixed *wow!* more loudly and forcefully than before (indicated by capital letters). This ‘sandwiching’ of vocalized *wow!*, unsaid *wowee!*, and vocalized *WOW!* suggests that *wowee!* is constructed as either equal to, or more forceful, than the repetition and volume of unaffixed *wow!* It is perhaps a more personal and honest reaction

that suggests that these instances of unaffixed *wow!* are constructed more as displays of emotion than honest mental states.¹²²

Even though the representation of Attitude by the four instances of unaffixed *wow!* may be conventionalized displays of emotion instead of an honest mental state, the interaction establishes emotional involvement between two old friends. Aldo, who earlier in the book resisted being affectionately called by nicknames such as *Shiny* and *Curly* by Eduardo, suddenly refers to Eduardo with the hypocoristic form *Eddie*. The change to a more intimate term by Aldo seems to suggest the character's perceived familiarity and emotional solidarity between himself and Eduardo. The hypocoristic name also corresponds with the positive Appraisal resources used throughout the scene and Aldo's delight (expressed through his grin and casual greeting of *hey compadre*).

To summarize, in both (5) and (6), the characters of Jo and Eduardo are constructed in such a way as to engage with Appraisal by using diminutive *wowee!* for purposes of positive evaluation. Positive APPRECIATION, AFFECT and raised FORCE also construct a discourse of affiliation and social bonding. These Appraisal resources for *wowee!* tend to be genre-specific to a certain extent, as a search of *wowee!* on Twitter mostly, if not always, provided instances of sarcasm, negative JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, rather than positive evaluation. Food blog comments were always positive, e.g. *Wowee, so good!* However, since blog comments were not part of a dialogue and had little situational context, I have not included them here for the form *wowee!*

Whoaie!

On Twitter, the interjection *whoaie!* seems to convey more shock than *wowee!* because it has connotations of 'pulling aback in awe' as one would pull back the reins on a horse to stop movement. However, *whoaie!* (alt. *whoaee!*, *whoaey!*) appears rarely on Twitter, with an example shown in (7).

(7) a. J&E kiss.

Me: **Whoaie!!!**

Husband: Wanna rewind?

¹²² See 1.2. for a discussion about how interjections can be feigned and function as expressive displays of emotion for the benefit of the hearer(s).

#Hearties @user

😊😊 [AFFECT+] [Twitter, 27 March 2016]

Here, the Twitter user is a wife and young mother from Utah who is a fan of Hallmark's TV series *When Calls the Heart*. The series develops a romantic relationship between Elizabeth, a frontier schoolteacher accustomed to high society, and Jack, a Canadian Mountie working in the small coal mining town of Coal Valley. The comment in (7) reflects the user's surprise at Jack and Elizabeth's (first) kiss with *whoaie!* followed by three exclamation marks that amplify Attitude and show her commitment to her positive reaction. The two emoticons at the end of the tweet signal that *whoaie!* is a positive and happy reaction to the kiss.

No instances of the DI *whoaie!* (or its alternative form, *whoaee!*) were found in Google Books, recipe blogs, or fanfiction. Indeed, even in Twitter the form is quite rare with one instance every couple months. In comparison, *wowee!* and *oh goodie!*, which I discuss next, appear much more frequently across all four sources under study.

Oh goodie!

The DI (*oh*) *goodie!* can add a dramatic tone of childish delight and excitement. In adult fiction dialogue, the diminutive often constructs a character as childlike because it is used in a similar way that a child would to convey excitement, good humour, and surprise, as shown in (8).

- (8) I was halfway through my latte when – *rap-rap!* – Josh tapped on my passenger window. I pushed the button to unlock the door. “Howdy, pardner.”
His baby-blue eyes went wide [R-FORCE]. “What happened to your hair?”
“Humidity.” *Sheesh*. Way to make a girl feel good. No wonder it took him so [R-FORCE] long to lose his virginity.
He slid into his seat, plopping a small [L-FORCE] duffel bag onto his lap. “This is too [R-FORCE] early [APPRECIATION-]. The roosters haven’t even [FOCUS] crowed yet.”
“Cock-a-doodle-doo,” I sang. “Does that make you feel better?”
He cast me an irritated [JUDGEMENT-] glance. “No.”
“How about this?” I held up the large hot chocolate I’d ordered for him.
His face brightened. “**Oh, goody!** You got me a big one [APPRECIATION+]!”
Oh, goody? What a man-child [JUDGEMENT-].

Josh took the cup from me and proceeded to drain half its contents in one long [R-FORCE] gulp. [Kelly, *Death, Taxes, and Cheap Sunglasses*, 2015: 197]

In (8), both characters are IRS Special Agents at work on a case. The story is viewed through the eyes of the female protagonist, Tara Holloway. Josh is a male work colleague who is constructed with negative JUDGEMENT as a “sniveling whiny little weasel” with “cherubic blond curls, baby blue eyes, and slight stature” who “looked more like a hobbit in search of an all-powerful ring than a federal law enforcement officer tracking down criminals” (136). There is an implied evaluation of Josh as ‘too small’ (e.g. *hobbit*, *baby-blue*, *man-child*, *little weasel*, *slight*, and who carries a *small duffel bag* to the early-morning stakeout to apprehend a thief) that is used in a pejorative sense. These descriptions portray him as inadequate not only for his job but as a male (in reference to the negative remark about losing his virginity), with the result that Tara seems more rational and suitable for the job.

The prior characterization of Josh makes it unsurprising that the most frequent Appraisal resource about Josh in excerpt (8) is negative JUDGEMENT. The DI, the prior evaluation of Josh, and the situational context coincide for a use of *oh, goody!* that does not appear at any other point in the novel. The author constructs Josh as a childlike character earlier in the novel; this childlike behavior by Josh is narrowed down here to an impulsive reaction to Tara’s hair, irritation at Tara’s attempts to cheer him up, and finally brightening like a small child with Tara’s offer of a large cup of hot chocolate. Thus, Tara reacts with a negative JUDGEMENT of Josh as a ‘man-child’.

It is likely that (*oh*) *goody!* is used because of its historical association with ‘childish delight’ from the late 18th century when children would cry ‘goody, goody gumdrops!’ (cf. Dalzell and Victor 2012: 2005). This meaning appeared in the story ‘The Girl on the Shelf’ by Agnes Carr Sage in *Harper’s Young People* (1894), where the girl Pansy uses it repeatedly: “Oh, goody! goody! goody!” was her childish exclamation, as she danced down the store, while she could not resist popping her head into the elevator to cry: “Ah, ah, Mr. Jack in the box! You are not the wisest of birds, after all, if you do prate like a worldly old phoenix!” (443). Thus, the core evaluative associations of (*oh*) *goodie!* are positive AFFECT of happiness and delight as said by children. Using childish Appraisal lexis like (*oh*) *goody!* can be extended to insults and childish constructions of adults, particularly on Twitter, as I discuss in section 6.5.

Josh's Appraisal uses include raised FORCE, and both negative and positive APPRECIATION, instead of AFFECT or JUDGEMENT. Negative JUDGEMENT does not appear at all in his dialogue because he seems more oriented toward evaluating his environment instead of people; the early morning, Tara's hair, and the cup of hot chocolate. The majority of Appraisal resources appear when he slides into the car seat and complains about having to get up so early. He explicitly states that it's *too early*, and notes that the roosters have not *even* crowed yet. The text describes him giving Tara an *irritated glance* after she attempts to (humorously) cheer him up. He is more vocal in his evaluations than Tara, whose negative evaluations are written as thoughts. Thus, for Josh, APPRECIATION is a more defining category, while JUDGEMENT about social behavior and norms is a more frequently used by Tara. Neither directly engage with AFFECT.

While *oh goody!* has an established historical core of 'childish' evaluation in its general meaning, the DI does not always construct a literary character as childlike, especially when used in typical contexts that diminutives occur in – namely for emotional bonding between lovers or to address children and pets. In these contexts, *oh goodie!* can amplify affectionate, emphatic, and somewhat dramatic positive evaluation, as shown in the greeting ritual between two females in example (9).

- (9) The windows were enormous [APPRECIATION+]. She could see a room filled with odd shaped [APPRECIATION-] furniture. Her heart began to race. Katniss wasn't sure why. Approaching the gate, she pushed the call button. After a few rings an all too [R-FORCE]¹²³ familiar cheerful voice came on the line. "Hello, Hello?" Effie called. Katniss found herself smiling [AFFECT+] at the sound of the woman's exuberant [AFFECT+] voice. "Hey Effie! It's Katniss." She replied. "**Oh goodie!** You're here! Do come in!" the woman cried joyfully [AFFECT+].

[*The Hunger Games* fanfic, 26 February 2016, screamforsenpai, "Chasing Effie"]

The author of this fanfic takes two female characters from the *The Hunger Games* series – Katniss Everdeen (the series' heroine and female tribute for District 12) and Effie Trinket (the escort of the District 12 tributes) – and places them in a lesbian relationship. The premise of the short

¹²³ As discussed in 4.3.2, the category of FORCE can be viewed as a type of amplification system of ATTITUDE, whereby evaluations are upgraded [R-FORCE] or downgraded [L-FORCE].

story is that Effie invites Katniss for tea and Katniss has to understand her developing romantic feelings for Effie. The pairing is an odd one because Effie lives in the Capitol and has a flamboyant personality, while Katniss lived in poverty most of her life and is quite reserved. In this scene, Katniss has just arrived at Effie's house. The use of *oh goodie!*, *you're here!*, and *do come in!*, constructs Effie's outgoing personality while also serving to romantically affiliate the two females.

In terms of Appraisal, Katniss' Appraisal choices include positive and negative APPRECIATION (*enormous windows* and *odd shaped furniture*) to describe Effie's possessions. Later in the text, Effie's taste in clothing is described as *ridiculous*, but causes Katniss to be unable to "keep her eyes off of her." The last Appraisal categories drawn on in this excerpt are raised FORCE in *too familiar cheerful voice* that heightens the characters' emotional involvement, and the positive AFFECT in *smiling, joyfully* and *exuberant*. In comparison, Effie's Appraisal choices include only positive APPRECIATION, especially as conveyed through *oh goodie!* about Katniss' arrival. Exclamation marks signal the females' strong involvement in their joyful greeting ritual. Both Katniss and Effie are emotionally invested and expressive participants in this literary interaction and their delight in seeing each other is not negatively evaluated as childish.

5.2.2 Polish

In Polish, expressions of positive delight and surprise may be shown through diminutive *(o)jejku!* and *(o)jejciu!* (< *(o)jej!*). They are the most likely candidates for expressing positive delight because their base forms *(o)jej!* are listed by Sieradzka and Hrycyna (1996: 202) as expressing admiration and delight. The positive contexts of *(o)jejku!* in the Polish sources examined in this study appear to primarily function as compliments that convey warmth to the hearer.

I provide two instances for *(o)jejku!* from Twitter that function primarily as simple positive surprise. They are:

- (10) a. @user **Ojejku** 😍😍 [AFFECT+] jestem zaskoczona [AFFECT+], że Kinia siedzi na tym, nie w pudełku 😊
 'Ojejku 😍😍 I am surprised that Kinia [the cat] sits on it, not inside the box 😊'
 [Twitter, 22 June 2017]

b. @user **Jejku**, prawdę powiedziawszy, nie miałam o tym pojęcia. Jestem bardzo [R-FORCE], BARDZO [INCREASING FORCE] zaskoczona [AFFECT+] i to z pewnością sięgnę po tę książkę.

'Jejku, to tell the truth, I hadn't any idea about it. I am very, VERY surprised and I will definitely go get the book.' [Twitter, 20 September 2017]

Example (10a) is in response to another Twitter user's post of a cat sitting on top of a box, and the (10b) is a response to a user's recommendation for a certain book. Both tweeters' Appraisal choices enhance their positive evaluations with, e.g., smiley heart-eye faces (positive AFFECT), capital letters (raised FORCE) and words like *zaskoczona* 'surprised'.

5.3 Compliments and expressions of appreciation

5.3.1 English

Wowee!

Wowee! and *whoaie!* tend to convey positive surprise and admiration towards something that the speaker considers beautiful, wonderful, or generally better than the norm. In (11), taken from a romance novel, *wowee!* begins a series of Appraisal choices that show positive evaluation in the form of a compliment.

(11) At just on seven she walked out of her room dressed to kill [APPRECIATION+] in her beautiful [APPRECIATION+] new three-quarter waltz length dress chosen for tonight. She dressed the outfit with gold drop earrings, bracelet and an eye-catching [APPRECIATION+] jewel encrusted large butterfly ring. She carried a soft gold clutch and wore gold stiletto strap shoes with a few diamantes on the straps.

"**Wowee!!** You look a treat [APPRECIATION+] Amelia, the Belle of the Ball so to speak. I love [AFFECT+] your hair pulled up like that on one side, it looks so [R-FORCE] different [APPRECIATION+]."

"I bought this hair brooch some months ago and have never worn it. I thought it looked nice [APPRECIATION+] with this outfit Trish."

"Well you look stunning [APPRECIATION+] my dear."

“Thanks.” [Clough, *Trust in Love*, 2014: np]

The two females present in this scene are roommates in their early twenties: Amelia is described as a tall girl with a great personality who works as a secretary, while Trish is described as an attractive girl who works at a trendy bakery. In this scene, Amelia is preparing for a date night with John, a medical doctor who proposes to her by the end of the evening. On seeing Amelia, Trish reacts with an amplified *wowee!* She and the surrounding text add emotion words that contribute to positive AFFECT and APPRECIATION; for example, *I love, you look a treat, dressed to kill, beautiful, eye-catching, soft, different, nice* and *stunning* explain the emotional reaction of *wowee!* and signal Trish’s interpersonal involvement in the interaction.

Example (12), taken from a *Harlequin* romance, shows that *wowee!* may be used as a compliment by a male character (Nick) to the female protagonist (Sarah) about a food item; the utterance indirectly praises the female’s baking skill.

(12) Sarah opened the oven and took out perfectly [FOCUS] baked [APPRECIATION+] cinnamon rolls. She put them on the table and then started scrambling eggs.

“**Wowee!** What is that delicious [APPRECIATION+] smell?” Nick exclaimed as he entered the kitchen. “Cinnamon rolls!” He smiled [AFFECT+] at Sarah. “It sure is nice [APPRECIATION+] to have you back.”

Sarah returned his grin [AFFECT+]. “Thanks.” [Christenberry,¹²⁴ *The Rancher’s Inherited Family*, 2008: 88]

Sarah is a girl in her early twenties who recently lost her job and stays with Brad and his older (married) brother Nick on his ranch. Here, after Sarah and Brad have had a disagreement, Nick enters the room and uses *wowee!* and the Appraisal item of positive APPRECIATION in *perfectly baked, delicious* and *nice* to express his admiration of the smell of freshly-baked cinnamon rolls. The compliment breaks the heavy atmosphere and evokes a grin and an expression of gratitude from Sarah through the contact interjection *thanks*, signaling her positive reaction to the compliment.

¹²⁴ The author is a former French teacher who has been writing romance novels for 15 years. She has two daughters and lives in Dallas, Texas.

The DI *wowee!* can also convey positive evaluation in a flirtatious way that is not welcome to the hearer, as shown in (13).

- (13) “You know you’re very [R-FORCE] attractive [APPRECIATION+], don’t you? Maybe you don’t. Part of your charm is your modesty [JUDGEMENT+] and your raw [FOCUS] – what shall we call it? – innocence [JUDGEMENT+]. But you’ve got something that women kill for [APPRECIATION+], you’ll see! Energy that’s just bursting out of your skin, a kind of magnetic force that makes a woman’s flesh tingle [APPRECIATION+]. Then there’s the way you’re built, sturdy [APPRECIATION+], with those broad [APPRECIATION+] shoulders!” She expelled another blast of smoke, this time at him, regarding him through half-closed eyes. “You’re not classically handsome [APPRECIATION-], of course, but those brown eyes – and that *smile* [APPRECIATION+] of yours! **Wowee**, you must have left a *trail* of broken hearts back in New York along with that lucky niece of Boll’s.” [Cooper, *Our Kind of Music*, 2014: 105]

In this part of the novel, Jack Pike has received a temporary job with Captain Marvin Bambeck and is attending the Captain’s party. The Captain’s wife takes control of her interaction with Jack physically and linguistically: she walks her fingers sensuously up his back, refers to him with the endearment *honey*, and orders him to sit with her and call her by her first name, Thalia. Once he complies with her request, she begins the monologue in (13). After she finishes, the two go to the dance floor and she almost kisses him until another man requests a dance with Thalia and Jack makes his escape.

In terms of Appraisal, the character Jack is the target of evaluation and is assessed in terms of positive APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT, raised FORCE, and sharpened FOCUS. The intensifier *very*, the italics in *trail*, and the exclamation marks raise FORCE and signal Thalia’s emotional involvement. She makes use of APPRECIATION lexis to objectify Jack, describing him as *attractive*, *sturdy*, having *broad shoulders*, *brown eyes*, a *smile* that she likes, and a magnetic force that she thinks women would kill for. She makes use of JUDGEMENT in saying that Jack’s charm comes from his modesty and innocence. The last Appraisal resource is that of FOCUS, which sharpens her assessment of Jack’s innocence as *raw*.

Where does *wowee!* fit in within this wide array of Appraisal resources? In example (11), *wowee!* is used by a female about another female's appearance and in (12), *wowee!* is a male's initial reaction to an aroma labelled as *delicious*. In Thalia's speech, the DI appears after all of her positive APPRECIATION lexis to add attitude and augment her final evaluation that Jack's positive assets and good looks broke many females' hearts in the past. As in (11) and (12), *wowee!* seems to raise the emotional FORCE of the compliment. Thus, *wowee!* appears in mixed- and same-gender groups and expresses Attitude and emotional involvement.

Lordy! may also be used as a playful and sometimes dramatic marker of light-hearted affection and flirtation that is received positively by the hearer, as in (14).

(14) Tanna faced the darker-haired man. Shorter, stockier. More mellow. "Heya, Holt. You flying solo tonight? Or are you Ike's wingman?"

"Both. Come sit with us. Max secured a table. Damn crying shame we didn't get to talk to you much at the branding. But Devin, Fletch and Eli hogged our newest, most beautiful resident [APPRECIATION+]."

"**Lordy, lordy**, darlin' ... You sure you're not a salesman?" she asked Holt.

"If you're buying it, then I'm a better salesman than I thought."

She laughed [AFFECT+]. [James, *Turn and Burn*, 2013: 93]

In this Western romance, the female protagonist, Tanna Barker, is a native Texan described as a "petite cowgirl" (100) who is forward and direct in her speech. The character Holt is one of the group members who finds Tanna attractive and is a friend of Tanna's romantic interest. In this excerpt, Tanna greets Holt with an informal *hey!* Holt responds expressively through his Appraisal choices of *damn crying shame* and makes use of APPRECIATION lexis in to objectify Tanna, describing her as *most beautiful*. Tanna elevates the expressive language with *lordy!* and acknowledges his APPRECIATION lexis by replying with her own flirtatious and slightly teasing compliment. Her witty comeback and good humor leads to flattery from another male that she later describes as "sweet bullshit" (94). By taking the initiative to start the conversation with Holt, and the use of the vocative *darlin'* as a term of address suggests that she is amiable to their attention but not seriously interested. As such, she and Holt match each other's expressive language.

In the recipe blog genre, there is typically an outpouring of positive APPRECIATION (realized through positive adjectives) and AFFECT (realized through verbs like *love*) that evaluate the recipe positively. There are no instances of *Wowie, that's terrible!*, for example, though arguably the use is conceptually possible. The diminutive form increases the strength of the base interjection *wow!* and signals a high degree of emotional involvement by the writers, as in the three examples in (15).

- (15) a. **Wowie!** What a fantastic grilling roundup [APPRECIATION+] for the weekend! [28 May 2010]
- b. **Wowie**, I totally [R-FORCE] LOVE [AFFECT+] [R-FORCE] the colors and vibrancy of this salad. It looks like a great way [APPRECIATION+] to end summer... colorful and fun [APPRECIATION+] way :) [AFFECT+] Yum [31 August 2012]
- c. **wowie**, hats off to you [JUDGEMENT+]! When I feel lazy and don't want to cook I make scrambled eggs...that dinner looks brilliant [APPRECIATION+] [2014]

Here, the Appraisal lexis evaluates the grilling roundup, salad, and dinner using e.g., *love* in capital letters, positive emotion words such as *colorful*, *brilliant*, *fantastic*, and *fun*, the interjection *yum!*, and the maximizer *totally*. The comment-initial *wowie!* begins each comment in a positive and friendly tone that signals the writer's investment in her evaluative position towards the recipe and blog author.

Sometimes *wowie!* is preceded by the interjection *oh* in order to strengthen the positive emotional reaction and surprise, and co-occurs with FOCUS for a sense of intensification, as in (16).

- (16) oh **wowie**—that spoonful of peanut butter alone [FOCUS] is enough to make my mouth water [APPRECIATION+] ! [2 February 2011, Eliz@thesweetlife]

Here, the writer sharpens FOCUS through *alone* and upscales the features of positive APPRECIATION and raised FORCE (the final exclamation mark) about the spoonful of peanut butter in the recipe. These work in tandem to keep the emotional scaling at the same level (or higher) than the comment-initial and upscaled 'gut-reaction' of *oh wowie!*

Twitter users also use positive APPRECIATION, along with JUDGEMENT, to express admiration and/or compliments with *wowee!* Three examples are shown in (17).

- (17) a. **Wowee** that episode If #GreysAnatomy great job directing [JUDGEMENT+] Ellen Pompeo. So [R-FORCE] real & raw [APPRECIATION+]. 😊👏👏👏 [INCREASED AFFECT+] [Twitter, 4 April 2017]
- b. **Wowee** without a doubt @sketchlondon is the most [R-FORCE] incredible, magical, mythical, wonderful afternoon tea experience [JUDGEMENT+]! [image] [Twitter, 18 March 2017]
- c. The @user gallery ran by @user is so [R-FORCE] amazing [APPRECIATION+]! **Wowee**, great job [JUDGEMENT+]! So much [R-FORCE] I've never seen. [Twitter, 25 February 2016]

These tweets situate *wowee!* in a serious, positive appreciation of an event (TV episode, tea experience, gallery). The interjection is generally situated in a well-written, intelligent, and serious context without creative respellings or excessive emoticons that imply childishness. Multiple positive adjectives like *great*, *incredible*, *magical*, *mythical*, *amazing*, and *wonderful*, the only four emoticons/emojis in (16a), and the intensifier *so* increase the evaluative component. Because these evaluations are presented in a non-childish way, the diminutive interjections seem to add positive emotion to the evaluative force of each tweet.

The primary attitudinal value of the tweets in (17) is of positive JUDGEMENT realized through emotionally-charged compliments towards the TV episode's director Ellen Pompeo, someone's organization of an afternoon tea, and an art gallery's manager. They are evaluated here as *great* and *incredible*. Values of graduation in raised FORCE function as intensifiers of the positive attitudes as the most intense through *so*, *the most*, *so much*, and exclamation marks to upscale the compliments' positive emotions together with positive AFFECT depicted by emoticons, and APPRECIATION are more prominent motifs depicted by *real*, *raw*, and *amazing*. Together, these entirely-positive values signal the tweeters' emotional investments.

Where does the diminutive *wowee!* fit in within these tweets that positively evaluate, in intense terms, people and experiences? As seen in Chapter 4, the internal semantics of the diminutive *-ee* suffix add some emotional connotations. In this case, they are likely to be those of cuteness, silliness, good humour, non-seriousness, and intensification that may modify the

meanings of the base *wow!* In Appraisal terms, it could be argued that the *-ee* diminutive suffix itself could be raised FORCE. It could also be viewed through ungradable FOCUS, whereby diminutive *-ee* broadens or narrows the terms that decide whether the diminutive interjection fits into the diminutive category. However, the Attitude (whether of APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT, or AFFECT) makes it difficult to directly pinpoint where DIs should be placed within Appraisal.

In addition, *wowee!* is used in all three tweets to compliment a person with the JUDGEMENT value instead of focusing on values of APPRECIATION. The *wowee!* in (17c) is not comment-initial and is put directly before *great job*, as if *wowee!* adds to JUDGEMENT instead of the positive APPRECIATION of the art gallery that begins the tweet. This placement, and those in (17a-b), seems to suggest more sincere interest in the complimentee and her job rather than in the tweeter's own experience. Of course, in (15a-b), the *wowee!* evaluates a grilling roundup and a salad instead of people. It would be of interest to explore whether DIs in compliments are more likely responses to people more than objects or experiences.

The Appraisal categories used so far for *wowee!* as compliments can be summarized as follows:

- APPRECIATION is used frequently for positive evaluation. It is used to objectify females and males as, for example, *beautiful* (by a male to a female), *sturdy* (by a female to a male), and *stunning* (by a female to another female). This use seems to occur most frequently in (*Harlequin*) fiction, which is unsurprising due to the romantic/sexual focus of this fiction genre. APPRECIATION is also used to positively evaluate objects and experiences such as a TV show episode, a salad, and the smell of cinnamon rolls as *colorful*, *brilliant*, *delicious*, *magical*, and *fun*. This use appears not to be genre-specific, as it occurs in adult fiction, recipe blogs, and Twitter.
- Raised FORCE is used frequently for amplification of Appraisal items. The intensifier *so* occurs most frequently in, e.g. *so different*, *so real & raw*, and *so much*. The examples also employ *totally*, *the most*, and *very* as intensifiers. The texts also include capital letters, italics, and exclamation marks to raise the FORCE of an utterance; in fact, exclamation marks are used the most frequently across all genres.
- AFFECT lexis tends to be shown through emoticons (e.g. happy faces), lexis such as *laughed* and *grin*, and in through *I love X* constructions. JUDGEMENT occurs in Twitter posts to positively evaluate how well a person has done something based on

social/professional expectations (e.g. directing a TV show episode) or socially acceptable personality traits (e.g. modesty). Both of these Appraisal categories appear infrequently in the texts.

Overall, it is not far-fetched to posit that *wowee!*, when used (seriously) for positive evaluation, tends to be most often associated with positive APPRECIATION and raised FORCE. Next, I turn to the DI *thanksies!*, which seems to be associated with similar Appraisal resources.

Thanksies!

The three instances for *thanksies!* in Google Books suggest that the diminutive suffix amplifies the gratitude conveyed by the base *thanks!* but may have an additional emotional nuance. A positive use of *thanksies!* from a Google Books search is shown in example (18), and the DI co-occurs with the Appraisal resource of positive AFFECT through the *I love X* construction in the same utterance.

- (18) “Tai, Tai, don’t,” I sighed. “I seriously [R-FORCE] don’t know how much longer I can walk the earth with the vagina I have now [APPRECIATION-]. Please. I’m begging [R-FORCE] you.”
“Fine, my love. Let me make some calls and I’ll get you a list of reputable [JUDGEMENT+] surgeons. But don’t tell your father. And stop frowning. It smushes your forehead. Love you [AFFECT+].”
“**Thanksies.** I love you [AFFECT+] too.” [Walker, *White Girl Problems*, 2013: np]

Here, the main character, Babe Walker, is an urban socialite determined to get a labiaplasty because she is convinced that she was born “with a Basquiat between [her] legs”. Throughout this faux memoir, she is characterized as a rich and chronically self-absorbed girl. In this Skype conversation with her grandmother, who she refers to with the endearment Tai Tai, she begs for an operation to ‘fix’ her vagina that she evaluates negatively until her grandmother gives in and provides her with a list of reputable surgeons. The grandmother’s affection and emotional attachment towards Babe is made evident through utilizing Involvement resources in *my love*, and ending with *love you*. Babe replies with the DI *thanksies!* and *I love you too* to express her gratitude and affectionate feelings towards her grandmother. The conversation shows that in terms of Appraisal, *thanksies!* may be part of positive AFFECT with little FORCE.

In the fantasy/sci-fi literary excerpt in (19), the speaker says *thanksies!* to convey gratitude for receiving money, and also possibly an additional attitude.

(19) “Yeah, you’re totally [R-FORCE] right,” Netty continued, “but you know, buying the wedding favors is my task...”

“And?”

“Could you give me some...uh...money?” [...]

“Thanksies!”

The bird-brained girl [JUDGEMENT-] got the bag in no time. She had not much to show for talent, but at least she knew how to beg for money. Zoé didn't mind, it was not her money – not yet, anyway. Now that Netty's hands were deep inside Sam's – one of the richest [R-FORCE] men in the United States' – future wife's bag, she was sneaky [JUDGEMENT-] enough to take not just one card but two. You never know... [KIAS, *L, the Illuminator: Who am I?*, 2016, np.]

In this novel, the main character is the mythological being Lucifer, who has feelings for Zoé, the main female protagonist who at this point is the fiancée of a wealthy man named Sam. Here, the minor character Netty is constructed as a conniving, antagonistic female. She is explicitly referred to with negative JUDGEMENT with *bird-brained* (i.e. ‘stupid’) and *sneaky*. Thus, Netty is constructed as a character whose behavior is explicitly condemned as immoral in terms of social morality and/or norms. Thus, it is likely that *thanksies!* is not only a playful or ironic vocalized expression of Netty’s current positive mental state and gratitude for receiving the money, but also a contribution towards her construction as immoral or dishonest within the bounds of expected social behavior(s). The only Appraisal resource used by Netty may be raised FORCE through one exclamation mark directly after the DI and in *totally* in an earlier utterance.

The use of *thanksies!* in adult fiction can be used in a somewhat playful and derogatory way that could be viewed as non-serious and/or sarcastic, as in (20).

(20) Emerald Dress stopped at the door. She turned and held up her clutch purse. “Can you do me a *huge* [R-FORCE] favor? Could you fetch me some bobby pins?” She shoved the clutch into my hands. “And maybe some of that double-sided tape celebrities use.” She tilted her head in a half-shrug. **“Thanksies!”**

I [Amelia] stood on the doorstep, openmouthed. She wanted me to *fetch* things for her? Ethan had already walked ahead with the others, so at least he hadn't seen the Fetch This transaction. The girl fluttered her fingers my way, which I could only interpret as *shoo*. As in, “away with you!” Like waving off a housefly. [Scott, *Alterations*, 2016: np]

Here, the speaker uses the Appraisal resource of raised FORCE through her use of *huge* in italics for emphasis, and also her half-shrug followed by *thanksies!*, and then fluttering her fingers towards Amelia after mistaking her for a seamstress. This type of exchange is normal for her character because earlier in the story she tends to upscale her emotions through, e.g. “Oh my God, you look awe-soome!”, “She *literally* saved my night” and pronouncing the name *Liam* as “Leee-um” to the extent that one could doubt her sincerity. In an earlier exchange with Amelia, she uses unaffixed *thank you!* in “Thank you! You are a *lifesaver*.” In this way, she is characterized as the most expressive speaker who frequently uses positive AFFECT and raised FORCE. The text suggests that *thanksies!* in (20) continues the dramatic attitude used at some point in every utterance.

In the three excerpts with *thanksies!*, the character who uses *thanksies!* attempts to gain control over the conversation and get something by manipulating the interlocutor’s feelings. In (18), Netty wheedles her way into more money than she should have had; in (19), Babe emotionally manipulates her grandmother for an operation she thinks she needs. In (20), a self-absorbed teenage female asks Amelia to fetch bobby pins and double-sided tape for her. In (20), the negative undertone of the DI is more apparent because of the addressee’s shocked reaction. Each character who uses *thanksies!* in these excerpts is characterized, to an extent, as sneaky and selfish. She frequently uses raised FORCE to amplify emotion and other emotional items to gain control over the end result of the interaction.

The three excerpts from Google Books, however, only loosely belong to the group of positive DIs. They could easily fit into the ironic and non-serious group of DIs discussed in Chapter 6. I include them here because (18) uses positive AFFECT and *thanksies!* seems to express some measure of gratitude in each excerpt. In comparison with adult fiction from Google Books, online recipe blogs and their comments are a treasure-trove for positive comments that express gratitude and admiration in a positive way; that is, the writer of *thanksies!* seems sincere and does not appear to have ulterior motives.

In recipe blog comments, the decision to use a diminutive contact interjection as opposed to a non-affixed one may depend on the first person's style of writing and emotional content. In (21), the blog author,¹²⁵ comments on two of the comments she received for her 'Louisiana Meat Pie Pierogi' recipe: first, to Jo she writes *thanks*, and follows the word with positive Attitudinals such as the elongated interjection *oooh*, and overall displays a positive and enthusiastic reaction. However, to Margie she only writes *thanksies!*, directly followed by an exclamation mark, which seems to construct what could be interpreted as a more reserved tone.

- (21) @Jo: Thanks! Oooh [R-FORCE] now that makes me want to try out some stuff with wontons!
@Margie: **Thanksies!** [2010]

Based on the idea that the hearer tends to reflect the language of the speaker to express solidarity, we can assume that the blog author tries to match the style and language of Jo and Margie, as shown in (22a) and (22b) respectively.

- (22) a. Great [JUDGEMENT+] job on your challenge. I prefer your 2nd attempt which sounds totally [R-FORCE] delicious [APPRECIATION+]. The fried version reminds of wantons. [Jo]
b. Your fried pierogi look delish [APPRECIATION+]! And I love [AFFECT+] your motto! :) [AFFECT+] Thanks for the introduction to Louisiana Meat Pies. [Margie]

While both show positive APPRECIATION and AFFECT to establish a positive emotional connection, Jo evaluates the recipe as *totally delicious*, which draws on raised FORCE and positive APPRECIATION; however, the style and tone appear more formal than Margie's.¹²⁶ Margie, a home cook from Wisconsin, uses slang words such as *delish* (< *delicious*), emotion words such as *love*, and a smiley face. For the most part, the blogger's response appears to reflect her perception of

¹²⁵ At the time of publishing her blog post, the author (Kocinera) was a college student in Texas. In her bio, she writes that she loves food, languages, books, photography, *Dr. Who*, and Korean dramas, and studied Spanish in college.

¹²⁶ Arguably, the language that is perceived as slightly more formal may stem from her variety of English as a Malaysian currently residing in Singapore.

the language used in Margie's and Jo's comments and perhaps her own emotional response at the time.

In other cases, the recipe blogger does not reflect the language used by the first writer, but rather becomes more formal than usual, as shown in (23).

- (23) Hi! I was wondering if I could just use store bought whip cream instead of cool whip. We don't have cool whip here in Indonesia. **Thanksies** 😊 [AFFECT+]
@INES I've never tried it, but I think that should be fine as long as the whipped cream is fairly thick. If it's a brand that gets kind of liquid, it may not work well. [20 January 2014]

Here, the Atlanta-based blogger for a 'No Bake Oreo Cheesecake' recipe answers a user's question formally and professionally, even though the writer of the comment raises the force of the greeting *hi* with an exclamation mark, and ends by utilizing positive AFFECT. Thus, *thanksies!* may be viewed as an expression of positive AFFECT towards the blogger and/or recipe. The reply to *thanksies!* differs from the Appraisal and Involvement resources that the blogger uses in her previous responses, e.g. exclamation points, happy faces, positive affect in *I'm so glad*, and laughter (e.g. *haha*). In sum, a blog author may decide to respond 'in kind' with or to *thanksies!*, as shown in (21), but such use is dependent on extra-contextual factors as well, which likely influenced the response in (23).

Thank yousies! is another DI from the unaffixed contact interjection *thank you!* However, it is extremely rare, with only a few hits per year on Twitter. Because this DI does not appear in any recipe blog or blog comment (based on a Google search), or in Google Books, I turn to Twitter for examples of *thankyousies!* The Twitter examples generally have positive, albeit childish connotations, that are mainly expressed through the Appraisal resources of positive AFFECT and raised FORCE that help establish an interpersonal connection between the tweeters. Three Twitter posts are shown in (24).

- (24) a. Okay then, thanks very [R-FORCE] much, when I get home ill send over my feral ref as well to help you out, **thankyousies** ^_^ [AFFECT+] [Twitter, 18 March 2014]
b. my toesies are frozies
@user im glad [AFFECT+] your toesies recoveriesd. blessies to you and yoursies
@user1 **thank yousies** [Twitter, 21 January 2012]

c. @user Guess who found Life on Mars in glorious [APPRECIATION+] HD quality! It doesn't even compare to what we watched before 🐱🐱 [AFFECT+]
 @user1 OH GOD OH GOD OH GOD [INCREASED FORCE] *PANTONES* You need to sharesies when I get homesies please and **thank yousies** MWAH
 @user I'm not homesies but I'll message you the link when I do ❤️ [AFFECT+] [Twitter, 8 April 2015]

In example (24a) the writer separates the 'serious' non-diminutive form and the affectionate/happy diminutive form. She says *thanks very much* first, but then makes an abrupt shift in tone that ends the message with *thankyousies* and a cute smiley face. The diminutive interjection can also reflect child-play language between two tweeters in (24b) that includes baby-talk such as *frozies*, *toesies*, *blessies*, *yoursies*. In (24c), the teenage female writer follows nearly the same pattern as (24b) except the emotional level rises through increased FORCE in capitalized 'OH GOD' three times and the insert 'MWAH', along with the diminutive *sharesies*, *homesies*, and *thank yousies*!

The Appraisal categories used for *thanksies!* (and *thank yousies!*) as expressions of gratitude can be summarized as follows:

- Raised FORCE is a very frequent Appraisal resource. Twitter users employ capital letters as in *PANTONES* and MWAH, exclamation marks, elongated interjections, italics, and the intensifiers *very*, *seriously* and *totally* to amplify evaluative content. Also, the Involvement resource of swearing in *OH GOD* also amplifies the emotions expressed by the tweeter.
- Positive AFFECT occurs more frequently than positive APPRECIATION, which differs from *wowee!* Likely, the expression of gratitude evokes positive feelings which then co-occur in the comment or tweet. The positive affect lexis includes heart emoticons, happy faces, and the expressions *I'm glad* and *I love*. However, positive APPRECIATION does occur in recipe blog comments and tweets, especially through the adjectives *glorious*, *delish* and *delicious*.
- Positive JUDGEMENT lexis comment on the quality of a person's work based on professional and/or social standards. It is used in *great job* about a blogger's effort on a recipe challenge.

Overall, *thanksies!* and *thank yousies!* seem to convey positive AFFECT and raised FORCE more often than the other Appraisal resources.

Another way to look at the emotional connotations of *thanksies!* is through the aesthetic value of ‘cuteness’. The ‘cuteness’ reflected through *thanksies!* is diminutive because it is not as ‘robust’ or ‘formal’ as *thanks!* This may also occur with diminutive *wowee!*, *whoaie!* and *oh goodie!* when silly and/or cute connotations are evoked. *Thanksies!* has ‘cute’ features typically associated with babies, puppies, and animals like koala bears and pandas that move like human babies even as adults – even “certain cottages, villages, and cars are said to be cute” (Morreall 1991: 39). These, like endearments, can be categorized under the resources of Involvement.

The existence of ‘cute’ inanimate objects and the fact that baby slugs are not usually ‘cute’ shows that *cuteness* does not only apply to small things and children. Morreall (1991: 40) notes that there have to be distinct features in the ‘cute’ thing that “[release] stimuli for tender feelings and affectionate behaviour” and cause bonding (e.g. between mother and child), convey ‘sweet’ emotions (Solomon 1991) and the positive APPRECIATION and/OR JUDGEMENT lexis of *small*, *gentle*, *innocent*, and *inviting*. Positive adjectives used to describe cute things include *cuddly*, *charming*, *pleasing*, *thrilling*, *pretty*, *colourful*, *joyous*, and *beautiful*, most of which have been shown to be conceptually applied to *wowee!* and other DIs. In this sense, a DI may be considered ‘cute’ because it stimulates affection, tenderness, a sense of innocence, and makes the expression of gratitude sound ‘cute’ compared to the unaffixed form.

Overall, English expressions of admiration may use the diminutive interjection *wowee!* but rarely employ other base interjections. This is only natural, as *wow!* tends to be the main interjection in English for this context. In the compliment speech event, *thanksies!* and its variant suffixed forms sometimes are used to convey gratitude, though sometimes the speakers have ulterior motives and are not completely sincere.

5.3.2 Polish

(O)jejku!

In literary works, *(o)jejku!* can range from mild admiration to strong positive surprise. Sometimes a character seems to naturally comment on the beauty or another impressive feature with the diminutive interjection *ojejku!*, as shown in (25):

(25) Bostońska sztywność, którą Howard kojarzył z takimi wydarzeniami jak dzisiejsze, nie

mogła nie ulec inwazji masy rozgrzanych ciał, grania świerszczy, zapachu miękkiej, wilgotnej kory drzew i atonalnych dźwięków strojonych instrumentów – i wszystko to wychodziło ludziom na dobre. Żółte lampiony barwy nasion rzepaku kołysały się na gałęziach.

-**Ojejku**, jakie to ładne [APPRECIATION+] – powiedział Jerome. – Zupełnie jakby orkiestra unosiła się nad wodą, prawda? To te odbicia światła w wodzie dają taki efekt.

-**Ojejku** - powtórzył Howard, patrząc na skąpany w świetle pagórek widoczny za wodą.

-**Ojejku**, o rany. Ja cię przepraszam. Trele-morele.

“The Boston primness Howard associated with these kinds of events could not quite survive the mass of hot bodies and the crepitations of the crickets, the soft, damp bark of the trees and the atonal tuning of instruments – and all this was to the good. Yellow lanterns, the colour of rape seed, hung in the branches of the trees.

“Gee, that’s nice,” said Jerome. “It’s like the orchestra’s hovering above the water, isn’t it? I mean, the reflection from the lights makes it look like that.”

“Gee,” said Howard, looking towards the flood-lit mound beyond the water. “Gee gosh. Golly gee. Bo diddley.” [Smith, *O pięknie*, 2011: np]¹²⁷

Taken from a novel that follows the lives of a British/American family living in the USA, this excerpt involves two characters: Howard, a British university professor, and his eldest son Jerome. Prior to this excerpt, Howard made his teenage children laugh by utilizing the Involvement resource of street language, e.g. ‘I am full of verve and spunk’ and reciting the only line of rap he could remember. He continues his teasing by repeating Jerome’s *ojejku!* ‘gee’ and adding more slang to his utterance. Thus, Howard’s *ojejku!* is said for jocular purposes more than to convey his emotional reaction. Jerome, however, utters *ojejku!* as part of the positive APPRECIATION lexis that follows in his evaluation of the scene as *jakie to ładne* ‘that’s nice’. He then continues to describe the reason for his reaction, namely the effect of lights on the water.

¹²⁷ The novel is a translation of British author Zadie Smith’s novel, *On Beauty* (2005). The translation provided is from the original English text.

In contrast with (25), the speaker in (26) uses positive APPRECIATION and raised FORCE with *ojejku!*

(26) Szmaragdowy Budda, patrzący w swoim czystym [FOCUS] pięknie [APPRECIATION+] ze złotego podium, momentalnie przygasił ich gorączkę. Wpatrywały się w niego z wielką czcią. Chwila powagi prysła, gdy Sally pisnęła na widok posągu Buddy przyszłości stojącego u podnóża szmaragdowego. Był z czystego [FOCUS] złota, cały pokryty diamentami.

-**Ojejku**, musi być wart kwintyliony! – wykrzyknęła.

‘Emerald Buddha, looking out from its pure beauty from a golden podium, immediately dimmed their fever. They stared at him with great reverence. The moment of seriousness shattered when Sally squealed at the sight of the statue of the future Buddha standing at the foot of the emerald. He was of pure gold, completely covered with diamonds.

“Ojejku, it must be worth trillions!” she exclaimed.’ [Kendall, *Dziewczyny od Versace*, 2014: 60]

In this excerpt, the speaker Chantrea, a single mother and full-time flight attendant, is touring the Elephant Bar and surrounding area with her mother, Sally. The Appraisal resource of FOCUS appears in the description of the Buddha, depicted as *czysty* ‘pure’ twice. This repetition of *czysty* ‘pure’ intensifies their positive evaluation of the Buddha statue as beautiful and expensive. Chantrea exclaims *ojejku!* at the beauty of the statue and comments that the statue must be worth trillions, utilizing positive APPRECIATION and also raising the force of the statement with the exclamation mark. The excerpt does not convey any silliness or jocularly; rather, the DI occurs as a natural reaction to what the speaker sees before her.

Overall, examples (25) and (26) suggest that *ojejku!*, in these positive contexts of admiration, conveys the Appraisal resource of positive APPRECIATION and sometimes raised FORCE. That is, *ojejku!*, similar to a descriptive adjective like *nice*, seems to function as an attitudinal comment about the value of something. However, use of this Appraisal resource is not restricted to literary dialogue, as it also appears in food blog comments to evaluate the quality of the recipe, in the same way shown earlier with *wowee!* and *thanksies!* for English.

When used in food blogs, *ojejku!* and *jejku!* not only express admiration for the qualities of the food described, but also emphatically imply the writer's positive feelings towards the recipe and/or amplify the positive emotion of base *(o)jej!* Three examples are shown in (27).

- (27) a. **Jejku** naprawdę [R-FORCE] świetny przepis [APPRECIATION+]! Na pewno [R-FORCE] go niedługo wykorzystam! POZDROWIENIA!
'Jejku really great recipe! I'll use it soon for sure! GREETINGS!' [10 January 2016]
- b. **jejku** super przepis [APPRECIATION+] wypróbuję! nie wiedziałam że to takie [R-FORCE] proste [APPRECIATION+] :) [AFFECT+]
'jejku super recipe, I'll try it! I didn't know it was so simple :)' [30 June 2013]
- c. **Jejku jejku** co za przepis ^^ [AFFECT+] a pierwszy karmel w życiu wyszedł jak złoto [APPRECIATION+] :) [AFFECT+]"
'Jejku jejku what a recipe ^^ and my first caramel in my life came out like gold :)' [22 November 2014]

In (27a), the writer of the comment praises the recipe and conveys excitement about using it soon, and in (27b), the writer likewise praises the recipe and expresses delight that it is more simple than she had thought. In (27c), the recipe is again praised, saying that her first caramel came out like gold. All three comments draw on the Appraisal resources of positive APPRECIATION in e.g. *super* 'super' and *świetny* 'great'/'wonderful', and raised FORCE through intensifiers including *naprawdę* 'really'/'truly'. In the third tweet, the repetition of *jejku!* amplifies the positive feelings expressed by the writer. These Appraisal resources also occur in *mniamku!* 'yum', as shown in the next sub-section.

Mniamku!

Mniam! is a primary interjection directly opposite in meaning from the negative *yuk!* 'yuck' and *fuj!* 'yuck'; in fact, *mniamku!* can be viewed as the opposite of *fujka!* (cf. Chapter 7) and either comments on the taste or the anticipation of the food shown in the recipe blog and thus immediately falls within positive APPRECIATION lexis. However, an exclamation mark may draw on raised FORCE for added emotional emphasis, along with additional intensifiers. At other

times, diminutives, and the emphatic *o* ‘oh’ may add Attitude and Graduation as in the recipe blog comment in (28).

(28) Uwielbiam [AFFECT+] marcepan. Dlatego zrobię go według podanego przepisu, **mniamku** :) [AFFECT+]

‘I love marzipan. That’s why I’ll follow the given recipe to make it, mniamku :)’ [6 November 2016]

b. **mniamku!** dziękuję za przepis, jest świetny [APPRECIATION+] :) [AFFECT+] ‘mniamku! thank you for the recipe, it’s wonderful :)’ [5 July 2013]¹²⁸

c. O **mniamku**, pyszności [APPRECIATION+]. Bardzo [R-FORCE] lubię dorsza [AFFECT+], fajnie podana rybka [APPRECIATION+] :) [AFFECT +]

‘Oh mniamku, delicious. I really like codfish, it’s a great served little fish’ [25 December 2012]

In (28a), the writer of the comment says that she loves marzipan and will make it with this (delicious) recipe, and in (28b) the writer positively evaluates the recipe as wonderful and thanks the recipe blog author for posting it. In a similar way, the writer of (28c) evaluates codfish as a very delicious little fish. All three comments draw on both positive AFFECT; from this, it is possible to say that positive AFFECT (i.e. feelings) might have slightly more, or the same, weight in the meaning of *mniamku!* than positive APPRECIATION. This also helps to establish an emotional connectedness between two people who may live in different parts of the world.

The Appraisal categories used for the primary emotive diminutive interjections (*o*)*jejku!* and *mniamku!* as compliments can be summarized as follows:

- Positive AFFECT and positive APPRECIATION are frequently-used Appraisal resources that convey attitudinal meanings. Some of the lexis for positive APPRECIATION includes *świetny* ‘great’ (or ‘wonderful’), *ładne* ‘nice’ (or ‘pretty’) *pyszności* ‘delicious’ and *super* ‘super’. Happy faces, *uwielbiam* ‘I love’, and *lubię* ‘I love’ about marzipan, codfish, and the

¹²⁸ Many tweets and blog comments have spelling and/or grammatical errors, or are missing Polish characters. I do not attempt to change the tweet at all but rather leave it as is.

recipe in general are examples of positive AFFECT. It could also be argued that the diminutive *rybka* < *ryba* 'fish' falls under positive APPRECIATION or AFFECT.

- Raised FORCE also co-occurs with *(o)jejku!* and *mniamku!*, especially to raise the attitude of the positive APPRECIATION and AFFECT lexis. Besides capitalized letters and exclamation marks, *bardzo* 'very', *na pewno* 'for sure' and *naprawdę* 'truly' fall into this category.

In sum, *(o)jejku!* and *mniamku!* may be placed under the Attitude resources of positive AFFECT and APPRECIATION, and also raised FORCE.

Hejcia!

Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 293) posit that diminutive contact interjections (in Italian) “may upgrade the expression of emotional inner state and of the writer’s commitment and also impose, on the addressee, an extra obligation to keep up the warm relationship (including intimacy) presupposed by the use of those diminutives.” In recipe blogs and fanfiction comments, the interlocutor using a diminutive greeting often promises to inform the interlocutor how the recipe turned out, or to return another day to read another chapter of the fanfiction story. In terms of Appraisal and Involvement, this creates a longer-lasting emotional affiliation between interlocutors. Two examples are shown in (29).

- (29) a. **Hejcia**..wlasnie dzisiaj znalazlam ten przepis i popoludniu zabiore sie za pieczenie :) [AFFECT+] smak z dzieciństwa [APPRECIATION+] ..dam znac jak wyszedl :) [AFFECT+]
pozdrawiam

‘Hejcia...just today I found this recipe and this afternoon I will get to baking :) taste from childhood..I’ll let you know how it turned out :) greetings’ [10 May 2012, Ines]

- b. **Hejcia** :* [AFFECT+]

Jejka nareszcie [R-FORCE] rozdział po prostu [R-FORCE] nie mogłam się doczekać :D [AFFECT+] czasami nawet wchodziłam pare razy dziennie żeby zobaczyć czy przypadkiem może wcześniej ci internet nie wrócił no ale to tam mało ważne :p [AFFECT+]

Rozdział nie zawiódł moich oczekiwać i czekam do czartku na więcej akcji i ma być długiiii [R-FORCE] :D [AFFECT+] i naprawdę [R-FORCE] jest multum fajny :3 [AFFECT+]

Pozdrawiam cieplutko :* [AFFECT+]

~Żaneta

‘Hejcia :*

Jejka finally a chapter that I could just not wait for :D sometimes I even came a few times a day to see if, by any chance, maybe your internet returned earlier, but that’s not important :p

The chapter did not disappoint my expectations and I wait to Thursday for more action and it should be looong :D and it really is exceedingly great :3

I greet you very warmly :*

~Żaneta [15 September 2015, Anonymous]

In example (29a), the *hejcia!* (< *hej!*) is used in a recipe comment for ‘Biskopt z truskawkami’ (‘Sponge Cake with strawberries’). The comment is relatively neutral emotionally in comparison with the other 80 comments for the recipe. Although it is the only comment with *hejcia!*, it does not employ diminutives found in the other comments, e.g. *przepisik* ‘recipe.DIM’, *cieplutkie* ‘warm’, *minutki* ‘minutes.DIM’, *szybciutko* ‘quickly.DIM’ *biskopcik* ‘sponge cake.DIM’, *mięciutkie* ‘soft.DIM’ and *śłodziutki* ‘sweet.DIM’. However, the comment is similar to other comments by utilizing both positive AFFECT and APPRECIATION through two happy faces and *smak z dzieciństwa* ‘taste from childhood’. The lack of raised FORCE suggests that the appraisals have low intensity.

Example (29b), a comment by a female about a Harry Styles fanfic, upscales emotion through repeated occurrences of positive AFFECT as a positive emoticon ends every sentence, and to a lesser extent, positive APPRECIATION in *fajny* ‘neat’, and raised FORCE through *naprawdę* ‘truly’ and *nareszcie* ‘finally’. The suffixed interjection *jejka!* evaluates the fanfiction chapter with amplified Attitude, and the diminutive adverb *cieplutko* ‘warmly.DIM’ ends the comment on a friendly and positive note. The DI *hejcia!* functions in a similar way to *jejka!* and *cieplutko* to show that the writer of the comment has positively and warmly evaluated the recipe and/or recipe blogger and wants to establish a positive relationship.

Dzieńdoberek!

The use of the diminutive greeting interjection, *dzieńdoberek* ‘good morning.DIM’ (or ‘good day.DIM’) in conversation generally presupposes a warm relationship between the interlocutors

and functions to maintain the relationship. However, it may also reveal the register or dialect of the speaker. A particularly relevant example appears in the *Harry Potter* fanfiction in (30).

(30) - Pierszoroczni, tędy!

Albus popatrzył przed siebie i zobaczył mężczyznę o wzroście w przybliżeniu trzy razy większym niż jego, który machał w stronę zszokowanych pierwszoroczniaków.

- Cześć, Hagridzie. – powiedział Albus, kiedy w końcu do niego doszedł.

- **Dzieńdoberek**, Albusie – odpowiedział z szerokim [R-FORCE] uśmiechem [AFFECT+] Hagrid.

Albus znał Hagrida odkąd był dzieckiem.

"Firs' years, ov'r this way".

Albus looked off into the distance and saw a man roughly three times his size waving over to the group of shocked first years.

"Hello Hagrid" Albus said as he made his way over to him.

"Lo there Albus" he replied with a broad smile.

Albus had known Hagrid since he was a baby.' [25 August 2011, italiana, 'Albus Potter i Podziemia Mgły Merlina'; trans. from Vekin 87's 'Albus Potter and the Dungeon of Merlin's Mist'].

The greeting exchange takes place between the Hogwarts Groundskeeper, Hagrid, and Harry Potter's younger son Albus, who is eleven and entering his first year of school at Hogwarts. It is important to note that throughout the *Harry Potter* series, Hagrid speaks in a distinct way which, along with his half-giant heritage, gives him inferior status and separates him from other wizards (Douglas 2008). In the British social system, Hagrid would have lower social status than Albus Potter, even though he works as a Professor and Groundskeeper at Hogwarts. However, Hagrid does not always use *'lo there!* to greet his friends, which suggests that his greeting is particularly warm and intimate for Albus. This is evidenced in the wide smile at seeing Albus which suggests an intensified positive AFFECT. In the Polish translation of the fanfiction story, *dzieńdoberek!* is chosen to convey warmth and positive feeling at seeing Albus. Therefore, it is not far-fetched to assume that *dzieńdoberek!* may appear under the Appraisal resource of positive AFFECT, but also have associations with nonstandard language.

Papatki!

The contact interjection of farewell, *papatki!* (< *papa* 'bye') is similar to the informal English 'ta-ta' or 'cheerio' that is said in a good mood – rather 'cheerful' and 'funny'. When *papatki!* appears in conversation, the speaker suggests that the parting will not be for long, and that the speaker considers the hearer a friend (Galasinski 2017). This meaning may also be applied to recipe blog comments, as in example (31) about a recipe.

- (31) Zrobiłam te muffinki dzisiaj, bo syn mnie prosił już od dłuższego czasu i jestem baardzo [R-FORCE] zadowolona [AFFECT+]. Oczywiście zrobiłam dwa błędy: wlałam nie 100 ale 250 (matko!) ml oleju i nie chciało mi się drobno kruszyć wafelków, ALE I TAK WYSZŁY! Za co jestem im wdzięczna [AFFECT+] :) [AFFECT+]
Niesamowicie pachnące [APPRECIATION+], w smakuu czekoladowo-princpolowe.
Następnym razem drobniej pokruszę wafelki, dodam tyle oleju, ile potrzeba i troszkę mniej cukru.
Przepis super [APPRECIATION+], a ja już ostrzę zęby na następne i na pewno napiszę jak smakowało.
Pozdrawiam, **papatki**.
'I made these little muffins today because my son has been asking me for a long time and I am veery happy. Of course, I made two mistakes: I poured not 100 but 250 (mother!) ml of oil and I did not want to finely crumble wafers, BUT THEY STILL TURNED OUT! For which I am grateful to them :)
Extremely fragrant, chocolate-Prince Polo flavor.
Next time I will more finely crush the wafers, I will add as much oil as needed and a little less sugar.
The recipe is great, and I'm already sharpening my teeth for [or 'looking forward to'] the next ones and I will definitely write how it tasted.
Best wishes, *papatki*.' [2012]

In (31), the comment is written by a female about a recipe for 'Muffinki z Prince Polo' ('Muffins.DIM with Prince Polo'). She uses three Appraisal resources throughout the comment to convey her Attitude towards her experience with the recipe: positive APPRECIATION lexis through *niesamowicie pachnące* 'extremely fragrant' and *super* 'super', positive AFFECT through

jestem bardzo zadowolona ‘I am veery happy’ and a happy face. The raising of FORCE through *bardzo* ‘very’, elongation, capital letters and exclamation marks amplifies the feelings expressed through AFFECT and APPRECIATION. The Involvement lexical system of swearing appears through *matko!* ‘mother!’ (better translated as *geez!* or *oh boy!*) as an amplification resource and the choice of *muffinki* instead of non-diminutive *muffiny* ‘muffins’ maintains the emotional tone set by the name of the recipe. The closing farewell DI *papatki!* (< *papa!* ‘bye’) seems to sum up the positive feelings expressed throughout the comment. Thus, *papatki!* (along with *hejcia!*) can be thought of as a way to express a positive emotional reaction and connect on an interpersonal level with the recipe blogger.

Overall, the Appraisal categories used for the diminutive contact interjections of greeting and farewell addressed here for compliments and expressions of gratitude do not appear to differ much from those for the diminutive primary emotive interjections (*o*)*jejku!* and *mniamku!* in Polish. As usual, positive AFFECT, positive APPRECIATION and raised FORCE are evident throughout the examples of *papatki!*, *dzieńdoberek!* and *hejcia!* through emotive lexis such in *jestem bardzo zadowolona* ‘I am veery happy’. Thus, these DIs likely intensify the positive feelings of the speaker.

Jezusku!

There are religious secondary interjections with diminutive suffixes, namely those from the secondary interjection *Jezu(s)!* When used positively, they tend to emphasize admiration. Fanfiction comments that use them usually have many exclamation marks, interjections (e.g. *haha*, *aww* and *ohhh*), smiley faces, heart emojis, and diminutives, as shown in (32).

- (32) a. **Jezusku** kochany! Ten blog zapowiada się niesamowicie [APPRECIATION+]! Ciekawe jak połączysz Justina i Selenę... Połączysz ich? Haha oby! Czekam na to! Nie mogę się doczekać [AFFECT+] nowego. Buziaczki! ♥ [AFFECT+]

‘Jezusku kochany! This blog promises to be amazing! I wonder how you will connect Justina and Selene... Will you connect them? Haha hopefully! I wait for it! I can’t wait for the new one. Little kisses! ♥’ [Fanfic comment, 1 August 2015]

- b. O **jezuśku!** Awwww.. Tylko tyle jestem w stanie napisać.. No i może jeszcze Ohhhhhh! :3 [AFFECT +] xx [AFFECT+]

‘O jezuśku! Awwww.. That’s all that I can write.. Well and maybe still Ohhhhh! ;3 xx’
[Fanic comment, 17 August 2013, Anonymous]

The affixed interjection *Jezusku kochany!* ‘Jesus.DIM love’ in (32a) and *o jezuśku!* ‘Oh Jesus.DIM’ in (32b) show that these ‘affectionate’ expletives may be used to convey positive feelings. Of the two examples, only (32a) uses the Appraisal category of positive APPRECIATION in *niesamowicie* ‘amazing’. Both examples draw on positive AFFECT, e.g. a heart emoji, kisses, smiley face, and *nie mogę się doczekać* ‘I can’t wait’. The interjection *haha*, the diminutive *buziaczki* ‘kisses.DIM’, the unaffixed but elongated interjection *awwwww*, and the elongated interjection *ohhhhh!* may be best left under Attitude as high intensity expressions of emotion. Raised FORCE can be found through non-lexical means only, such as exclamation marks and elongation of interjections. All of these resources work together to create a positive meaning of admiration with a secondary emotive interjection that may be viewed as an ‘affectionate’ expletive.

Cholercia! / Cholerka!

Those secondary interjections which function as ‘swear words’ and ‘expletives’ like *damn!* in English or *cholera!* ‘damn’ in Polish often amplify affiliation between people in a variety of contexts. It may be equated with a positive intensifying use of unaffixed *damn!* in English, e.g. *Damn! That was good*, but likely with additional Attitude and Graduation. In Polish the diminutive forms *cholerka!* and the gentler palatalized *cholercia!* convey more gentle, kind, and warm qualities of the base swear word, as shown in (33).

- (33) Widok z tarasu był naprawdę [R-FORCE] imponujący [APPRECIATION+]. Idealnie okrągłe słońce ledwo muskało ciemną linię horyzontu, długie cienie kładły się od drzew, wyglądających z tej wysokości jak zapałki powtykane w burą ziemię.[...].
- **Cholercia**, faktycznie [R-FORCE] wyborne [APPRECIATION+]. – Mlasnąłem, unosząc wypełnioną winem czarę. Smak osiadał ciężko na języku, drażnił policzki i przelewał się falami garbnika po podniebieniu, niosąc ze sobą aromat gliniastej ziemi i cytrusów.
- Rozwalony na swej leżance Stratilata uniósł się na łokciu i pokiwał kędzierzawą [APPRECIATION+] głową.

‘The view from the terrace was really impressive. The perfectly round sun barely touched the dark horizon, the long shadows fell from the trees, looking from the height like

matches tucked into the burial ground.[...].

”Cholercia, truly excellent.” I clapped, lifting the wine-filled cup. The taste sat heavily on the tongue, teased the cheeks and overflowed with tanning waves on the palate, carrying with it the aroma of loamy earth and citrus.

Stratilata, sprawled on his couch, raised himself on his elbow and nodded his eloquent head.’ [Gołkowski, *Komornik*, 2016: np]

Gołkowski’s novel is set in biblical post-apocalyptic times in which the events of John’s book of Revelation occur with the exception that God does not appear. Instead, angels set out to keep destroying mankind, and enlist people to help them execute summons and verdicts, such as the novel’s main protagonist, Ezekiel Siódmy, who is the book title’s *komornik* (bailiff).

In this scene, Ezekiel has met an old friend, Teodor Stratilata, who invites him to enjoy some wine in order to improve his mood and unwind his tongue after Ezekiel responds sourly and cynically to him. The setting is described with several positive adjectives that indicate the Appraisal items of positive APPRECIATION, e.g. *imponujący* ‘impressive’ and raised FORCE, e.g. through the intensifier *naprawdę* ‘really’. After the positive evaluation of the surroundings, Ezekiel takes a sip of wine that is positively evaluated as *wyborne* ‘excellent’ and intensified with *faktycznie* ‘truly’. The use of palatalized DI *cholercia!*, the DI *cholercia!* conveys positive evaluation and commits to the character’s evaluation of the wine. The scene serves to show affiliation between the two characters, and in the context of the narrative improves Ezekiel’s mood when talking with his friend.

On Twitter, *cholercia!* and *cholerka!* also are used to positively evaluate alcoholic drinks, handsome men, and expresses gratitude towards someone, as in (34).

- (34) a. **cholercia**. Dobry ten podpiwek [APPRECIATION+]. [image]
‘O cholercia. This Podpiwek [a type of alcoholic beverage] is good.’ [Twitter, 30 June 2015]
- b. Nowe zdjęcie Louisa wstawione przez @username na Instagrama [image]
@user O **cholercia** jaki piękny [APPRECIATION+] 😊💖 [AFFECT+]
‘A new photo of Louis inserted through @username on Instagram
O cholercia how good-looking [he is] 😊💖’ [Twitter, 5 December 2017]

c. o **cholerka** dziękuję bardzo [R-FORCE] !! ❤️ [AFFECT+]

‘o cholerka thank you very much!! ❤️ [Twitter, 4 December 2017]

In (34a), the male tweeter uses *cholercia!* and positive APPRECIATION lexis with *dobry* ‘good’ to positively evaluate an alcoholic drink. In (34b), the tweeter uses positive APPRECIATION and positive AFFECT by evaluating the person in the photograph as *piękny* ‘good-looking’, and ending the tweet with a smiley face and heart emoji. As in (34a), the tweeter of (34b) adds an image of the appraised item, likely to show the cause of the emotional reaction and help her readers to come to the same conclusion. Example (34c), in comparison, is a frequent use of *cholerka!* in a short yet intensely emotional expression of gratitude that draws on positive AFFECT with a heart emoji and raised FORCE with the intensifier *bardzo* ‘very’. As such, these occurrences of *cholercia!* and *cholerka!* convey positive feelings of gratitude and positive evaluation of things and people.

The Appraisal categories used for the diminutive secondary emotive interjections *jezusku!* and *cholercia!* as emotional states can be summarized as follows:

- Raised FORCE as a Graduation resource appears frequently in lexis including *bardzo* ‘very’, *naprawdę* ‘really’, *faktycznie* ‘truly’, and in exclamation marks and elongation of interjections like *awww!* These serve to raise the intensity of the positively evaluated glass of wine, a fanfiction blog and a fanfiction story. However, it should be noted that several DIs appear in low intensity comments, e.g. without raised FORCE and with less intense evaluative adjectives, as in *dobry* ‘good’ instead of *wspaniały* ‘wonderful’. Therefore, *cholercia!* and *jezusku!* – and likely most DIs – do not always appear in high-intensity contexts.
- Positive APPRECIATION, as part of Attitude, is a frequent Appraisal category which appears in several different adjectives, e.g. *dobry* ‘good’, *piękny* ‘good-looking’, *wyborne* ‘excellent’, *niesamowicie* ‘amazing’, and *imponujący* ‘impressive’. They range from low intensity (*dobry*) to high intensity (*niesamowicie*).
- Positive AFFECT occurs frequently to convey feelings and often emotionally connect with another person, especially in close friendships. As seen with primary emotive interjections and contact interjections, smiley faces and heart emojis are especially predominant in digital communication. In terms of phrases including *nie mogę się*

doczekać ‘I can’t wait’, however, positive AFFECT is not drawn upon as frequently as positive APPRECIATION.

Through Appraisal resources, we may observe that diminutive interjections *cholercia!*, *cholerka!*, and *Jezusku!* show part of “that diminutive, subtle distinction of the degrees of curses” (Kąkolewski 1984: 120, my trans.).

5.4 Chapter conclusions

There is a general presupposition that diminutive interjections are positive because of diminutives’ well-established positive function of conveying affectionate attitude, especially in Polish (e.g. Volek 1987, Wierzbicka 1991, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1997). This chapter showed the serious and positive evaluations of diminutive interjections primarily in positive expressions of surprise (self-focused) and compliments/expressions of gratitude (other-focused).

The examples taken from Twitter, fanfiction, fanfiction comments, literary dialogue and recipe blog comments suggest that diminutive forms amplify the emotional connotations of the base interjection in an evaluative and attitudinal way. They often occur together with words such as *great*, *wonderful*, and *magical* to express positive APPRECIATION. The interjections *wow!* and *whoa!* typically express surprise and awe. In certain contexts, it is not far-fetched to posit that the suffix could intensify one part of *wow!* while weakening another (e.g. by raising the overall FORCE, but weakening the seriousness of the utterance).

The secondary diminutive interjection *oh goodie!* is still used to express excitement after something perceived as good happens to the speaker. The excerpts from literary dialogue suggest that in some cases, it is perceived as childish. Similarly, the use of the diminutive form *thanksies!* is rare (with approximately three instances in Google Books) likely because of its strong ‘childish’ associations. We could reasonably argue that these diminutive interjections are not able to convey true diminutive connotations and functions – such as those we see in Polish – because of the lingering ‘childish’ associations that automatically detract from serious meaning.

The Polish diminutive interjections (emotive and contact), e.g. *mniamku!* ‘yum.DIM’, *hejcia!* ‘hey.DIM’, *cholercia!* ‘damn.DIM’ and *jezusku!* ‘Jesus.DIM’ are used to construct and maintain positive, warm and light-hearted online social identities. In recipe blogs, comment writers sometimes begin or end with diminutive interjections to display cheerful and lighthearted

dispositions. In these instances diminutives, even though recipe blog comments are primarily positive, seem to convey an outpouring of *serdeczność* – a spontaneous outpouring of one's 'from the heart' good feelings to another that lessens the social distance between people. Because of the positive feelings expressed in these DIs, they tend to occur in contexts with the Appraisal categories of AFFECT and APPRECIATION which frequently include smiley faces, heart emojis, and positive adjectives from low to high intensity.

In English and Polish, expressions of positive AFFECT occur in English *I love, I'm glad, I'm in shock, I was eager, found herself smiling, exuberant voice, smiles, grinning*; Polish *jestem zaskoczona* 'I am surprised', *lubię* 'I love', *uwielbiam* 'I love', *zadowolona* 'I'm pleased', *jestem im wdzięczna* 'I'm grateful to them'. However, positive AFFECT most frequently draws on a variety of smiley faces and heart emojis in both English and Polish sources of digital communication (i.e. Twitter, recipe blog and fanfiction comments). These replace the AFFECT lexis found in literary and fanfiction dialogue.

Positive APPRECIATION appears rather frequently in *It was stunning, a big one, nice (to have you back), delicious smell, attractive, sturdy, broad shoulders, something that women kill for, those brown eyes, that smile, most beautiful, fantastic, colors and vibrancy, great way, colorful and fun, brilliant, delish, delicious, glorious; ładne* 'nice', *świetny* 'great', *super* 'super', *pyszności* 'delicious', *fajnie* 'great', *smak z dzieciństwa* 'taste from childhood', *niesamowicie* 'amazing', *wyborne* 'excellent', *dobry* 'good', and *piękny* 'good-looking'. These were found in all four sources mined for in the study. Also, the English interjections *awwww* and *ohhh*, and the Polish diminutive *buziaczki* 'kisses.DIM' seemed to positively appraise a person or thing.

The Appraisal category of JUDGEMENT (and to a lesser extent, APPRECIATION) appears in its negative and positive capacities, though the negative appraisals typically do not affect the meaning of the diminutive interjection. Positive JUDGEMENT in *modesty, innocence, great job, hats off to you* appraise a person or person's work as something to be admired in terms of social esteem. Negative APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT appear in *it's too early, what a man-child, enormous windows, odd-shaped furniture, bird-brained girl*. These uses may be genre-specific and only appear in literary dialogue and fanfiction, which is likely the reason that these resources are not found in the examined Polish literary excerpts from Google Books.

The Graduation resource of raised FORCE appears in *very, totally, so, all too familiar, the most, seriously, huge; bardzo* 'very', *super* 'super', *naprawdę* 'really', and *faktycznie* 'truly'. However,

other means of increasing FORCE are used in across all four sources and all DIs (except, perhaps, *cholercia!* and *cholerka!*), e.g. capitalization, italics, elongation, and most frequently, exclamation marks. We may also observe that AFFECT and APPRECIATION lexis appears between low and high intensity to suggest the level of emotional and attitudinal meaning conveyed by the speaker. Some sharpening occurred through FOCUS (*even, raw; czysty* 'pure'). Overall, it appears that diminutive interjections in positive contexts express FORCE more often than FOCUS.

As touched on briefly in flirtatious comments in this chapter, diminutive interjections invite a sense of play that lends itself to the dramatic, sensational, non-serious, sensual and sexual. In the following chapter, it is argued that several diminutive interjections – particularly *whoopsie!* – are 'complex' forms used for emphasis, playfulness and nonseriousness. The following chapter examines DIs in the broader contexts of playfulness and sarcasm that engage with gender dichotomies (including small/big).

Chapter 6: Sarcasm and play

6.1 Introduction

Affixed interjections are often defined in terms of overarching playful and humorous connotations. The present chapter expands on these concepts by examining the ‘playful’ meanings of diminutive interjections as understood by the major themes of sarcasm and play. By the term *play*, I refer to (feigned) incidents that look like mistakes and are often jocular and humorous, and may have sexual overtones. That is, they may seem to appraise with negative APPRECIATION, but in fact convey positive AFFECT. In not a dissimilar way, the term *sarcasm* (and *irony*) here is the use of biting or cutting expressions that often draw on negative JUDGEMENT, but sometimes have associations with humour and play that downplay or amplify the negative appraisals.

The first three sections of this chapter narrow down on playful uses of DIs. These uses are often seen in political discourse (e.g. political cartoons), where they (generally) occur without sexual connotations. Here, so-called ‘mistakes’ about hotly-debated issues and political situations, e.g. *Whoopsie, there goes London*, convey a childish and comic effect that makes the intended target seem childlike or incompetent. Sexual connotations frequently appear in *Harlequin* or *Harlequin*-type romances between lovers or as flirtatious devices. The chapter also turns to the darker shades of ‘play’ where diminutive interjections are threats and intimidation that are amplified by positive AFFECT such as laughter or smiley faces.

Finally, this chapter ends with sarcasm and irony because it has ties to humour, play and mistakes. Within linguistics, sarcasm has received attention as a branch of humour studies (see, e.g. Norrick and Chiaro 2009; Pepicello and Weisberg 1983). Irony can be defined as “a speech genre which is based on language manipulation and presupposes the use of a word, expression or saying in a sense, different from its literal meaning. The function of irony corresponds with the communicative intention of the speaker; irony reflects people’s mentality and has ethnic and cultural peculiarities” (Gornostayeva 2016: 182). Sarcasm is a more bitter, caustic, and negative form of irony, often used to hurt someone in threats and insults.

I was unable to find examples of diminutive Polish interjections used in a threatening way or to instill fear in a character. That is, *jejk!* and its other diminutive forms are not (typically) used to scare someone. For this reason, I primarily discuss English diminutive interjections in

this chapter. I also omit a discussion of Polish for political ‘accidents’ because while *whoopsie!* is quite frequently used to poke fun at the then-presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton across Twitter, *jejku!* and other diminutive interjections are not generally used in Polish to mock or insult Putin, Clinton or Trump (except for one or two jocular tweets about Trump and Putin). This is probably due to the positive feelings that Polish speakers (typically) associate with diminutives. The results in this chapter suggest that it is in these functions that diminutive interjections diverge between adult English and Polish speech.

Although children’s language is omitted from this study, the non-sexual and playful ways that adult fiction uses diminutive interjections between adults and children is briefly discussed in contrast to the sexual and adult use of diminutive interjections in this chapter.

6.2 (Non-serious) accidents and mistakes: Friendships and children

6.2.1 English

(Wh)oopsie!

The diminutive *whoopsie!* can positively and in a non-threatening way acknowledge an accident. It comes from the base *oops!*, which “is presumably used for *minor* failings of environmental control, and so in the face of a more serious failure, the *Oops!* has the effect of downplaying import” (Goffman 1981: 102, original emphasis). In informal contexts, especially around children, a diminutive suffix may additionally lower FORCE and soften FOCUS about the seriousness of the situation, yet intensify positive AFFECT. Thus, the ‘downplaying’ of a mistake through a diminutive or similar linguistic strategy may create a positive environment for children (Bodor and Barcza 2007: 257) because children are dear and little (cf. Prieto 2015). We typically have positive emotions towards children, and if a negative event occurs, then a DI is used as an affectionate word that significantly diminishes those negative associations.

Two ways that the DI *whoopsie!* increases positive AFFECT during or after an accident are shown in (35) and (36). In (35), *whoopsie!* is said by an adult female to a young girl, while in (36) *whoopsie!* is said by an adult male to a young girl.

- (35) ‘Ro!’ a voice shrieked, carrying over the rumbles of the crowd and snorting horses, and she turned just [FOCUS] in time to see Ella – almost dropping her ice cream on the ground

– breaking free from her grandmother’s grasp and running towards her.

‘Ro!’ she shrieked again, launching herself so that Ro had to scoop to catch her mid-air, catching a shoulderful of vanilla ice cream in the process.

‘**Whoopsie!**’ Ro laughed [AFFECT+], squeezing her tightly as Florence approached with Finn, sleeping in his buggy with Boo. [Swan, *The Summer Without You*, 2014: 555]

This excerpt includes the female protagonist Rowena (Ro) Tipton, a professional photographer who spends time at the Hamptons after her long-time boyfriend takes a six-month hiatus from their relationship, and Ella, the female child of Ro’s love interest and male protagonist, Tedd. Here, Ella runs to her adult friend Ro in delight and almost drops her ice cream on the ground. When she jumps into Ro’s arms, the ice cream hits Ro in the shoulder. Ro chooses to appraise the situation positively and responds with a laugh and says *whoopsie!* while squeezing the child’s smaller frame tightly. The actions and appraisals convey positive AFFECT and emotional Involvement, and *whoopsie!* lessens the severity of accidentally getting dirty from ice cream by intensifying positive AFFECT.

Whoopsie! can also be used without an accident,¹²⁹ for example, “when a parent plucks up a toddler and rapidly shifts it from one point to another or ‘playfully’ swings or tosses it in the air [...] instructing the child in the terminology and role of spill cries” (Goffman 1981: 103). In this case, *oopsadaisy!* and *whoopsie!* have the same functions of intensifying affectionate feelings, especially between parent and child. In (36), the father playfully plays with his young daughter for fun and bonding.

- (36) Jostling Karen Ann and Bunny in his arms, Craig swings them and acts like he’s going to throw them on the bed. It’s a game they have played since they have been back together.
“Ha, ha, [AFFECT+] oh daddy, nooo [R-FORCE]!”
“**Whoopsie**, little-bit!” They both laugh a big [R-FORCE] laugh [AFFECT+] and Craig feels better [AFFECT+] for being so rotten to her the night before and just now.
“Daddy, I’m hungry.”

¹²⁹ Traditionally, *whoopsie!* and *whoopsadaisy!* were used by adults to children after they had fallen down and/or injured themselves. I did not find an example of this in Google Books.

“Okay, little-bit, daddy’s gonna make your breakfast. What’ll it be? Pancakes?”
[Langston, *Iniquitous Connections: The Dark*, 2012: np]

In this novel, the character Craig has returned from WWII to his wife Claire, who becomes terminally ill and dies during the story, and to his small children, Karen Ann and Susie. At this point, Claire is beginning to feel unwell and, after a difficult night, Craig yells angrily at Karen Ann and regrets his outburst; feeling guilty, he pretends to speak through Karen Ann’s favourite toy, Bunny, and then good-naturedly pretends to throw Karen Ann and Bunny on the bed. In response, Karen Ann uses positive AFFECT by laughing (*ha, ha*), uses the familiar y-suffixed form *daddy* as an Involvement resource, and amplifies AFFECT by playfully squealing elongated *nooo!* in a similar type of context as parents tickling their children affectionately. As the father swings them, he says *whoopsie!* and uses Involvement with *little-bit*, his pet-name for Karen Ann.

Overall, these interactions with children are filled with positive appraisals and Involvement that help with parent-child and adult-child bonding. They may be viewed as the prototypical contexts for DIs, even if something unexpected occurs and evokes (*wh*)*oopsie!*

6.3 Playful accidents and mistakes

6.3.1 English

Harlequin and similar mass-market romance fiction¹³⁰ tend to feature “feisty, career women” (True 2012: 120) and vulnerable men. However, sometimes there are remnants of the clearly defined traditional female and male roles from fairytales which allow for the emphasis on (gendered) opposites, e.g. the female’s small physical size to counterbalance the male’s larger body and often muscle strength. They also contribute flirtation, defined by Greene’s (2010: 11) *The Flirting Bible* as “a series of nonverbal and verbal actions that we do when expressing our interest or attraction in another person.” In terms of Appraisal, these distinctions and romantic/flirtatious actions draw on the principle of scaling (force) which applies to values that

¹³⁰ These are mass-market pulp fiction which “are intentionally written to follow the so-called romance formula. This formula is usually derived either from the publicly posted guidelines on the Harlequin website or from the back copy material on a Harlequin, Silhouette, or Mills & Boon title” (Kaplan 2012: 124).

measure quantity, extent, and proximity through lexical items including *big, small, a few, many, near, and far*.

(Wh)oopsie(s)!

Flirtatious mistakes with *(wh)oopsie(s)!* are deliberate and typically used to attract attention (Kelleher 1987: 22). They are “stimulating and playful” (Chayko 2008: 76), as shown in (37) and (38), and often express sexual attraction.

(37) I knew he didn’t like me romantically. Why would he? I was plain [APPRECIATION-] at best, skinny [APPRECIATION-] and not even [FOCUS] remotely [FOCUS] stylish [APPRECIATION-]. So when I noticed the popular [JUDGEMENT+] girls circling him, I figured my days were numbered. The worst [R-FORCE] were the cheerleaders. They were hardly [FOCUS] subtle, but I was impressed [AFFECT+] by their ingenuity [JUDGEMENT+]. It had all started with Jessica Smythe, the varsity basketball cheer captain.

“**Whoopsie!**” she’d giggled [AFFECT+] when she “fell” off the stepladder as she was hanging banners cheering on the basketball team, ingeniously [JUDGEMENT+] landing right [FOCUS] in Michael’s arms.

“Oh, Michael,” she drawled, fanning herself dramatically, then throwing her arms around his shoulders, “you make me feel so tiny [R-FORCE] when you’ve got me in your arms like this.” [McGurk, *Dark Hope: Book One of the Archangel Prophecies*, 2014: np]

The literary example in (37), from a young adult love story between a fifteen-year-old girl, Hope Carmichael, and an archangel named Michael posing as a high-school student, may be divided into two related parts. In the first part, Hope settles “into the comforting anonymity of the large suburban high school” but is puzzled about why the attractive Michael, a new fellow student, “stay[s] close” and befriends her. Earlier in the text, she uses amplified positive APPRECIATION lexis to describe him as *lean and muscular*, and *so golden he seemed to glow*. In turn, she evaluates herself with negative APPRECIATION (e.g. *plain, skinny*) that is amplified with doubly-sharpened FOCUS (*not even remotely stylish*). She also compares herself with the cheerleaders, who are appraised with positive JUDGEMENT lexis, e.g. *popular* and *ingenuity*. This evaluation leads her to think that Michael would not have any romantic interest in her.

In the second part of the excerpt, Jessica, one of the cheerleaders vying for Michael's attention, tries to make him notice her by causing herself to seem small, 'cute' and in need of assistance by carefully staging a fall to cause feelings of protectiveness, masculinity, and/or endearment in Michael. That is, she uses raised FORCE of (mass) quantity and positive AFFECT in *you make me feel so tiny* to emphasize her smaller physical size to his larger frame and her positive feelings about being held in his arms. Through this choice of words, Jessica tries to endear herself to him based on the idea that that we are more likely to be endeared to small things (diminutives) and positive feelings. This, along with *right* as sharpened FOCUS lexis, is appraised as *ingenious* twice as part of positive JUDGEMENT towards the cheerleaders. Her plan backfires as Michael "[peels] her arms off of his neck" and "[dumps] her back on the floor" with the comment that she should "eat more" and "take a tip from Hope".

Sometimes, females only minimally portray themselves as small and silly. In (38), the female, who already has a relationship with the male, uses *whoopsie!* deliberately and playfully to get attention and ultimately a sexual encounter.

- (38) I knew exactly [FOCUS] what I was wearing, but I looked down anyways. [...] I ran a pen along the collar of my shirt and looked at Trey. "Oh this shirt? I don't think it's that bad." He bit down at the corner of his lip, slowly [L-FORCE] shaking his head. "This is a library, Miss Remy, there is no room for flirting here."
"I'm not flirting, Mr. Chapman, I'm trying to work on an assignment." I put the pen down on the table and then pushed it off. "**Whoopsies,**" I said with a small [L-FORCE] grin [AFFECT+].
I slowly [L-FORCE] got up, circling to the other side of the chair. Then I dipped down low, with my butt raised in the air and picked up my pen, slowly inching back up and throwing my hair back. I shot a grin [AFFECT+] in Trey's direction. He was squirming in his seat. [Vernon, *The Only Exception*, 2014: np]

This literary interaction takes place between the two main characters: Monica Remy and Trey Chapman. Monica is described as a fiery nineteen-year-old transferred to Central College but gets romantically sidetracked by Trey, the governor's son. Here, Monica and Trey have met in the library to work on an assignment together but Trey is unable to concentrate because of her shirt. In response, she flirts with him with Graduation lexis including *exactly, a hint, little, that*

bad, and *small*. Twice, she grins at Trey, to signal positive AFFECT. She slowly moves down to reach her pen, and throws her hair back; these movements, along with her choice of shirt, are deliberate and playful. Afterwards, she goes to the reference books, “swaying [her] body ever so slightly,” and tells Trey, who followed her after a few seconds, that she “just needed a little study break”. The frequent use of FOCUS blurs and sharpens the category boundaries, while FORCE usually amplifies Attitude. In sum, the DI *whoopsies!*, in the context of teasing, flirtation, and sex, seems to be strongly linked to Graduation, especially increased/decreased FORCE and sharpened/blurred FOCUS.

Poyatos (1993: 269) identifies several features of flirtation that can be described with positive APPRECIATION lexis and also verbs of sight, sound, and touch that engage with positive AFFECT such as in an “affectionately witty play on words” or “charming small talk.” We have seen the text in (37) and (38) utilizing positive AFFECT in *grinning*, *giggling*, and *drawling*. The female may touch the male she is interested in, ‘laughingly’ talk and giggle, “but when she takes a more passive role head-tilting and smiling are quite common, along with laughter, hair- or forearm-preening, fidgeting with a necklace or taking it to her parted lips while listening or talking through a smile and laughing without breaking eye contact, or covering her face with both hands” (Poyatos 1993: 269).¹³ These humorous devices are a main area of interpersonal semantics along with Appraisal and Involvement.

The diminutive *oopsie!* may also be used playfully by the male in a heterosexual relationship, as in example (39).

- (39) Zack stuck his index finger in the can and pulled out a glob of chocolate goo. He reached out and smeared some on her neck. “**Oopsie.**”
“What are you *doing?*” Sara reached up and tried to wipe it off.
“I’m thinking of all the fun we could have with frosting.” He jumped off the counter and leaned over to lick the frosting off her neck. “**Yummy** [APPRECIATION+].”
Sara put down the mixing bowl as little [L-FORCE] shivers shot [R-FORCE] down her spine.
“Zack, you know what that does to me. If you keep doing that, your cupcakes will be delayed.”

¹³ In digital communication, speakers flirt using “a ‘playful and ironic’ self-description, attitude, and tone” (Chayko 2008: 78).

“Yeah, but it will be so [R-FORCE] worth it.” He dipped his finger in the frosting, rubbed it on her lips, and kissed her. “Mmm.” [Daffron, *The Treasure of the Hairy Cadre*, 2016: np]

In this novel, Sara is an elementary school teacher working as a summer camp counselor, where she meets Zack, described as a business workaholic who does not typically plan ahead. Here, Zack smears some chocolate frosting on her neck and says *oopsie!* in an attempt to arouse her sexually. Although her reaction is not initially positive, he persists by licking the frosting on her neck and commenting on the positive stimulus with the positive APPRECIATION lexis *yummy!*, and then kissing the frosting on her lips with the interjection *mmm*, which seems to indicate positive APPRECIATION and AFFECT. His playful movements work, as shivers (described as *little*) are evaluated with high intensity as *shooting* (instead of *running* or *going*) down her spine, and she gives in to his advances.

Another way to look at the above functions is through what Silverstein (1994) terms a *pragmatic metaphorical set* of culturally salient oppositions, namely “around the central or focal opposition of ‘[affectively engaging] smallness’ vs. ‘[affectively engaging] largeness’” (46). Silverstein (1994: 46) notes the following oppositions: ‘intimate; dear’ vs. ‘distanced; off-putting’, ‘desirable’ vs. ‘to-be-shunned’, ‘personal’ vs. ‘impersonal’ and ‘pleasing; satisfying’ vs. ‘gross; disgusting’. While these two oppositions would suggest only two polar extremes, Silverstein (1994: 46) posits that “there is really a three-term overall system in categorical terms, ‘diminutive’ vs. ‘[neutral =] non-diminutive’ and ‘[neutral =] non-augmentative’ vs. ‘augmentative’.” From this perspective, the female in (37) tries to make herself seem desirable, dear, and personal through *whoopsie!* and her subsequent actions. She does not want to be perceived as ‘large’ because it would create distance between herself and the male. In these oppositions, the female character consciously puts herself on the ‘diminutive’ end culturally, linguistically, psychologically, and sexually.

Overall, in examples (38) and (39), the *(wh)oopsie!* diminishes emotional distance between the heterosexual couple. In (37), the female says *whoopsies!* with a “small grin” which seems coquettish and diminutive when compared with the augmentative, raised FORCE lexis *big grin*. In (39), the male appears to make himself metaphorically ‘small’ by seemingly making a mistake (getting chocolate goo on the female) and using the diminutive *yummy!* The use of positive

APPRECIATION lexis to objectify the female as *yummy* (and therefore ‘intimate’, ‘dear’, and ‘desirable’), and the hedges and intensifiers of FOCUS and FORCE as part of teasing and flirting, show the expressivity of the speaker who is setting up the scene for a romantic encounter. The DI (*wh*)*oopsie!*, then, may also be viewed as an ungradable value which sharpens and/or blurs the FOCUS, but also may occur along a gradable line of intensity.

The romantic context for the DI (*wh*)*oopsie(s)!* does not appear on Twitter or recipe blog (comments), but rather appears in fiction and fanfiction. Overall, the fiction dialogue in (37) to (39) uses the Appraisal category of FOCUS that did not appear nearly to the same extent in the serious, positive comments discussed in Chapter 5. It appears that romantic and sexual contexts blur and sharpen boundaries for teasing and flirtation, and *whoopsie!* in these situations also contributes to FOCUS. Of course, positive Attitude and raised FORCE also may contribute towards the interpersonal semantics of *whoopsie!*

Oh dearie me!

A *Once Upon a Time*¹³² TV drama fanfic is similar to *Harlequin* romances peppered with flirtatious devices of positive AFFECT (e.g. teasing, smirking, laughing) which cause the playful *oh dearie me!* in example (40):

- (40) Belle sidled up to him, then she pointed at his sopping wet [R-FORCE] clothes and hair and teased, “You look like a drowned rat, Rump!”
- “Really, dearie?” he smirked. Then he flicked a finger, a devilishly wicked sparkle in his cocoa colored eyes, and Belle found herself drenched by a tidal wave of bathwater.
- “Oh! Rumpelstiltskin! You – you *imp!*” she pretended to be angry, but as soon as she caught a glimpse of herself in the mirror, she burst out in uncontrollable laughter [AFFECT+]. “Oh... oh...”
- Rumpel and Carina laughed [AFFECT+] also, as Belle dripped water onto the rug, even her shoes sopping wet, and smelling heavenly [APPRECIATION+], like rainwater, honey, and cocoa.

¹³² The show recently re-popularized the term *dearie* in fanfic through the character of Rumpelstiltskin/Mr. Gold who is well-known for addressing others as ‘dearie’. Thus, fanfiction based on *OUAT* often contains various examples of *dearie*, but has expanded to include the secondary interjection *dearie me*.

Rumple cocked his head and chanted, "**Oh dearie me**, look who's all washed up!"

"Wretch!" she mock-scolded, and swatted him playfully on the back of the head. [Fanfic of *Once Upon a Time*, 6 October 2015 by Snapegirlkmf, "It's Bath Time, Dearie"]

Here, the two lovers, Belle (the fairytale character from *Beauty and the Beast*) and Rumple (from the fairytale *Rumpelstiltskin*, but also characterized as the Beast in the TV show), are infantilized to the extent that they look like children, standing sopping wet in their clothes after getting each other wet. There is positive APPRECIATION through the evaluation of Belle smelling 'heavenly' like a baby, and non-serious Involvement is used as Belle calls Rumple *imp* and *wretch*. Raised FORCE, such as exclamation marks, interjections and italics, amplify the playful and 'cute' context. Overall, these Appraisal values serve to intensify the playful and romantic situation that makes them tease, smirk, laugh, playfully swat, and mock-scold each other, all of which one would do towards a baby.

The Appraisal resources of Attitude drawn upon in playful and romantic contexts for English *whoopsie!* and *oh dearie me!* may be summarized as follows:

- Positive AFFECT rarely occurs in the dialogue, but rather is noted in the text through descriptive verbs, e.g. *laughed*, *giggled*, *grinned*, and *was impressed*.
- Positive APPRECIATION is also a less frequently-used Appraisal category than we have seen in the serious positive (non-sexual) contexts discussed in Chapter 5. Sometimes females are objectified through smelling *heavenly* and tasting *yummy*, but these only occur twice in the examples discussed above. Negative APPRECIATION occurs in one example when the female character compares herself with her love interest and sees herself as *plain*, *skinny*, and *not stylish*.
- Positive JUDGEMENT appears through *popular* and *ingenuity*, while negative JUDGEMENT does not appear at all.

In regard to Graduation, the following resources were found:

- Raised FORCE about a quality, process, quantity of mass, number, or extent, occurs in *so*, *the worst*, the high intensity *shot* and *sopping*, and non-lexical italics and exclamation marks. These values modify *clothes and hair*, *worth it*, and *cheerleaders*. Lowered FORCE appears in *little*, *small*, and *slowly* to modify *grin*, *shivers*, and *shaking his head*.

- These romantic contexts from literary dialogue show a significant increase in FOCUS, which rarely appeared in Chapter 5. There are many lexical items like *even*, *hardly*, *right* and *exactly* show the non-gradable FOCUS modify expressions like *stylish*, *subtle*, *in [his] arms*, and *what I was wearing*.

Overall, Graduation plays a significant role in romantic teasing and flirtation, and the interesting distribution of those resources provides the (emotional) effect of play.

6.4 (Non-serious) accidents and mistakes: Politics

6.4.1 English

(Wh)oopsie!

Diminutive interjections appear in wider-ranging contexts: they convey irony and non-serious connotations in global and political issues. They trivialize a serious mistake or suggest that a so-called mistake was intentional, as shown in (41).

- (41) Then, during NATO's bombing campaign against the Serbs, the U.S. very [R-FORCE] accidentally bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, killing three diplomats and injuring twenty. **Oopsie**, said the U.S. So [R-FORCE] sorry. We had the wrong map. Belgrade, Belgium, so [R-FORCE] hard to keep them straight.
The Chinese erupted. Hundreds of thousands [R-FORCE] took to the streets in dozens of cities throughout China. [Troost, 2009, *Lost on Planet China*, np.]

In this non-fiction memoir of Troost's travels in China, the country is overall portrayed negatively, e.g. polluted, crowded, dirty, and whose people are crazy, though in what reviews describe as a 'rip-roaringly funny' narrative. Here, Troost is discussing nationalism and mentions "the inconvenient fact that China was still Red China" and that "annual denunciations of China did little to engender soft and fuzzy feelings for the U.S. among the Chinese". Within this political context, the U.S. "[bombs] the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade" and is reported to respond with *oopsie!* with the implausible claim that their bombing of Belgrade was caused by its phonological similarity to Belgium and having the wrong map. The exaggerated use of raised force in *very* and *so*, along with the diminutive form *oopsie!*, suggests that the so-called accident

was intentional, and furthermore renders the apology sarcastic, thereby causing the Chinese to react strongly and negatively with America flag-burnings and protests.

The sarcastic use of diminutive interjections towards others tells us much about political expressions on Twitter. Diminutive interjections appear in political tweets that insult, mock, and belittle politicians. During the American 2016 election campaign, tweeters used *(wh)oopsie!* in tweets about the then-presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Many tweets focused on mistakes made by Trump, as in (42).

- (42) a. **Whoopsie!** Trump backlash turns off [JUDGEMENT-] Ohio rep.
If Donald Trump's team had only asked, instead demanded. [link] [Twitter, 14 August 2016]
- b. Get This: Trump's Plane isn't Registered to Fly. '**Whoopsie!**' [link] #donaldtrump #timetravelers #trump #trumpplane [Twitter, 15 August 2016]
- c. Our not very [L-FORCE] bright [JUDGEMENT-] Vice President, Joe Biden, just stated that I wanted to "carpet bomb" the enemy. Sorry Joe, that was Ted Cruz!
@realDonaldTrump Your not very [L-FORCE] bright [JUDGEMENT-] GOP candidate, Donald J Trump, just stated he was there at 7/11. Sorry Donny, that was 9/11.
Whoopsie. [Twitter, 27 July 2016]

In (42a), *whoopsie!* refers to a backlash that “turns off” an Ohio representative because Trump is said to have made demands instead of having asked. In (42b) the tweeter claims that Trump’s plane is not registered to fly and ends with ‘Whoopsie!’ to convey sarcasm. Interestingly, (42c) is a response to a tweet by Donald Trump about Job Biden, and the response imitates the structure of Trump’s tweet. It conveys irony and a negative attitude towards Trump’s mistake of saying 7/11 instead of 9/11 by using the playground name *Donny* (< *Donald*) as an Involvement resource, and the negative JUDGEMENT directed to Trump through *your not very bright*. These features and the diminutive interjection work together to convey the attitude that Trump is incapable of being President.

Hillary Clinton also was a target in tweets that employed *whoopsie!*, as shown in (43).

- (43) a. Oh **whoopsie**, did Hillary just suggest TRUMP SHOULD DIE????? Liberals?? Gonna

JUMP ON THIS ONE? [Twitter, 12 August 2016]

b. The FBI found 15,000 emails Hillary Clinton didn't turn over. Uh oh. - The Washington Post... **whoopsie** [Twitter, 22 August 2016]

c. **Whoopsie!** #ExtremelyCareless [JUDGEMENT-] Clinton mistakenly [JUDGEMENT-] keeps doing political favors for Clinton Foundation donors. What a coincidence! [Twitter, 5 July 2016]

In (43a), the diminutive interjection *whoopsie!* is used with the excessive use of raised FORCE in capitalized *TRUMP SHOULD DIE* and *JUMP ON THIS ONE*, and an excessive amount of question marks. It is a provocative message that stems from Attitude and generates emotion. Example (43b) seems comparatively more subdued, but ends with the interjection of Attitude, *uh oh*, which creates doubt as to the trustworthiness of Clinton. Finally, (43c) uses (amplified) negative JUDGEMENT in the hashtag #ExtremelyCareless and *mistakenly* to suggest that Clinton is not trustworthy. The tweet ends with a rather sarcastic phrase, *what a coincidence!*, in regard to Clinton “doing political favours” for the Clinton Foundation’s donors. Overall, examples (42) and (43) suggest that *whoopsie!* conveys amplified negative JUDGEMENT and also emotional Involvement.

To summarize, the language about politics tends to appraise with negative JUDGEMENT lexis and draws on emotional Involvement by Twitter users. In particular, *whoopsie!* conveys low to high intensity and may play a role in taking positions about political figures that may strengthen or degrade (Twitter) relationships.

6.5 Sarcasm and irony

6.5.1 English

Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 361) take the stance that a “sarcastic assessment is [sometimes] further upgraded via diminutive formation [...] that is, threats which add sarcasm by means of the diminutive.” In addition, “sarcasm belongs to antagonistic rather than to cooperative interaction” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 360). When used to convey contempt, irony, and sarcasm, diminutives like *wowee!*, *oh goodie!*, and *oh dearie me!* can be used “as tools of offensive strategies” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 360, cf. Schank 1987) to

denigrate or belittle others. In their view, the nonserious meaning of diminutives “is exploited to ridicule or debase the object or victim of sarcasm [...] [as] ‘strategic rudeness’” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 361) and therefore puts distance between interlocutors.

It should be noted that sarcasm is difficult to identify for certain outside of context. Sometimes even the context may be misleading. On Twitter, sarcastic comments in English may be found using the hashtag #sarcasm, while in literary dialogue, the entire context of a literary passage must be read to locate sarcasm. Diminutive forms that are considered silly and immature may be an indication that the message is sarcastic when we cannot see the speaker’s paralinguistic language or hear the tone of voice. This section provides evidence for the expressively sarcastic connotations of affixed interjections, namely *wowie!*, *yayee!*, *dearie me!*, and *oh goodie!*

Byesies!

Twitter posts with the affixed contact interjection of farewell, *byesies!*, may convey a contemptuous and scornful tone of negative JUDGEMENT towards the interlocutor, as shown in (44).

- (44) a. I know, I know, you've got some kick-ass [APPRECIATION+] arguments! 'Laws won't stop <x>!' Pretty sure you don't apply those to drug-use, sex-work or abortion, so... you've already lost. Go away. I don't need you or your terrified, deadly paranoia. Really. **Byesies.** [Twitter, 21 May 2018]
- b. I have more understanding and fondness for the richness [APPRECIATION+] of complexities of Britain and its diverse peoples in my little finger than you in your entire [FOCUS] sorry [JUDGEMENT-] self-obsessed [JUDGEMENT-] head. Go do some learning that allows you to go beyond parroting clichés. **Byesies!** [Twitter, 19 February 2018]

In (44a), the tweeter appraises the interlocutor with negative JUDGEMENT through having a *terrified, deadly paranoia* and sarcastically refers to his arguments as *kick-ass* (positive APPRECIATION), but immediately refutes them as having no substance because they are not applicable to deeply controversial issues such as drug use, sex work or abortion. The items *really* and the exclamation mark in *byesies!* draw on raised FORCE to amplify the negative Attitude. In

a not dissimilar way, the tweeter of example (44b) evaluates herself as more knowledgeable and fond of Britain than her interlocutor, whom she negatively judges as *self-obsessed* and *sorry*. After telling the interlocutor to “[g]o do some learning”, she ends with *byesies!* amplified with an exclamation mark. In such contexts, *byesies!* seems to function as a dismissive way to end a conversation, and conveys raised FORCE and negative JUDGEMENT.

Wowie!

In English fiction, the affixed interjection *wowie!* is most often used for (mock) sarcasm and irony, and to mean the opposite of what seems to be said. Playful sarcasm can ensue between a male and female couple in a romantic relationship as in example (45).

- (45) ...and picking up the phone rang Susie, asked if she was free that night and finding that she was suggested she came round for supper and stayed the night.
“I didn’t know you were a cook?” she queried.
“I’m not but I’ll get some ready meals in.”
“Ooh you really [R-FORCE] do know how to treat a girl don’t you! A romantic evening eating ready meals. **Wowee** I can’t wait! I’ve got a better [R-FORCE] idea. If you are too [R-FORCE] mean [JUDGEMENT-] to take me out to a restaurant why don’t I get some stuff, bring it with me and cook you a meal?”
“Look I’m not being mean. If you’d prefer to go out I’ll book somewhere.”
“No it’s fine” she laughed [AFFECT+]. “I’ll cook for us.” [Upton, *A Surrogate Dilemma*, 2014: 198]

In this story, Andrew Noble, heir to the Noble Specialty Foods business has a fairly long-term relationship during his time in England with a young woman named Susie. In this excerpt, Andrew’s suggestion of dinner from ready meals causes Susie to respond teasingly and mock-sarcastically by utilizing raised FORCE in *ooh*, *too*, *better*, *really*, and non-lexical exclamation marks. Negative JUDGEMENT occurs with the adjective *mean*, all of which combine for a contradictory, rather tongue-in-cheek statement which suggests that eating ready meals is not Susie’s idea of a romantic evening. Her overall teasing attitude is shown at the end of the exchange, when she shows her positive feelings by laughing. The exchange suggests that *wowee!* strongly amplifies (mock) negative JUDGEMENT and the humor in her side of the exchange.

In another literary dialogue, the male in the relationship uses *wowee!* sarcastically, as in (46).

(46) She was finding it increasingly [R-FORCE] difficult [APPRECIATION-] to put up with his sarcasm [JUDGEMENT-] and smart-alecky remarks [JUDGEMENT-]. He tended to put women down [JUDGEMENT-] and, in particular, used every possible means to take advantage [JUDGEMENT-] of her youth. [...]

“Well, Mr. Big, Big Deal, Caroline O’Bine called Mollie to have her arrange for the two of us to have lunch together.”

“**Wowee**, aren’t you the lucky one [JUDGEMENT+].”

“You know, Cole, go to hell!” She banged the receiver down, and asked herself why she even [FOCUS] put up with his egotism [JUDGEMENT-] and wondered what it must have really [FOCUS] been like for Sylvia. [Giuliani, *Rosemarie: Her Hollywood Odyssey* 2011: np]

In this romance novel that examines the dark side of Hollywood, Jennifer and Cole are two romantically-involved (minor) characters. In this scene, Jennifer picks up Cole’s phone call with a happy *hello* (positive AFFECT). Cole’s hurried and somewhat impatient response causes her to answer with annoyance and to speak sarcastically. This initial interaction begins the series of negative appraisals that end the conversation with Jennifer slamming down the phone.

Jennifer appraises Cole through negative JUDGEMENT and negative AFFECT in “[h]is grossly inflated perception of himself and his position disgusted her.” The following paragraph, shown in (46), uses more negative Appraisal resources. Jennifer’s use of *increasingly* as raised FORCE amplifies her difficulty in putting up with Cole’s negative traits, which include the negative JUDGEMENT of *his sarcasm, smart-alecky comments, tended to put women down, and take advantage of her youth*, and *his egotism*. Interestingly, Jennifer responds in kind with the Involvement resource of naming (*Mr. Big, Big Deal*) and the angry and heightened *go to hell!* She also finishes their interaction by calling him an *asshole*. Thus, their interaction in (46) mainly conveys heightened (FORCE) and sharpened (FOCUS) negative Attitude, especially negative JUDGEMENT.

Considering the strongly negative Attitude in the situational and emotional context of (46), what does *wowee!* mean? Here, *wowee!* is specifically delivered in a sarcastic way that makes Jennifer angry. After telling Cole her news about being invited for lunch with a particularly important person in Hollywood, he responds with *wowee!* and the sarcastic *aren’t you the lucky*

one. Taken on face value, the evaluation would be of positive JUDGEMENT however, sarcasm changes the meaning of a positive evaluation into a negative one. That is, rather than admiring Jennifer for her *lucky* situation, Cole coitizes her for it and causes interpersonal friction between them. Overall, in both (45) and (46), the use of *wowee!* is negative JUDGEMENT that causes tension between the romantically-involved male and female interlocutors.

The diminutive interjection *wowie!* can be used as a playfully sarcastic indication of non-surprise and humor. This is particularly evidenced when a tweeter directly states his reason for using *wowie!* this way in a Twitter conversation, as shown in (47).

- (47) @user @user1 Oy guys, dont argue over this miniscule [L-FORCE] topic, can't control how someone's emotions work lol
@user1 @user2 **Wowie** look at him being an asshole [JUDGEMENT-]
@user @user1 Im always an asshole though
@user1 @user2 that's why I added the wowie, it's not a surprise :) [AFFECT+] [Twitter, 3 February 2017]

Here, the first user uses the Graduation lexis *miniscule* in *miniscule topic*, and the second replies with the DI *wowie!* and negative judgement lexis with *asshole*. The first tweeter deflects the negative situation with his drily ironic comment that he's always an asshole, to which the reason for *wowie!* is given with positive AFFECT (a happy face). Thus, the playful use of *asshole* is never seriously derogatory, but rather seems to help with emotional bonding.

In political tweets, sarcasm tends to be conveyed without the hashtag #sarcasm. After the American election, tweet writers used *wowee!* sarcastically about Trump and Trump supporters, as in (48).

- (48) #Obama did nothing to prevent the #Attack on #PearlHarbor or prevent the #ExtinctionOfTheDinosaurs. When will @realDonaldTrump and #Congress #investigate? #MAGA #GOP #FoxNewsFacts #OhTheHumanity #TrumpLogic #TrumpFacts #PoesLaw [image with 'THANKS, OBAMA!']
@user You're a librarian with interests in history? **Wowee!** Does your history include the time Obama rode the unicorn around the world and brought global peace and harmony? I bet the library you're at is probably a fun place [APPRECIATION+] for everyone! Except

for #MAGA folks, those bad meanies [JUDGEMENT-]! 😏 [AFFECT-] [Twitter, 26 December 2017]

Here, the *wowee!* conveys extended derogatory sarcasm towards the first tweeter's statement about Obama.¹³³ The tweeter, who is a Trump supporter, uses raised FORCE in exclamation marks and negative Attitude to criticize Obama supporters (Democrats) and make them look silly. Most notably, the tweeter expresses a mocking derision towards the tweeter's library as absurd and not historically accurate (as a library should be according to social and scholarly convention) by evaluating the first tweeter's library sarcastically as a *fun place*. Here, the adjective *fun* does not convey positive APPRECIATION, but instead negative APPRECIATION. Likewise, the use of negative judgement lexis *bad* and diminutive/playground *meanies* in reference to himself and other pro-Trump 'Make America Great Again' (MAGA) people is written sarcastically because it is unlikely that the tweeter considers himself *bad*, but rather, *good* and *right*. *Wowee!*, then, adds to this milieu of sarcasm with negative APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT.

(Oh) dearie me!

The use of the diminutive secondary interjection (*oh*) *dearie me!* in a sarcastic way appears in literary dialogue, such as for example in excerpt (49), where the brainwashed prisoner conveys a rather sarcastic but humorless *dearie me!*

- (49) "Iruka isn't dead," the boy said after a lull. "You're [R-FORCE] not dead. Please don't say that."
"Just because you've brainwashed me into thinking I knew you as a child—"
"We didn't brainwash you!" [R-FORCE] Naruto cried out [AFFECT-] in frustrated anguish [AFFECT-]. He'd been talking ceaselessly [FOCUS] for an hour now, trying to twist his way out of the prisoner's logic. "He [R-FORCE] brainwashed you; that bastard [JUDGEMENT-] who took you away; that bastard [JUDGEMENT-] who stole Sasuke from us—"

¹³³ When asked why he used *wowee!*, the tweeter responded that it was "a natural response to someone saying Obama didn't save the dinosaurs, because the statement is absurd and irrelevant to the conversation" (personal comm., 26 December 2017).

“**Dearie me**, I think you’re under a misconception.” The smirk might have been familiar, but the face was too [R-FORCE] sharp [APPRECIATION-], the curve of the eye too [R-FORCE] bitter [APPRECIATION-]. “The young Uchiha brat [JUDGEMENT-] came along very [R-FORCE] willingly.” [*Naruto* fanfiction, 13 December 2010, tellytubby101, “Written, Erased, Rewritten”]

In this *Naruto* fanfiction story, the leading character Naruto is an adolescent ninja who, for the past hour has been trying to help restore the brainwashed Iruka, a head instructor at the Ninja Academy. Almost at the verge of tears, Naruto’s *frustrated anguish* (negative AFFECT) described by the verb *cried out* is amplified and sharpened by *ceaselessly*, exclamation marks and italics, and the Attitudinal lexis of *that bastard* shows Naruto’s strong negative evaluation of the person who brainwashed Iruka. In response, Iruka says *dearie me!* with a smirk to appraise Naruto with amplified negative AFFECT, and suggests that Naruto is the one brainwashed, not Iruka. However, the brainwashed Iruka has become an unfamiliar person to Naruto, as characterized by intensified negative APPRECIATION, e.g. *too sharp* and *the curve of the eye too bitter*. Thus, in this literary excerpt, *dearie me!* is predominantly associated with the Appraisal resources of raised FORCE and negative AFFECT.

Oh dearie me! and similar diminutive interjections can intensify the sarcastic or ironic tone of a tweet found within political discourse in a similar way as *wowee!* The ‘caustic derision’ expressed by *oh dearie me!* appears on Twitter with the hashtag #sarcasm or appraises politicians such as Donald Trump with negative JUDGEMENT, as shown in (50).

- (50) a. Oh **dearie me** I’m missing the #GOPDebate. Whatever shall I do not listening to jerks shout over each other? #sarcasm [Twitter, 14 January 2016]
- b. Oh no! Will Trump stamp his wittle feet if he doesn’t get to tell the world what some other country’s capital city is? **Dearie me**, heavens to Betsy DeVos! [Twitter, 17 December 2017]
- c. Oh **dearie me**.#LewisHamilton reckons the media are disrespectful [JUDGEMENT-]. The poor lamb. Might be more [R-FORCE] respectful [JUDGEMENT+] if he paid fair share of tax. [Twitter, 8 October 2016]

In (50), *dearie me!* appears rather sarcastically sorrowful in tone. In (50a), the writer shows his sarcasm about missing the GOP debate referring to the candidates as *jerks*. Example (50b) emphatically infantilizes Trump through the word *wittle* (a childish play on *little*) and the image of a toddler stamping her feet after not receiving something she wants. Finally, example (50c) uses *poor lamb* sarcastically about Hamilton's negative JUDGMENT of the media as *disrespectful*. The DI (*oh*) *dearie me!* likewise adds to the "ridicule of the victim of sarcasm, who/which is made to appear as someone/something not to be taken seriously" (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 362).

Oh goodie!

The DI (*oh*) *goodie!* seems to lend itself to sarcasm more frequently and in greater intensity than *dearie me!*, perhaps because of its 'childish' connotations (cf. OED, s.v. 'goody'). In many contexts, *oh goodie!* implies an eye-rolling sarcastic reaction with selfish complaining or whining about an event, while unaffixed *oh good!* is more likely a straightforward and meaningful way of conveying a speaker's happy mood, as seen in (51).

- (51) "LOKI!" Thor thundered [R-FORCE] upon seeing his errant [JUDGEMENT-] brother.
 "Oh goodie, the favored [JUDGEMENT+] son has arrived... hoorah," Loki muttered while looking extremely [R-FORCE] put upon [AFFECT-].
 "Cease this madness [JUDGEMENT-] brother. Father and Mother have keenly [R-FORCE] felt your absence, as have I. Your place is not here in Niflheim. Hel will surely [FOCUS] punish you should he know of your presence."
 "Why do you think I'm HIDING you IMBECILE [JUDGEMENT-]?"
 [...]
 "Oh good, Hide and Seek. We have not played this since we were children brother!" Thor remarked; excitement [AFFECT+] heavily [R-FORCE] lacing his voice and a large [R-FORCE] grin [AFFECT+] gracing his lips.
 He closed his eyes and slowly [L-FORCE] turned listening intently for any sound his brother might make to give away his position. He counted on Loki's restless nature [JUDGEMENT-] to aid him in sealing a victory in their current game. [*The Avengers* fanfic, 8 May 2012, FairyNiamh, "The Treatment"]

This short fanfiction, based on the *Avengers* film, focuses on the relationship between two brothers, Thor and Loki. It includes diminutive *oh goodie!* and unaffixed *oh good!* The diminutive *oh goodie!* is said by the younger brother Loki as part of an appraisal about his older brother who has found him. In the first part of (51), Loki's Appraisal choices include negative JUDGEMENT in *favored son* and sarcastic *hoorah* (negative Attitude). The text includes raised FORCE (capital letters in *HIDING* and *IMBICILE*), and describes Loki with strongly intensified negative AFFECT in *extremely put upon*. In the surrounding text, when Thor confronts him about his (disobedient) absence, Loki explodes forcefully with the gradable negative JUDGEMENT lexis *you irritating INSECT* and *you enormous oaf*. In these utterances, Loki emerges as more sarcastic, expressive, and prone to (negative) emotional outbursts and evaluations, and suggests that *oh goodie!* is an Appraisal resource of raised FORCE, negative AFFECT and negative JUDGEMENT.

In the second part of (51), the unaffixed *oh good!* is used with different and mostly positive Appraisal resources which allow Thor to emerge as the more positively expressive and rational brother. Thor, in contrast to the sarcastic and negative Loki, is described with positive AFFECT (e.g. *excitement*, *grin*) that is amplified by *large* and *heavily*. In the literary excerpt and surrounding text, he is described as larger and more boisterous than his smaller younger brother, e.g. through raised FORCE in high intensity *thunder* (instead of low intensity *speak*). Thor is also the more serious brother; in the surrounding text, Thor calls Loki *little brother* and tries to rationalize with him; moreover, Thor turns Loki's *restless nature* (negative JUDGEMENT) into a positive feature, which he plans to use to his advantage in this game of hide-and-seek. This stands in direct contrast to Loki's use of positive JUDGEMENT lexis *favored son* that becomes negative JUDGEMENT.

There is a noticeable difference in attitudinal context between *oh goodie!* and *oh good!* that suggests that the affixed-unaffixed pair could not be swapped without significantly altering (attitudinal) meaning. That is, *Oh good, the favored son has arrived* would convey more serious tones and not invite sarcasm like affixed *oh goodie!* does. Likewise, *Oh goodie, Hide and Seek* sounds somewhat more sarcastic, excited, and/or playful than unaffixed *oh good!* Overall, the fanfiction story suggests that affixed *oh goodie!* conveys negative and sarcastic Attitude, while unaffixed *oh good!* conveys positive Attitude. Overall, the DI *oh goodie!* follows the typical pattern of sarcasm seen previously in *wowee!* and *(oh) dearie me!*

The DI *oh, goodie!* can be used as feigned politeness to hide the negative feelings of the speaker, as in (52).

- (52) For as cute [APPRECIATION+] as he is, for as charming [JUDGEMENT+] and witty [JUDGEMENT+] as he appears in print, Bill has got to be the *most* [R-FORCE] *boring* [APPRECIATION-] *nimrod* [R-FORCE] [JUDGEMENT-] I've ever met in my entire [FOCUS] life! And the biggest [R-FORCE] buffoon [JUDGEMENT-] [...] Back in the day, Alex and I would've busted a nut making fun of this dork. I'm talking inside jokes out the bumhole. Too bad I'll never get a chance to tell him the story. Oh, well. All I can think about now is saving myself.
- "Would you excuse me just one second?" I ask, jumping to my feet. "I need to go powder my nose." Now, *there's* [R-FORCE] an expression I've never used before.
- "Oh, sure, go ahead," he says, unfazed by the interruption. "When you get back, I'll finish telling you all about the parallels between Faulkner and Dickens."
- "**Oh, goodie!**" I exclaim [R-FORCE], forcing a polite smile [AFFECT+] as I make my escape. [Rech, *It Started with a Dare*, 2010: np]

In this novel, Bill is a well-known author who is on a date with the novel's fifteen-year-old female protagonist, CG Silverman. Despite that CG first appraises Bill with positive qualities such as *cute*, *charming* and *witty* in print, as the date progresses, CG thinks of him with amplified negative JUDGEMENT lexis, especially by evaluating him as "*the most boring nimrod* I'd ever met in my entire life" (my emphasis), "[socially] sort of... *retarded*" (my emphasis) and the "biggest buffoon". After she has finished appraising Bill and asks to leave to powder her nose, she exclaims *goodie!* The use of *exclaim* as a high intensity verb (compared to low intensity *say*) amplifies the DI, and her forced smile suggests that *oh, goodie!* conveys raised FORCE and negative AFFECT.

On Twitter, the vice-presidential debate provided several negative tweets about Mike Pence and Donald Trump that use the DI (*oh*) *goody!* as strategic rudeness, shown in (53).

- (53) a. Mike Pence (if Trump, God forbid, wins this election) is our next Dick Cheney - **oh, goody!** [Twitter, 4 October 2016]

b. @user1 [Trump] @user2 [Pence] **Oh goody!** Live tweeting! Make sure you attack! Attack!! Attack!!! And defend! #moron [JUDGEMENT-] #LOSER [JUDGEMENT-] #StupidDonald [JUDGEMENT-] [Twitter, 4 October 2016]

c. **Oh goody** @user1 [Trump] will be sabotaging [JUDGEMENT-] @user2 [Pence] by live tweeting with his tiny [L-FORCE] hands! Should BE BIGLY YUGELY [INCREASING R-FORCE] helpful [APPRECIATION+]! #VPdebate2016 [Twitter, 4 October 2016]

In (53a), the tweeter is the least expressive of the three examples; in fact, the main Appraisal resources are the DI *oh, goody!* and its exclamation mark. The tweeter of (53b) is more expressive and emotionally involved than (53a). The tweeter uses the Graduation resource of FORCE through repetition and multiple exclamation marks, and negative JUDGEMENT in #*StupidDonald*, #*LOSER* and #*moron*. Example (53c) is also expressive, with raised FORCE shown through exclamation marks and capital letters to make fun of Trump's vocabulary and hands, and negative JUDGEMENT in the suggestion that Trump will sabotage Pence. Again, as in (51) and (52), *oh goody!* conveys the appraisal of *not good* or, when heightened, as *terrible*.

6.5.2 Polish

Papatki!

Although Polish diminutive contact interjections are generally seen as positive and cheerful (cf. 5.3.2), they may be used in a not dissimilar way to the sarcastic *byesies!* in English tweets. For example, in (54) *papatki!* 'bye bye.DIM' appears in a derogatory way.

(54) a. Sebuś, idź zrób coś pożytecznego a nie wpierdalaj się w rozmowę dorosłych ok?

Papatki.

'Sebuś, go do something useful and don't fuck yourself into an adult conversation ok?

Papatki.' [18 June 2018]

b. Ale naprawdę [R-FORCE], idź sobie. Nikt Cię tutaj nie zapraszał. **Papatki**

'But really, go away. Nobody invited you here. Papatki' [24 June 2018]

In (54a), the tweeter suggests that the adult male interlocutor should not be participating in the conversation because it is for adults. He begins with the diminutive *Sebuś* (< *Sebastian*) and ends

with the diminutive *papatki!* to construct Sebastian as a child and thereby incompetent to participate in a serious discussion. In (54b), the tweeter tells the person to leave the conversation as he was not invited. Both tweets end with *papatki!* to finish the conversation in an abrupt and unfriendly note.

It should be noted that the sarcastic and derogatory uses shown in (54) are infrequent; from a Twitter search, (54a) and (54b) were the only derogatory instances of *papatki!* from searching the latest 25 tweets on 24 June, 2018. The other examples of *papatki!* conveyed the default connotations of friendliness and cheerfulness of tone, as described in Galasinski (2017) and Szymański (2012). Furthermore, I did not find sarcastic contexts which used contact diminutive interjections of greeting, such as *hejcia!* and *dzieńdoberek!* on Twitter, which suggests that evaluating another tweeter in terms of negative JUDGEMENT occurs more frequently with interjections of farewell than with greetings.

These examples of sarcasm and irony convey negative Attitude in the immediate context and via the diminutive suffix. They are, as posited by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), an offensive strategy of rudeness which may contribute to a complaint and/or towards belittling another person. Overall, the Appraisal resources used for sarcastic *wowee!*, *(oh) dearie me!*, *byesies!*, *oh goodie!*, and Polish *papatki!* may be summarized as follows:

- Negative JUDGEMENT is used in *bad meanies*, *too mean*, *aren't you the lucky one*, and *favored*, all of which are used sarcastically to 'mean the opposite'. Otherwise, the non-playful negative JUDGEMENT lexis includes *his egotism*, *sarcasm*, *smart-alecky remarks*, *tended to put women down*, *sabotaging*, *stupid*, *restless*, *boring nimrod*, *loser*, *moron*, *biggest buffoon*, *self-obsessed head*, *your terrified*, *deadly paranoia*, and *you imbecile*. As shown in *biggest buffoon*, these terms may be graded and refer to 'capacity' in the JUDGEMENT category because these terms show that the speaker thinks that the target is very stupid (cf. Martin and White 2005: 73-74). Positive JUDGEMENT lexis appears in only one example, where a character is appraised as *charming* and *witty* in his novels, but with negative JUDGEMENT socially on a date.
- Positive APPRECIATION appears derogatively in tweets, such as *a fun place* and *helpful*; otherwise, this Appraisal category is rarely used.
- Positive AFFECT is expressed through the descriptive verb *laughed* and its emoticon counterpart, the smiley face. These occur at the end of mock sarcastic interactions where

the speaker conveys that the sarcastic language was only playful and teasing. Negative AFFECT appears when Loki looks *extremely put upon* after seeing Thor. In comparison, positive AFFECT occurs by Thor in the context of unaffixed *oh good!* with *excitement* and *grin*, and also in the *forced polite smile* by CG when saying affixed *oh goodie!* However, the fact that the smile is *forced* shows that it is merely a display of positive emotion for the sake of politeness rather than an expression of true feeling.

- Raised FORCE appears in reporting verbs such as *thundered* and *exclaim*, the intensifiers *too*, *increasingly*, *better*, *most*, *biggest*, *heavily*, *large*, and *extremely*, and the non-lexical (multiple) exclamation marks (e.g. *Attack!!!*), capital letters (e.g. *BE BIGLY YUGELY*), and italics (e.g. *there's*). Polish *naprawdę* 'really' emphasizes the tweeter's desire for the other tweeter to leave the conversation. Lowered FORCE appears in *tiny* and *slowly*. (The other Graduation category of FOCUS appears in *my entire life*.)

Overall, Attitude is mainly expressed through negative JUDGEMENT which tends to be amplified through Graduation resources in (playfully) sarcastic uses of the diminutive interjections under discussion.

6.5.3 (Veiled) threats and intimidation

In abusive scenarios, a speaker may threaten the hearer with a diminutive interjection to establish a discursive place where a typically male abuser is viewed as the person in control, while the victim – typically a female – is evaluated negatively as childish, vulnerable, incompetent, and weak. A situation where the speaker attempts to threaten the hearer (the victim), either by intimidation, physical violence, or verbal threats is one form of a threatening speech act.¹³⁴ Sometimes the speaker's threats may be veiled or implied, where “they do not convey their illocutionary force clearly but leave it to [the hearer] to interpret the sentence indirectly” (Leech 2014: 225).

¹³⁴ However, threatening acts do not necessarily threaten. For example a direct order is a FTA because it affects the hearer's negative face.

Whoopsie!

In English novels, the perpetrator may use *(wh)oopsie!* as a part of a (veiled) threat that sometimes has sexual undertones. Example (55) is a veiled threat conveyed as a mind game that occurs between two females.

(55) “Hello, Pussycat.”

A cold shot of fear spiked [R-FORCE] my blood. I dropped the plate and whirled [R-FORCE] to face a woman in my kitchen. I dimly heard the clatter of the plate hitting the floor under the roar of my heartbeat. The mad pounding [R-FORCE] of my pulse made me light-headed. I wanted to run, but all I could manage was a silent scream.

"Whoopsie. I didn't mean to startle you."

She traced the fingers of one hand over the countertop as she walked towards me. Her fingernails were bloodred talons. Her slinky gown was black [...]. Silver serpentine cuffs in the shape of snakes coiled from both wrists to her elbows. As if they knew I'd noticed them, their forked tongues wiggled. [...]. Whoever she was, she was my nightmare [JUDGEMENT-]. [Hayes, *Dreaming Awake*]

In this fantasy novel, the heroine Theia Alderson makes a dangerous bargain to find the mysterious boy of her dreams, named Haden Black. In this scene, as she concentrates on his name, she realizes that she cannot remember where she got the charm bracelet on her wrist. As she decides that her mind is playing another strange trick on her, a female voice greets and frightens her, as seen at the start of (55). The unnamed female then says *whoopsie!* and states that she had not meant to startle Theia. However, the implied tone of her speech, without any exclamation marks or italics, her body language and clothing create an impression of a calm and assertive female who had intended to frighten Theia. More importantly, as shown throughout this chapter, diminutive interjections in ironic and sarcastic contexts often mean the opposite of their base interjections. It is not far-fetched to assume that the unnamed female had intended to scare Theia.

Oh dearie (me)!

Diminutive interjections also convey or amplify threats to another person, as in (56).

(56) "And what about the other hostages? Don't bother lying, its obvious you have them." Sherlock knew Moriarty well enough to know that he had to have gotten someone else involved.

"**Oh dearie me.** It seems I do." Moriarty paused in quiet laughter [AFFECT+] for a moment before continuing. "I'm assuming the names 'Maddy' and 'Pepper' ring some bells inside that big [R-FORCE] brain of yours?"

Sherlock froze in disbelief before running into the girls' room. [*Sherlock* fanfic, 17 May 2013, Melody Melone, "The Daughters"]

Here, the criminal Moriarty uses *oh dearie me!* before implying that Sherlock's daughters are his hostages. Moriarty laughs as if the game is a humorous one before uttering the statement that causes Sherlock to freeze and run to his daughters' room. As we have seen with *whoopsie!* and *owie!*, the affixed secondary interjection *oh dearie me!* is also a mocking, darkly playful twist of meaning where the suffix adds a note of laughter and sarcasm that is intended to break Sherlock in this mind game.

In sum, (55) and (56) are emotionally charged scenes with *whoopsie!* and *oh dearie me!* respectively that build primarily on a character's fears and places the character in a situation of weakness and metaphorical smallness in comparison with the perpetrator. As such, raised FORCE is particularly frequent in these excerpts in the choice of high intensity verbs like *mad pounding* and *whirled*. Diminutive interjections in such contexts are associated only with a sense of play and jocularly by the perpetrator's positive feelings (e.g. *laughter*) about holding power and taunting/threatening another individual, somewhat like a bully who laughs and teases another on the playground.

(Oh) goodie!

A particularly relevant literary excerpt occurs in McDonough's *Roper: Three-Zero-Zero-One* (2009). In this dystopian novel, Professor Arthur Chesterfield is arrested for publishing a novel. The falsified and exaggerated charges turn him into a guinea pig in an experimental search for an ultimate biological weapon named 'The Roper'. In one longer passage, after Arthur is first arrested, the diminutive interjection *goodie!* is used by his captor, Frederick, in a way that reinforces its associations with play and emotional mind-games in a threatening captor-captive

situation. This scene is particularly interesting because Frederick amplifies positive AFFECT with raised FORCE to outrageous levels to threaten Arthur in a larger sadistic ‘game’ that eventually causes Arthur to become Roper 3001, a biologically-enhanced weapon.

At the beginning of the excerpt, Arthur finds himself in a predicament; he is a captive, and his captor appears knowledgeable about his life history and where his daughters are located, as shown in (57).

(57) “I’m not afraid of your frigging [R-FORCE] pits,” I retorted.

“Oh, **goodie**,” and [Frederick] clapped his hands in an effeminate way. “You’re still an ass-kicking motherfucker. I so [R-FORCE] love them [AFFECT+].” His mortician-like features broke into a giggle [AFFECT+]. “Prisoner 3001. Sit back. Relax for a moment. If I wanted you dead, you would be dead. Contemplate the serious nature of this interview. I have something important to discuss with you. You have something I want.” He giggled [AFFECT+] again. “It’s your frigging life.” He burst out laughing [AFFECT+]. “Oh, my!” He tittered [AFFECT+]. “Tying your castrated cellmates to the prison bars with their entrails – that’s the kind of killer I’m looking for.” He chuckled [AFFECT+] again. “Yes, I do love [AFFECT+] your work; it’s exciting [APPRECIATION+], you know. Oh, but you don’t know.” He laughed [AFFECT+] outrageously [R-FORCE]. “Well, of course, of course, I’ll continue. You brutally [R-FORCE] murdered [JUDGEMENT-] those three pious [JUDGEMENT+] young men undergoing enterprising rehabilitation. Now what shall I do with you?”

I peered at the madman, thinking *Who the fuck put him in charge?*

“Oh,” he inserted quickly, “and let’s not forget that little [L-FORCE] fact of you being a traitor [JUDGEMENT-] to your country. Quite a conundrum, isn’t it? Now, let’s get back to the part about your life being now in my hands, shall we?” I nodded slowly [L-FORCE]. My predicament continued to amuse him as he chuckled [AFFECT+] at my dismay. “**Goodie! Goodie!**”

I figured this guy was nuts, and I had better just play along. [McDonough 2009: 18]

Here, his captor seems insane. Instead of trying to appear bigger or stronger physically, Frederick acts crazy at the beginning; his laughter, rhetoric and use of *goodie!* convince the captive that this must be a ‘madman’. His captor begins with *oh, goodie!* and claps his hands in delight before launching into a monologue that seems to make no logical sense. Near the end, Arthur’s dismay

at the situation causes him more glee again, as he chuckles and exclaims *goodie!* twice. However, as the scene progresses, the captor is shown as more powerful than the protagonist; the silly language directly makes his point and convinces the protagonist to comply.

The captor's (body) language in this excerpt seems to emphasize his threats, and they are used together with the affixed *goodie!* There are frequently-used jocular features of positive AFFECT including *giggling, laughing, tittering* and *chuckling*; in addition, the captor uses amplified positive AFFECT lexis including *I so love, oh my!, I do love, it's exciting*. The captor is said to laugh *outrageously* (raised FORCE); that is, in a seemingly inappropriate, silly, and ridiculous way. When these features are used alongside *goodie!*, they suggest that the diminutive may convey strongly humorous, playful, and even frightening underlying connotations of *goodie!* The threats are said in such a silly way that Arthur decides that Frederick "was nuts, and [he] had just better play along." The use of the word *play* seems to make the narrative an outrageous and silly game that constructs each individual's social identity.

By the end of the scene, Frederick switches to unaffixed *good!* and to the low intense verb *chuckles*, which suggests that *goodie!* conveyed more intense emotional connotations than unaffixed *good!* A standard search confirms that the diminutive *goodie!* is not used again in the novel by any character.

(58) "Good. Good.' He chuckled [AFFECT+] again, amused [AFFECT+] by his game. There was a silence, and I listened, wondering if he had told me the truth." [McDonough 2009: 20]

To summarize, the DI *oh goodie!* may be used in contexts with ridiculous and outrageous laughter, glee, mirth and play that are typically associated with positive feelings and used as a threatening tactic.

6.6 Chapter conclusions

This chapter has discussed the Appraisal values of diminutive interjections in (non-serious) accidents and mistakes in friendships, politics and romantic/sexual relationships, playful accidents, sarcasm/irony, and (veiled) threats and intimidation. In sarcastic and negative contexts, diminutive interjections typically add Attitude through negative JUDGEMENT and/or AFFECT, and Graduation through raised FORCE or FOCUS. The positively playful contexts such as

flirtation and romance, raised FORCE and FOCUS are also typical, along with positive AFFECT. These appraisals suggest that the DIs *whoopsie(s)!*, *(oh) dearie me!*, *wowie!*, and *oh goodie!* may function as serious positive reactions (as seen in Chapter 5), but may also function as negatively playful reactions.

In the examples, taken from fanfiction, fiction, and Twitter, the diminutive interjections most often had opposite and/or amplified meanings from the standard meanings that are typically conveyed by the base interjection. That is, *whoopsie!* typically was shown to mean ‘this is not a mistake, but a deliberate action’, and *oh goodie!* typically was used in a way that means ‘not good’. The DI *wowie!* seemed to convey the (sometimes playful) sarcastic meaning of ‘not wow!’, expressly not expressing surprise or admiration. These appeared in utterances including *Wowie, I can’t wait!* and *Wowie, aren’t you the lucky one.* The DI *(oh) dearie me!* seemed to function as an amplified ‘oh dear!’, e.g. *Oh dearie me, look who’s all washed up!* The Appraisal resources used in the immediate contexts were able to accurately pinpoint the speaker’s Attitude – either her own feelings (AFFECT), or her reaction towards someone (JUDGEMENT).

JUDGEMENT was a frequently-used Appraisal resource of Attitude, and typically was negative when used in sarcastic contexts where the diminutive interjection contributed towards the belittlement of another person. Sometimes this category was used somewhat playfully between lovers in *Harlequin*-type novels with little malicious intent (e.g. *Wowie, I can’t wait!*); at other times, negative JUDGEMENT was employed to insult politicians such as Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and their supporters on Twitter. Users of Twitter tended to use positive JUDGEMENT lexis sarcastically (e.g. *those bad meanies!*) or negative JUDGEMENT lexis (e.g. *moron*) seriously. Because of the predominant use of judgement in sarcastic or ironic tweets, it is reasonable to expect that the diminutive interjections used in those contexts (*whoopsie!*, *oh dearie me!* and *oh goodie!*) have the same Attitudinal meaning.

AFFECT, the Appraisal category of emotion, also played a smaller role than JUDGEMENT in showing the positive or negative feelings of a speaker of a diminutive interjection. On Twitter, AFFECT was shown through emoticons (e.g. (un)happy faces), while fanfiction and literary dialogue used lexical items directly in dialogue (e.g. *I love*) or in the texts as reporting verbs (e.g. *he laughed*). When the DI *oh goodie!* was used as part of a threatening context in an excerpt from fiction, we saw how a perpetrator instilled fear in his captive and demonstrated amusement in

the mind-game by amplifying verbs of positive AFFECT such as *giggled* and *chuckled*, and language such as *I love your work*.

In several fiction texts both raised FORCE and FOCUS were interwoven into the surrounding context of a diminutive interjection to sharpen and intensify/quantify Attitudinal values which contributed to the overall effect of an evaluation or (flirtatious) device. The Graduation category of FORCE, as in the previous chapter, was used to amplify emotion through the addition of intensifiers (e.g. *so*, *extremely*), quantifiers (e.g. *big*, *enormous*) and the non-lexical italics, exclamation marks, and capitalized words. The Graduation category of FOCUS was also used frequently, particularly in romantic contexts where flirtation and sexual content was involved. The lexical items in *not even remotely stylish*, for example, are non-gradable ways to sharpen values of APPRECIATION (*stylish*) and preciseness (*even*, *right*, *exactly*). Lowered FORCE was used infrequently, and FOCUS for softening occurred rarely, if at all, which suggests that, at least in fictional romantic contexts, diminutive interjections are expressed intensely rather than mildly.

In the following chapter, I turn to the serious negative feelings of pain, disgust, sympathy, and anger, which predominantly draw on the Appraisal category of negative AFFECT.

Chapter 7: Pain, sympathy, and disgust

7.1 Introduction

Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 205) write that “emotions which seem to disfavor the use of diminutives [...] are fear, pain, anger.” Interestingly, diminutive interjections may convey low to high intensity feelings of pain (emotional and/or physical), disgust, bitterness, and anger. The diminutive expressions that tend to occur in these contexts are English *owie!*, *ouchies!*, *lordy!*, *wowie!*, *whoopsie!*, *ughie!* and *yuckies!*, and Polish *jejku!* ‘oh dear.DIM’, *fujka!* ‘yuck.DIM’, and *cholercia!* ‘damn.DIM’. These typically draw on the Appraisal resource of negative AFFECT, and sometimes negative APPRECIATION, because of the negative emotions expressed by the speaker.

The present chapter is divided into examples of serious (i.e. not playful) negative contexts. The first section in the present chapter narrows down on the feelings of disgust that are conveyed by English *ughie!* and *yuckie!*, and Polish *fujka!*. The second section examines those diminutive interjections found in contexts of negative surprise, such as the low intensity feeling of dismay or the high intensity feelings of fear and terror. Since feeling emotional and/or physical pain tends to evoke strongly negative expressions of negative AFFECT (e.g. in self-pity and complaining) the third section turns to expressions of pain that use *owie!* and *ouchies!*. The similar feelings of sympathy and empathy are the subject of the fourth section.

Diminutive interjections like *wowie!*, *lordy!*, and *whoopsie!* may appear together with *I hate X* constructions and with bitterness to something or someone. Interestingly, even Polish diminutive interjections, which even more strongly than in English presuppose positive feelings, can appear with *nienawidzę X* ‘I hate X’ constructions. Although these angry and bitter contexts may seem similar to the stronger sarcastic comments in Chapter 6, these angry contexts often include swear words or euphemisms which not only augment Attitude, but also show the speaker’s emotional commitment to the proposition. Therefore, the chapter ends with the most negative emotions of bitterness, anger, and dislike, as found in literary dialogue and Twitter.

7.2 Disgust

‘Revulsion sounds’ (as referred to by Goffman 1981: 104) are spoken by “a person who has by necessity or inadvertence come in contact with something that is contaminating.” Goffman

(1981: 104, original emphasis) posits that they are slightly unserious, with “a hint of hyperritualization [because] often the contamination that calls forth an *Eeuw!* is not *really* believed to contaminate.” The speaker therefore says *ew!*, *yuck!*, or *ugh!* to compensate for physical behavior, “as when our hands must keep busy cleaning a fish, leaving only the auditory and other unrequired channels to correct the picture – to show that indelicate, dirty work need not define the person who is besmeared by it” (Goffman 1981: 104).

However, Goffman’s (1981) view of when ‘revulsion sounds’ are used is slightly narrow in that it confines their use to real and in-the-moment reactions to what someone has come in contact with through touch. Expressions of disgust, as shown in Chapter 1, may show ‘oral revulsion’ towards what someone has put in their mouth, or revulsion to a particularly disgusting smell or sight. Moreover, these interjections of disgust are not necessarily reactions to a physical stimulus, but instead are reactions to what the speaker is thinking about. In this case, the expression of disgust does not necessarily convey revulsion based on a physical sense (e.g. touch or smell), but towards some idea or event that the speaker does not like.

7.2.1 English

Ughie! and yuckie!

Diminutive forms of disgust are used rarely for two reasons: one morphological, one semantic-pragmatic. First, the addition of the diminutive -y suffix to *yuck* produces the adjective *yucky*, a word generally used by children to refer to e.g. their dislike of food on their plates and insects. It may also refer to feeling unwell in the expression *I feel yucky*. The term has produced dozens of children’s books with *yucky* in the titles, including for example *Yucky Mucky Mud* (Graham 2003), *Yucky Animals in the Yard* (Wood 2013) and *Junie B. Jones and the Yucky Mucky Fruitcake* (Park 1995). Without the exclamation marks to indicate the interjectory use, it is often difficult to differentiate between the diminutive interjection and the adjective because *yuckie* by itself may be a form of the adjective.

The diminutive interjection *yuckie!* often reflects the childish nature of its adjective counterpart. It tends to convey a level of immaturity as it is an interjection we might expect used by or to children when exposed to a stimulus considered to be particularly repulsive. The one hit of *yuckie!* that is not said by a child on Google Books comes from a book of short plays for teenagers, where one character, Ricky, exclaims “Ewwww! **Yuckie!** I bet you wanted to throw

up!" (Allen 2007: 120) after learning that his male interlocutor had kissed a girl. A similar example is found in a short fanfiction story, where two children, aged seven and four, squeal "YUCKIE!" when their parents share a kiss [27 March, 2017, TheRockingWriter, "Rocky Relationships"]. Not unsurprisingly, both instances draw on the Appraisal resource of raised FORCE through elongation or capitalization, and the addition of the elongated interjection *ew!* in the first example uses negative Attitude and amplified FORCE.

The diminutive forms *ughie!* and *yuckie!* can be childish, or function to increase or diffuse the emotion of disgust on Twitter. The stimulus can be sexual, disgusting things near one's mouth, bad situations, or dirt, as shown in (59).

- (59) a. i have to work the snack bar shift tonight from 5:30-8 **ughie** [Twitter, 10 May 2017]
- b. I said I was going to tell you all something important today but now it's really [R-FORCE] late and I'm not in the mood [AFFECT-] **ughie** [Twitter, 12 February 2017]
- c. I hate [AFFECT-] the smell of weed so [R-FORCE] much. Ugh. **YUCKIE** [Twitter, 19 August 2016]
- d. #ThingsYouCantShare a glass of milk! **yuckie!!** [image: glass of milk] [Twitter, 28 August 2016]
- e. Those girls that are "friends" with every man. **Yuckie!** #3ShotsOfTequila [Twitter, 12 August 2016]

In (59a), the tweeter complains about having to work a certain shift at work, while the tweeter of (59b) conveys a negative mood because of the late hour. Amplified disgust towards the smell of marijuana is conveyed in (59c) with the high intensity negative AFFECT lexis *I hate*, raised FORCE *so much*, and the unaffixed marker of Attitude in *ugh!* All of these precede the diminutive *yuckie!*, which ends the tweet. Example (59d) is tweeted by an adult male, who describes himself as a father and comic book fan who is conservative and never serious, to convey disgust about sharing a glass of milk. As in the previous tweets, the DI appears at the end, as though thinking about the disgusting object evokes *yuckie!* Example (59e) differs from the other examples because the male adult takes on a moral stance in his complaint about the lifestyle choices of

certain females, in which disgust “plays an important moral role in presenting intense emotional resistance to immoral deeds” (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 402).

The diminutive *ughie!* appears in a male’s response to a female tweeter’s post in (60) and expresses frustration in a softer and less intense manner that constructs a discourse of affiliation and social bonding.

- (60) i'm trying to figure out how best to convince people to hang at the park 😊 [AFFECT+]
esp bc i don't do coffee
@user Really tho. I don't really [L-FORCE] drink caffeine, and nowadays not so big [L-FORCE] on 🤔🤔. **Ughie** 😞 [AFFECT-] [14 December 2017]

The tweet writer’s choice of *ughie!* represents a ‘softer’ response: it “sounds more playful [and] kind of invites a response with its drawl and generally just sounds funny used aloud, implying some self-humor to the matter. So [...] *ughie* is the defusing way to express frustration” (personal comm., 14 December 2017¹³⁵). The tweet writer adds that, in comparison, unaffixed *ugh!* “implies blunt frustration [and is] a rude and abrupt gesture [and] confrontational.” The Appraisal resources used in the tweet contribute to his interpretation of *ughie!* as amusing and subtle because of his selection of lowered FORCE in *don't really* and *not so big*, and the neutral or slightly sad mouth with a single drop of sweat emoticon. In sum, example (60) reflects the use of diminutives in order to lower FORCE – that is, “to make [unpleasant things] look smaller, less important, or even pathetic” (Gorzycka 2012: 153) – and to establish solidarity with a person with a similar viewpoint.

Wowie!

The diminutive interjection *wowie!* can also show a certain amount of disgust together with surprise. The description of the speaker in literary dialogue helps to convey the seriousness of the situation, as in excerpt (61).

- (61) “Oh, why complicate things?” he moaned [AFFECT-]. “What are we going to do?”

¹³⁵ I contacted the writer of this tweet, and he provided me with this detailed response to my question about why he chose to use *ughie!* instead of *ugh!*

“Damned if I know tonight,” I replied, struggling to my feet. “Tomorrow you’re going to find out who took the Valentino script and get it back. I have other problems, O.K.?”

“What do you mean?”

“Mr. Hearst is upping the ante [R-FORCE] on the game. He’s given me an ultimatum for Dr. Zeus,” I explained.

“**Wowie.**” Lewis looked appalled [AFFECT-]. “He thinks he can dictate terms to the Company?”

“He’s doing it, isn’t he?” I said, trudging off to my bedroom. [Baker, *Gods and Pawns*, 2007: np]

In this excerpt from a science fiction novel, which is a collection of short stories set in the universe of Dr. Zeus Inc., also known the Company, Joseph and Lewis are discussing the theft of the Valentino script. However, Joseph interjects with his statement that he has other problems with William Randolph Hearst, who the Company has under-estimated. After Joseph tells Lewis that Hearst has given Dr. Zeus an ultimatum, Lewis looks *appalled*, which suggests high intensity negative AFFECT (and, based on the context, it is not far-fetched to assume negative JUDGEMENT as well) that conveys disgust and horror.

In sum, disgust in English may be conveyed through the diminutive interjections *ughie!* and *yuckie!* The diminutive interjection *wowie!* also appears in contexts of disgust to convey disgusted or horrified surprise. These affixed forms appear rarely, however, in interactions between adults. They occur least frequently in fiction, fanfiction, and least of all, in recipe blogs. Only in Twitter do we see a moderate amount of examples that are typically used to show Attitude towards a variety of stimuli or thoughts, mainly in negative AFFECT lexis, and sometimes amplified through exclamation marks, high intensity verbs, and/or intensifiers, or lowered in intensity with de-intensifiers such as *not so big*.

7.2.2 Disgust in Polish

Polish has five main interjections that express disgust: *fe!*, *tfu!*, *pfuj!*, *fu!* and *fuj!* which “imitate the sound of spitting – a physiological reaction to something disgusting in the literal, physical sense” (Tabakowska and Schultze 2004: 555). Another, less discussed interjection of disgust is *ble!* (often elongated to *blee!* or *bleee!*). These interjections are listed under ‘dissatisfaction,

unpleasantness and loathing' by Sieradzka and Hrycyna (1996: 202-203) and can be roughly paraphrased as 'I feel very much disgusted by your behaviour' (Wierzbicka 1991: 290). Among these interjections of disgust, only *fuj!* receives a diminutive suffix to create *fujka!*

Fujka!

The diminutive interjection *fujka!* (< *fuj!* 'yuck') is the same as unaffixed *fu!* as a reaction to something disgusting, typically in terms of "situations introducing something 'repulsive' into one's nose or one's mouth" (Wierzbicka 2003: 303), and wanting the offensive stimulus to be removed either physically or from the speaker's thoughts. The first-degree *fujka!* is the only diminutive interjection that specifically conveys disgust and appears on Twitter in a variety of contexts, as shown in (62).

- (62) a. jak ja nienawidzę [AFFECT-] ciepłego mleka, **fujka** no ale kakao to co innego
'how I hate warm milk, fujka but cocoa is something different' [Twitter, 26 August 2016]
- b. Pamiętam kiedyś moja koleżanka jadła strupki. **Fujka**
'I remember that once my friend ate scabs. Fujka' [Twitter, 2 August 2016]
- c. @user Zależy. Nienawidzę [AFFECT-] pobierania krwi, operacji i złamań otwartych, brzydzi mnie to [AFFECT-]. Coś ci wchodzi lub wychodzi ze środka. **Fujka**.
'It depends. I hate collecting blood, operations, and open fractures, it disgusts me. Something enters you or comes out from the inside. Fujka.' [17 October 2017]
- d. #ludziektorzy liżą palec, żeby obrócić stronę książki. **Fujka**.
'#peoplewho lick their finger to turn over a page in a book. Fujka.' [Twitter, 28 November 2017]

In (62a) the speaker conveys revulsion towards (drinking) warm milk, while (62b) expresses disgust while remembering how her friend used to eat scabs from her wounds. Body functions such as collecting blood (62c) or licking one's finger to turn the page of a book (62d) are similar expressions of revulsion to fluids entering or touching one's body. In terms of Appraisal, these tweets with *fujka!* Sometimes these tweets draw on negative AFFECT with *nienawidzę* 'I hate', and

brzydzi mnie to ‘it disgusts me’ but as low intensity. The minimal use of raised FORCE in the tweets in (62) contribute to their construction of what can be read as an unemotional manner.

Fujka! may express revulsion to events or images perceived to be unpleasant or disgusting from a visual perspective, as in (63).

- (63) a. jest 21:15 i już jest niemal ciemno [APPRECIATION-], **fujka**
‘it’s 21:15 and already it is almost dark, fujka’ [Twitter, 22 August 2016]
- b. Patrzę w lustro i taki [R-FORCE] grubasek [APPRECIATION-] ze mnie **fujka**
‘I’m looking in the mirror and I’m such a fatso fujka’ [Twitter, 21 July 2016]

In (63a), the tweeter conveys disgust at the sun setting early, while in (63b) the tweeter conveys disgust at her body’s reflection in the mirror. These seem to express a self-focused complaint where the object of revulsion is appraised with negative APPRECIATION. Only one of the two tweets amplifies negative APPRECIATION with the intensifier *taki* ‘such’.

Overall, the Twitter examples of Polish *fujka!* in (62) and (63) are not dissimilar from the English examples of *yuckie!* and *ughie!* in (59) because all are generally trivial complaints that come across as somewhat childish. They negatively appraise a thing or idea with negative AFFECT or APPRECIATION, which is sometimes amplified with exclamation marks or raised FORCE lexis. However, it is also important to note that tweets with unaffixed *yuck!* and *ugh!* also are frequently trivial complaints about daily life, e.g. the heat index, alcohol, eating strawberries, cardio, and having graduated high school ten years ago. It is likely such uses of affixed and unaffixed forms of *yuck!* and *ugh!* are genre-specific to Twitter, where users are encouraged to post about their daily events and thoughts with the prompt ‘What’s happening?’

7.3 Negative surprise (fear and worry)

Interjections may convey negative emotions alongside surprise, such as fear or worry. The diminutive interjections used in such contexts include English *lordy!* to express the speaker’s sorrowful dismay at an unpleasant situation or a call for help, and Polish *jejku!* ‘oh dear.DIM’ and *cholercia!* ‘damn.DIM’ are both used in situations where the speaker is surprised with bad news or is feeling dismayed (negative AFFECT).

7.3.1 English

Lordy!

The DI *lordy!* is thought to be ‘more sorrowful’ than *lord!*; in literary dialogue, the diminutive interjection conveys concern and fear for a person or negative situation, as shown in (64).

(64) “Darlin’, what’s the matter?”

In the midst of her mental tirade, Faith realized the man’s voice held terror [AFFECT-]. The woman sounded as if she was gagging. Or having a seizure. The woman might be having an attack of some kind!

“Oh, **Lordy, Lordy,**” the man cried out [AFFECT-] “What do I do? What should I do? Merry, darlin’, can you breathe? Oh, Lord, help.”

He sounded desperate. Faith had CPR training. Knowing she couldn’t stand by and ignore someone who was hurt, Faith clamped her jaw, prepared to face two naked lovers, and plunged through the spirea. [Orwig, *The Cowboy’s Seductive Proposal*, 2011: np]

This excerpt comes from the first few pages of a *Harlequin* romance novel, where the two main characters first meet and feel chemistry towards each other. While on her way to work, thirty-year-old Faith Kolanko overhears a male voice in the bushes using positive expressive language, including *precious sweetie, darlin’, gorgeous day, honey, and yum*. After hearing garbled noises in response, Faith concludes with disgust that a couple are having sex. During her mental tirade in (64), she suddenly hears the male cry out in terror and goes to help. Instead of finding two lovers, Faith finds a father holding his choking baby girl. Faith rescues the baby, which elicits another expressive response of “Thank God! [...] Oh, thank you, thank you!”

The male, Jared, is an expressive character in the scene. As example (64) and the surrounding text indicate, Jared’s appraisals are principally AFFECT, APPRECIATION and FORCE. In (64) the text primarily focuses on AFFECT and raised FORCE in his reaction to his baby girl choking on a banana. His repetition of *Lordy!* twice uses raised FORCE, and the invocation of *oh, Lord, help* conveys Attitude. The text also includes negative AFFECT through the descriptive verb *cried out*.

Jejku!

In Polish, there is one base interjection (*o*)*jej!* that conveys a variety of emotions which range from surprise to mild dismay, to concern. Unlike the sarcastic outbursts of *wowee!* and *whoopsie!* in English, the diminutive (*o*)*jejku!* is not used in contexts of extreme dismay, anger, or rage. Diminutive interjections in Polish may amplify positive emotions, but negative emotions are typically low-intensity. In example (65), *jejku!* conveys minor dismay or frustration in a recipe blog post.

- (65) **Jejku**, kilka razy próbowałam edytować, poprawić ten przepis....czy naprawdę [R-FORCE] nic tam się nie zapisało,czy te zdjęcia nie są poprawione? Czy ja mam tylko takie przeboje tutaj?
@user Netko, musisz odświeżyć stronę:) [AFFECT+]
@user1 Dziękuję:) [AFFECT+]
'Jejku, several times I tried to edit, to fix this recipe...did really nothing stay there, are the photos not fixed? Do I have only such hits here?
@user Netka, you have to refresh the page:)
@user1 Thank you:)' [30 January 2013]

Here, the recipe blog post author, a middle-aged female, comments that she is concerned that she cannot edit her recipe to fix her mistakes and update her photos. She begins the comment with her initial reaction, *jejku!*, before explaining the nature of the problem. She uses raised FORCE in *naprawdę* 'really' and in the repetition of three questions back-to-back to amplify her concern. In response, a user writes that she needs to refresh the page with a smiley face (positive AFFECT), which in turn makes the recipe author's feelings turn positive, as demonstrated in her own use of the smiley face after expressing her gratitude.

Cholercia!

The diminutives *cholercia!* and *cholarka!* 'damn.DIM' sometimes convey negative surprise when shocking news takes a person by surprise, such as receiving a phone call of news about someone's death in (66).

- (66) – Hej! Właśnie o tobie myślałam! Smażę racuchy z jabłkami! Wpadaj na kawę! – Jej głos zadźwięczał wesoło [AFFECT+].
- Jadźka nie żyje!
- Kto nie żyje?
- Jadźka, ta od okien.
- Ach ta! O **cholercia!** Co jej się stało?!
- ”Hey! I was just thinking about you! I’m frying pancakes with apples! Come for coffee!”
- Her voice rang out happily.
- “Jadźka is dead!”
- “Who is dead?”
- “Jadźka, the one from the windows.”
- “Ah, her! O cholercia! What happened to her?!” [Dmowska, *Spadek* 2017: 363]

This literary excerpt is from a novel about a typical housewife, Natalia, whose life is turned upside down when she discovers her husband’s infidelity, divorces him, and leaves for her abandoned family home. Here, bizarre events start happening, and she wonders whether her crazy grandmother is involved, or, whether her ex-husband was correct and she is losing her mind. At this point in the novel, her neighbor Jadźka has been murdered, and she has phoned her friend Karolina to give her the news.

At the beginning of (66), Karolina is in a cheerful mood, as she greets Natalia over the phone. The text describes Karolina as sounding *wesoło* ‘happy’, attributing positive AFFECT. When Karolina finds out who died, she responds with three sentences, each amplified with an exclamation mark. Altogether, the use of exclamation marks suggests that the diminutive interjection *o cholercia!* may be viewed as another Graduation resource of raised FORCE and Attitude (alongside *ah*). In addition, it could be argued that the ‘softer’ (palatalized) diminutive *cholercia!* may have been used instead of unaffixed *cholera!* because it is a milder form. The female speaker was originally in a good mood when the interlocutor phoned, and she likely did not know the person who died well enough to have the news affect her too intensely.

Overall, the diminutive interjections of fear and negative surprise that feature in these contexts seem to occur in with less accompanying amplification than the same interjections in positive or playful contexts. The level of emotion in examples (64) to (66) is less intense and

these examples do not include excessive lexis of raised FORCE; instead, they include a minimal number of exclamation marks and negative Attitude lexis. Moreover, these examples with *lordy!*, *jeiku!*, and *cholercia!* are small negative moments put into a larger positive context. Example (64) begins and ends with positive AFFECT and Involvement, and serves to introduce the two main characters to each other. Example (65) is a rather trivial complaint which ends with positive AFFECT, while (66) begins on a positive note and does not increase in negativity. This pattern corresponds with the general assumption of diminutives tending to not occur in negative contexts, especially in contexts of fear or terror, because diminutives are “anchored in intimacy” (Ponsonnet 2018: 2).

7.4 Pain

According to Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 450), strong pain is best conveyed through a non-diminutive. While in many contexts the diminutive may de-intensify and ‘soften’ the expression of pain, the results suggest that this is not always the case. When the interjection receives the diminutive suffix instead of the noun or adjective, the focus seems to be on the speaker’s feelings about one’s pain instead of the type of pain (e.g. a *horrible* pain) or the painful area (e.g. a terrible *migraine*). Therefore, the diminutive interjection foreground the emotional upset instead of the pain; these emotional connotations include feelings of self-pity, fear, frustration, and childish whining.

7.4.1 English

In English, the diminutive interjections which typically convey pain are *owie!* (< *ow*) and *ouchies!* (< *ouch*), while *wowee!* may amplify the expression of pain. These DIs include the high-pitched /i/ sound in the diminutive -y (or -ie + -s) ending that may be associated with the “extremely high pitch sustained over a period of time” (Culpeper 2011: 151) that occurs in whining. This sound may link back to a ‘childish’ use because whining is found most frequently in family contexts where “a child [is] requesting something from a parent” (Culpeper 2011: 151).

A person who says *owie!* or *ouchies!* may be trying to convey that she is feeling small, helpless, frightened, and weak like a young child. It may also convey that the speaker is feeling embarrassed or humiliated (emotional pain). In terms of Appraisal, these expressions convey negative Attitude, especially negative AFFECT. In many contexts, the event is serious or feels

serious to the speaker – though its potential association with ‘child’ or ‘petulance’ may undermine the serious nature of the situation. The situational context and the speaker’s attitude determine whether *owie!* diffuses or strengthens the expression of emotional and/or physical pain.

Owie!

An example of strong negative emotion occurs in (67), where the repetition of *owie!* creates an emotional and tragic scene between a dying female child and her grief-stricken mother.

- (67) The child was in pain. She cried out [AFFECT-] with it. I expected her to sound horrible and inhuman, but she didn’t. She sounded like every little kid who had ever suddenly found herself faced with her first experience of real, nontrivial [FOCUS] pain.
- “**Owie,**” she said, over and over, her voice rough [APPRECIATION-]. “**Owie, owie, owie.**”
- “Baby,” Helen said. The tears [AFFECT-] were blocking her vision. “I’m here. I’m here.”
- “Mommy, Mommy, Mommy,” the girl said. “**Owie, owie, owie.**”
- The little girl said that.
- She said it over and over.
- She said it for maybe sixty seconds.
- Then she went silent.
- “No,” Helen said. “No, no, no.” She leaned down and felt her daughter’s throat, then desperately pressed her ear to the girl’s chest. “No, no, no.”
- Their voices, I realized, sounded almost identical. They blazed with the same anguish [AFFECT-], the same disbelief.
- I watched Helen shatter [AFFECT-], rocking back and forth, trying through blinding [FOCUS] tears [AFFECT-] to apply CPR to the silent little form. [Butcher, *White Night: A Novel of the Dresden Files*, 2008: np]

The excerpt comes from an anthology of fantasy stories set in the *Dresden Files* universe, where the first-person narrator, the private investigator and wizard Harry Dresden, witnesses the accidental shooting of Helen’s daughter. Excerpt (67) begins with “the child was in pain” and “she cried out with it” – two short sentences that establish the seriousness of the situation and the intense suffering of the child. Here, the use of *cried out* is a behaviour demonstrating the

girl's misery. The girl's physical pain and her mother's emotional pain are further amplified through the raised FORCE used predominantly through the repetition of the words *owie!*, *mommy*, *I'm here*, and *no*. The text includes negative AFFECT in *tears*, *anguish*, and *shatter*, while *real*, *nontrivial pain* and *blinding tears* may be seen to sharpen the meaning through FOCUS. The strong relationship and emotional connection between mother and daughter are shown through the use of vocative *baby* and *Mommy* as part of Involvement.

What does *owie!* mean in (67)? In the excerpt, the placement of diminutive *owie!* suggests that it is used as part of Graduation: to sharpen the pain as *real pain*, and to intensify the expression of pain through repetition. Interestingly, *owie!* is altogether used seven times in the text, but it is implied that the girl says it more than seven times because she says it "over and over [...] for maybe sixty seconds". It is also an Attitude resource of negative AFFECT that we see in the reference to her mother's tears. Positive APPRECIATION is shown by the narrator's appraisal of the girl's voice as not *horrible* or *inhuman*, and negative APPRECIATION is used in the appraisal of the girl's voice as *rough*. The Attitude resource of JUDGEMENT is not used at all.

Although scholars such as Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) claim that diminutives do not feature in the expression of strong and forceful emotions, unaffixed *ow!* would not be appropriate here because, although the base form conveys pain, the unaffixed form inherently lacks the secondary emotional meanings of heartbreaking anguish, self-pity and/or disbelief. The fact that the (young) speaker in (67) is quickly dying from a gunshot wound suggests that *owie!* does not necessarily indicate less physical pain than the emotion that may be expressed through unaffixed *ow!* However, it is a possibility that the expression of pain itself may be backgrounded somewhat in favour of foregrounding emotional upset, which may cause the diminutive to appear less intense or softer when compared with unaffixed *ow!*

Owie! can convey sharp and serious pain that causes negative emotions without referring to children. In (68), an adult female in a fantasy story repeats *owie!* three times after having said the unaffixed form.

(68) I sat down on the floor and closed my eyes – reached down the rough [APPRECIATION-] golden rope that tied my mate and I together and – “Ow, ow, ow,” I said, my eyes watering. “**Owie, owie, owie.** Damn. Damn.”

Asil looked from me to the silver on the floor. “That will teach you not to use your bonds for they were never intended,” he told me. “Especially not silver. Werewolves and silver do not mix.”

“Shut up,” I said fiercely [R-FORCE] and very [R-FORCE] quietly because the sound of his voice sent sharp, arcing lightning rods [APPRECIATION-] of pain from my eyes all the way through my skull. [Briggs, *Frost Burned*, 2013: 34]

In this novel, the speaker is a female shapeshifter named Mercy Thompson, the mate of an Alpha werewolf named Adam who has been abducted. In this scene, Mercy tries to contact her mate, but it backfires as she feels excruciating pain. The initial response with *ow!* suggests that the unaffixed form is the standard expression of pain that is scalable through repetition. It is not tied to any emotional connotations, but rather functions as Goffman’s (1981) concept of the ‘spill cry’. The diminutive form *owie!* also is a reaction to the pain, but since it occurs after unaffixed *ow!* and her watering eyes, arguably the diminutive also conveys negative emotional connotations such as self-pity about the situation. For this reason, the speaker follows *owie!* with the swear word *damn*, which signals heightened emotional Involvement, and tells Asil *very quietly* and *fiercely* to stop talking.

Adult characters may use *owie!* to express pain with negative outbursts of anger. They are shown in (69) and (70).

(69) “Who the hell are you?”

I jump, startled out of my reverie. Bang!!! My knees connect to the bottom of my desk. Still need those thank you.

“Ow, ow, **owie, owie** that hurts like a mother...!”

I look up into the face of the hottest man [APPRECIATION+] I’ve ever been face to face with, scowling [AFFECT-] at me. I try standing but find myself falling back on my chair. This deathtrap of a chair [APPRECIATION-] will not allow me to stand. [Hingos, *Steele Hearts: Revelations*, 2013: 7]

(70) “RE-JEC-TED!”

“Darn it!” Charlie frustration-smacked [AFFECT-] the coin-tiled wall. “**Owie, owie, owie!**” She pressed her lips against her throbbing hand, urging both into silence. [Harrison, *Alphas #1*, 2009: np]

In (69), the romance novel pairs executive assistant Tessa Matthews with her boss, billionaire Connor Steele. In this excerpt, Connor’s angry and forceful question with *hell* causes the female to jump and bang her knees against her desk. The pain associated with the forceful impact is shown through the amplified *bang!!!* with multiple exclamation marks. Interestingly, as in (64), this embarrassing event for Tessa places the two characters on the path to their romantic relationship. In (70), Charlotte “Charlie” Deery is skipping a DAM (Dominating Alpha Males) seminar to crack the combination of the skeleton key. As her efforts fail, she expresses Attitude by her angry outburst of *darn it!* and repeated *owie!* and by physically hitting the wall with her fist.

Both examples have serious and negative meanings that have been rarely associated with diminutives because pain and frustration are emotions that disfavor the use of DIs. In (69), the speaker’s startled jump against the desk results in a forceful and repeated *owie!* The use of both unaffixed and affixed forms, and the near-use of a swear word show that the speaker feels a substantial amount of pain but is likely not as emotionally invested, nor as serious, as the dying girl in (67). The speaker in (70) also repeats *owie!* three times after she swears with *darn it!* In addition, her hand is described as *throbbing*, a high-intensity verb that suggests that the speaker is feeling a considerable amount of pain. Overall, these uses of *owie!* in literary dialogue are serious, not linked to children (but are used by female characters), amplify negative emotional connotations like pity, sadness, and frustration through raised FORCE, e.g. exclamation marks and repetition.

On Twitter, the DI *owie!* is linked with excessive whining, which draws on the Appraisal resource of Attitude. In Twitter posts, the word *whine* is sometimes used directly after *owie!*, capital letters and other types of raised FORCE, and the inclusion of the word *whine* indicates pain and negative AFFECT in feelings of self-pity. For example, *whine* is used in each tweet in (71) to show physical pain and emotional response, but is also elevated to a tone that may evoke self-pity.

(71) a. DANG IT. OUCH. Stepped out the back door and landed on my right foot wrong.

OWIE OWIE WHIINNNEEEEE [INCREASED FORCE] [AFFECT-] [Twitter, 22 August 2016]

b. By the end of my work day, my broken toes still remind me it's time for my fuzzy slippers. **Owie**..whine..whine [AFFECT-] [Twitter, 21 May 2016]

c. I scratched my tear duct. **Owie!** Whine, whine [AFFECT-]! [Twitter, 29 July 2015]

In (71a), the initial response occurs with the amplified DANG IT and OUCH, followed by an explanation of that outburst, followed by the repetitive form of intensification in capital letters, OWIE OWIE, and elongated and capitalized *whine* which also serves to indicate ongoing pain that is annoying to the speaker. This feature also appears in (71b), where the writer comments on the pain from her broken toes after a work day, followed by repeated *whine*. In (71c), *owie!* is followed by *whine* twice from having scratched a tear duct. These examples are, however, specific to digital communication, as it is unlikely that a speaker would say the word *whine* in conversation; instead, intonation and tone of voice is modified to make her reaction sound whiny.

Ouchies!

The DI *ouchies!* generally appears in expressions of sympathy, but also may be used as an interjection of Attitude and raised FORCE, as shown in (72).

(72) a. I always leave the glycolic acid face peeling mask on for too [R-FORCE] long. **Ouchies.** [Twitter, 13 June 2018]

b. and now the little bit [L-FORCE] of novocaine is definitely [FOCUS] wearing off & I can feel the inside of my mouth.

ouchies! [Twitter, 14 June 2018]

c. **Ouchies**, I am not enjoying [AFFECT-] my new gimpy [APPRECIATION-] leg with its constant [FOCUS] neuralgia & anti-pants & now the sensory nerves in my knees are angry [AFFECT-] #whine [AFFECT-] [Twitter, 23 September 2014]

In (72a), the tweeter uses *ouchies!* as a reaction to having left a face mask on for too long, while (72b) records the return of feeling to the tweeter’s mouth and includes *ouchies!* with an exclamation mark for emphasis. The tweeter of (72c), who describes herself as a lifelong New Yorker, wife of thirty-seven years and mother of two adult children, uses the hashtag *#whine* in a similar, though less expressive, way to the Twitter examples of (71). She uses negative AFFECT in *I am not enjoying, my knees are angry*, and *#whine*, FOCUS in *constant neuralgia*, and negative APPRECIATION in *gimpy*. In all examples in (72), *ouchies!* occurs to describe pain or a painful body part with negative feeling, though the absence of exclamation marks and other intensifiers contributes to constructions that can be read as having a more reserved tone than the Twitter examples in, e.g. (71).

Wowee!

The diminutive interjection *wowee!* may also convey emotional pain through wistfulness for something that has ended, though in a cute way, as shown in (73).

- (73) Headed home to Austin—but **wowee**, I’m going to miss [AFFECT-] Portland (and all this snow)! 🥹 [AFFECT-] ❄️ [Twitter, 25 December 2017]

Here, the writer of the tweet is leaving snowy Portland for home and states that she feels sad to leave, especially through the use of the verb *to miss*, and the crying face emoticon and snow emojis (negative AFFECT). When asked why she used *wowee!* instead of its unaffixed form, the tweet writer responded that it was “cuter to say” and “gives a twist to the more mundane” *wow!* (personal comm.). Therefore, *wowee!* has a twofold function: first, as an expression of emotional pain (sadness) and second, as a way to sound ‘cute’ and less ordinary. In terms of Appraisal, *wowee!* here is closely associated with the resource of negative AFFECT.

Wowee! may also amplify a person’s expression of, and attitude towards, physical pain, as shown in (74).

- (74) a. I was not really [L-FORCE] in that much pain way earlier today but it’s all hitting me at once tonight. **Wowee**. #Fibromyalgia [Twitter, 22 April 2018]

b. **Wowee** I'm in pain BUT I think I've OFFICIALLY figured out the triggers for my BPD and surefire [FOCUS] ways to stabilize after a mood swing. Hell to the fucking yeah bro. [Twitter, 4 April 2018]

c. **Wowee** I am in so [R-FORCE] much pain I'm crying [AFFECT-] plz help [Twitter, 17 February 2017]

Each tweeter specifically states that she is in physical pain. In (74a), the female tweeter writes how the pain from Fibromyalgia suddenly increased at night, while the person with Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD) in (74b) claims that she has found ways to stabilize after a mood swing. She sharpens her statement with FOCUS in *surefire ways* and intensifies her tweet with capital letters in *BUT* and *OFFICIALLY*, and also invokes Involvement by swearing with *hell* and *fucking*. The female tweeter in (74c) seems to convey the most negative Attitude based on her use of raised force in *so*, and negative AFFECT in *I'm crying*. The DI *wowee!*, in these contexts, seems to convey the Graduation resources of either raised FORCE or sharpened FOCUS, and negative AFFECT.

7.4.2 Polish

In Polish, expression of pain is associated with the words *cierpienie* and *ból* (*pain* and *suffering*). Interjections such as *(o)jej!*, *aha!* and *auć!* convey a response to pain. Of these three interjections, only *(o)jej!* currently receives diminutive affixes in the datasets under study.

Tweets and messages within this category can include the interjection *jejku!* and palatalized *jejciu!* to show depth and quality of the speaker's reaction. For example, a search of *jejku boli* 'jejku [it] hurts' provides many short tweets, shown in (75).

(75) a. **Jejku** jak mnie strasznie [R-FORCE] boli brzuch
'Jejku how my stomach hurts so terribly' [Twitter, 3 November 2016]

b. Gardło mnie tak [R-FORCE] okropnie [R-FORCE] boli **jejku**
'My throat hurts me so terribly jejku' [Twitter, 27 October 2016]

c. **Jejciu** jak mnie brzuch boli
'Jejciu how my stomach hurts' [Twitter, 26 January 2017]

In these examples, the physical pain stems from the stomach and throat, and the tweeters amplify their pain through *tak* ‘so’, *strasznie* ‘terribly’ and *okropnie* ‘terribly’. The diminutive interjection generally comes across as a form of whining/complaining linked to self-pity, particularly on Twitter where posts about oneself are encouraged. Unlike the *whine* hashtag or word in the English posts, I was unable to find a Polish diminutive interjection with, e.g. *skowyt* ‘whine’ or *jęczeć* ‘to whine’.

In sum, *owie!* and *ouchies!* are reactions to pain which may be used seriously or melodramatically in whining, while *wowee!* may amplify the expression of pain. Similarly to English *wowee!*, Polish *jejku!* and *jejciu!* may amplify the expression of pain. The Appraisal resources used in the context of pain may be summarized as follows:

- Negative AFFECT is used frequently to show a speaker’s negative feelings through lexis such as *whine*, *crying*, *frustration-smacked*, *scowling*, *not enjoying*, *to miss*, *tears*, *anguish*, *shatter*, and *angry*. Sad and crying emoticons also show the speaker’s negative feelings. In English, negative AFFECT seems to be used more frequently and with higher intensity in Twitter posts that use *whine*. Overall, it would not be far-fetched to posit that out of the contexts discussed so far, negative AFFECT lexis (not including emoticons) is used most frequently in contexts of pain to describe the speaker’s feelings.
- APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT are occasionally used in the examples, e.g. *rough*, and *not inhuman*. They also appear outside of the diminutive interjection’s immediate context, e.g. after the female in (69) falls and sees the scowling face of the *hottest man* she had ever seen.
- Raised FORCE is used in English *so*, *too (much)*, *very*, *fiercely*, and Polish *tak* ‘so’, *strasznie* ‘terribly’ and *okropnie* ‘terribly’. Non-lexical ways to increase FORCE were capitalization (e.g. *DANG IT*, *OFFICIALLY*), exclamation marks, and repetition (e.g. *whine*, *whine*; *WHINNNNEEEEE*). Lowered FORCE was used for the purpose of contrast, e.g. what occurred previously in contrast to what occurs at the time of writing the tweet and use of the DI.
- The Graduation category of FOCUS is found in *surefire ways*, *real pain*, and *definitely wearing off* to sharpen the meaning.

Swear words and euphemisms, unaffixed interjections, and endearments are occasionally included to heighten the overall Attitude and emotional Involvement of the tweet or literary

excerpt. These DIs may be understood as part of intensified or de-intensified negative AFFECT with possible secondary meanings of ‘cute’ and ‘silly’.

Next, I turn to contexts of sympathy, whereby the diminutive interjections *ouchies!* and *owie!* are used in response to hearing about another person’s pain.

7.5 Sympathy and empathy

In addition to conveying a painful reaction, *owie!* and *ouchies!* can be used to convey sympathy and/or empathy. Sympathy is “a negative emotional response to the suffering of others” (Prinz 2007: 82). Empathy differs in that “we put ourselves in another person’s [emotional] shoes” (Prinz 2007: 82). These feelings cause us to take action and care for those who are in distress, although the action taken may differ depending on context or mode of communication. On Twitter, a sympathy or empathy event is set up as the following: typically, the initial tweet about some pain expresses attitude and functions as an implied or direct complaint (often shown by emoticons in digital communication), which in turn causes the addressee or ‘follower’ to feel emotion towards the person and the bad situation. The resulting interjection establishes an emotional connection between the tweeters (see Lockyer 2014: 79).

7.5.1 English

Ouchies! and owie!

The diminutive interjections *ouchies!* and *owie!* may convey sympathy. Goffman (1981: 104) writes that interjections of sympathy “are often employed thrice removed from the crisis to which they are supposed to be a blurted response.” For example, “a friend tells us about something startling and costly that happened to him and at the point of disclosure we utter a response cry on his behalf, as it were, out of sympathetic identification and as a sign that we are fully following his exposition” (107-108). In this way, *ouchies!* and *owie!* may indicate a greater emotional connectedness in the interaction and are part of negative AFFECT lexis shared between sympathizer and sympathizee.

On Twitter, *ouchies!* (and less frequently, *owie!*) convey sympathy for or empathy with someone else’s physical or mental pain. In some cases, the sympathizer responds with *ouchies!*

and some encouraging words to help and/or uplift the addressee's mood, while in other cases *ouchies!* is used by itself as an emotional reaction, as shown in (76).

- (76) a. The moment you need to cough or sneeze after a C-section :([AFFECT-]
@user **owie!!!** -_- [AFFECT-] [Twitter, 22 August 2016]
- b. My knee just made a terrible [APPRECIATION-] crunching noise as I climbed the stairs.
Stupid [APPRECIATION-] broken knees.
@user **Ouchies!**
@user1 Yeah :([AFFECT-] [Twitter, 26 August 2016]
- c. Physical therapy homework has moved from leg lifts and balancing to actively
massaging my giant [R-FORCE] knee lump. And it hurts. And it's gross [APPRECIATION-]
because lumpy congealed blood is squishing around in there. [GIF with a person saying
EWWWW]
@user **Ouchies** *cringe* [AFFECT-] I'm sorry.
@user1 I have a glass of wine and use the heating pad first. LOL [AFFECT+]
@user Good [APPRECIATION+] idea! [Twitter, 22 December 2017]

In examples (76), the first tweeter in each conversation takes on the role of sympathizee. She describes the cause of pain: from having to cough or sneeze after a C-section (76a), from a broken knee (76b), and from massaging a knee lump (76c). The tweeters in the role of sympathizees draw on Appraisal resources when presenting their problems. They turn to unhappy faces and responses like **cringe** words for negative AFFECT, and use the negative APPRECIATION lexis *terrible*, *gross*, and *stupid*. In these three tweets, it appears as though the pain felt and the uncomfortable situation conveys Attitude in order to engage others to respond with sympathetic comments.

The response of *owie!* or *ouchies!* expresses sympathy as negative AFFECT lexis. Specifically, the female sympathizer of (76a) uses *owie!* with three exclamation marks (raised FORCE) and an emoticon. Interestingly, none of the other twenty-two sympathizers used a diminutive interjection; rather, some of the other responses include, e.g. "I know that feeling I've had 3", "the worst!" and "yep lol been there". The female sympathizer in (76b) only uses *ouchies!* with

only one exclamation mark, and the sympathizer responds with negative AFFECT. In (76c), the female sympathizer uses *ouchies!* without an exclamation mark, but instead appeals to emotion by adding an apologetic *I'm sorry* and cringes, as if she feels the pain described by the sympathizee.¹³⁶ In this tweet, the sympathizee responds in a way that conveys positive AFFECT in a way to make the sympathizer feel better. Overall, these Twitter conversations are the same in that *owie!* or *ouchies!* convey sympathy, but the sympathizee takes control of the emotional direction of the conversation, causing it to end on a positive note in (76c) or a negative one, as in (76b).

The sympathizer can follow up *ouchies!* and *owie!* with some encouraging words that aim to help and/or uplift the addressee's mood, as in (77).

- (77) a. @[multiple users] **Ouchies!!!!** I empathize with back pain. Been there, still there...so [R-FORCE] sorry hon. [Twitter, 11 February 2017]
- b. @user I lost a tooth last week, the tooth fairy only left me heartache [AFFECT-]... have to have implants! What don't kill you, makes you stronger!
@user1 **Ouchies!!** Hope it isn't too [R-FORCE] sore! [Twitter, 28 September 2017]
- c. Pretty sure I broke my pinky toe last night, but still enjoying [AFFECT+] the Christmas season. Hope you are having a wonderful [AFFECT+] holiday season @user
@user1 **Owie!** Toes don't seem super [R-FORCE] important until you break one!
It HURTS.
Take care of yourself, sweet [JUDGEMENT+] Angie! [Twitter, 19 December 2017]

In (77a), the tweeter states that she can empathize because she has experienced that type of pain before, says that she is sorry that the sympathizee has back pain, and refers to the sympathizee by the affectionate vocative of Involvement, *hon*. In (77b), the user follows up *ouchies!* with well-wishes about the pain. The user specifically chooses *ouchies!* instead of *ouch!* “to emphasize the empathetic response I have to hearing about friends' illnesses and injuries” (personal comm., 16 December 2017). In (77c), the user says *owie!* and follows with an empathetic message and warm

¹³⁶ The writer of this tweet indicated that, while she uses it to convey stronger sympathy in this tweet and elsewhere, on other occasions “it's habit”.

wishes with raised FORCE lexis *super* and capitalized *HURTS*. In this case, the user did not know that *owie!* was a word, and only used it to sound silly when being very sympathetic to Angie (personal comm., 20 December 2017).

Non-physical pain, as an irritation caused by forgetting something important to the speaker, can also elicit a sympathetic response with *ouchies!* and, in (78) an additional ‘I feel for you xx’ directly after the affixed interjection.

- (78) pain is forgetting your headphones on a two hour train journey
 @user **ouchies**, I feel for you xx [AFFECT+]
 @user1 waa, come jump on the train [Twitter, 25 August 2016]

Here, the speaker continues the self-pity by responding to the sympathetic *ouchies!* with a dramatic expression of Attitude in *waa* and with a request for the hearer to ‘jump on the train’. The use of affectionate *ouchies!* appears to strengthen the speaker’s (childish) self-pity and complaint. Overall, *ouchies!* seems to add emotional loading only subtly in expressions of sympathy in comparison with unaffixed *ouch!* because phrases like *Ouch, I feel for you* appear daily on Twitter.

7.5.2 Polish

The results of my pilot study (Lockyer 2015a) shows that *jejku!* often expresses sympathy. The diminutive interjection, in these contexts, is not trivial or childish because “to feel regret or convey sympathy, we must process the bad situation in greater psychological depth” (Lockyer 2015a: 211). This calls for the ‘complex’ diminutive form to be used instead of the ‘simplex’ base interjection. The findings align with Sieradzka and Hrycyna (1996), who isolate *jejku!* as the Polish interjection for sympathy (‘I feel sorry for you; I sympathize’). Thus, *jejku!* is one of the most common affixed interjections on Twitter that express sympathy is (o)*jejku!* ‘oh dear’, as is demonstrated in (79).

- (79) a. **Jejku** tak [R-FORCE] współczuje [AFFECT-] temu chłopakowi co złamał nogę na olimpiadzie w Rio to tak [R-FORCE] strasznie wyglądało [APPRECIATION-] 🙄 [AFFECT-] ‘Jejku I so sympathize with the guy who broke his leg at the Olympics in Rio it looked so terribly awful 🙄’ [Twitter, 8 August 2016]

b. **jejku** współczuję [AFFECT-] mu mam nadzieję że wszystko będzie z nim w porządku i dojdzie do siebie #FRAPOR [image of soccer player lying on ground]
'Jejku I sympathize with him I hope that everything will be okay with him and that he'll get well #FRAPOR' [Twitter, 10 July 2016]

In (79a), the tweeter writes that she sympathizes with the Olympic athlete who broke his leg in Rio with raised FORCE in *tak* 'so', and amplifies negative APPRECIATION and negative AFFECT by adding that it looked *strasznie* 'terrible' with a crying face. By using two Attitude resources and Graduation, the tweeter appears very expressive and sympathetic. The tweet in (79b) comments on an injured soccer player in Euro 2016 in a similar way. Instead of reacting to how badly the athlete looked, the tweeter conveys sympathy by saying that she hopes that the soccer player will recover. Thus, while both tweets use *współczuję* 'I sympathize', which may be considered negative AFFECT, only the emotional reaction to seeing an athlete break his leg causes the tweeter to appraise the situation with several Appraisal resources.

In sum, English *owie!* and *ouchies!*, and Polish *(o)jejku!*, express several kinds of Appraisal, summarized as follows:

- Raised FORCE is conveyed through the English intensifiers *too*, *super* and *so*, the quantifier *giant*, and with (multiple) exclamation marks and capitalized words. In Polish, the intensifier *tak* 'so' is used to amplify how terrible something appeared. The combination of various raised force lexis and non-lexical items suggest that diminutives in expressions of sympathy and empathy may be low, middle, or high intensity.
- Negative AFFECT lexis includes *heartache*, **cringe**, and the non-lexical crying/sad emoticons. Interestingly, expressing or receiving sympathy seems to require one or both participants to cheer up the other with positive AFFECT lexis such as *wonderful* and *enjoying*.
- Negative APPRECIATION lexis includes *terrible* and *stupid*, and is usually said by the sympathizee about her pain or painful event.

The sympathizers seem to use diminutive interjections to cheer up the person who is feeling unwell and/or to create a sense of emotional affiliation. Unlike sarcastic comments which alienate and belittle the addressee, these expressions of sympathy unite two or more people emotionally and foster mutual understanding.

7.6 Anger, bitterness, and dislike

Diminutives tend to disfavor highly negative emotions such as anger; instead, they tend to be used to refer to something or someone dear or small, e.g. *doggie*, *sweetie*, *comfy*. Notably, diminutive interjections appear to convey these negative feelings because they appear together with low intensity *I dislike X* to high intensity *I hate X* constructions, and also co-occur with swear words including *fucking*. While unaffixed forms also appear in these constructions, diminutive forms including *whoopsie!*, *lordy!*, and *wowee!* often seem to act like intensifiers that amplify the negative emotions expressed by the speaker. Polish *jejku!* and *jezusku!* also appear with such constructions.

7.6.1 English

Whoopsie!

The DI *whoopsie!* can convey the lower intensity negative emotion of bitterness towards someone, as in (80).

- (80) I'm proud of myself [JUDGEMENT+]. I'd told him I hope he became intimately [FOCUS] acquainted with a flesh-eating bacteria that ravaged [R-FORCE] his entire [FOCUS] body slowly [L-FORCE] and painfully, beginning with his favorite appendage, and hung up. (The first point to go on my scorecard.) I suspect and hope my Tigress is as mean a bitch as Life, but I haven't interacted with her enough yet to know for sure. Anyway, while Richard and I were together, he cheated on me [JUDGEMENT-]. Like the good [JUDGEMENT+] little girl I am, I let the first time slide. Fight for your marriage and all that bullshit. Boys will be boys, right? Never mind ^{Ben-Ze'ev} that they're male whores [JUDGEMENT-].

Oopsie. Is my bitterness [AFFECT-] showing? [Showalter, *Animal Instincts*, 2006: np]

In this *Harlequin* romance novel, the main character is a thirty-one year-old Dallas party planner named Naomi Delacroix. She has recently divorced Richard, who, during their marriage, cheated on her several times and treated her so badly that she decided to never remarry or commit herself to another man. In (80), which occurs at the beginning of the novel, Naomi recounts her relationship with Richard. She appraises herself with positive JUDGEMENT lexis in *proud of myself*

and *good little girl I am*, but appraises Richard with negative JUDGEMENT by referring to him as a *male whore* and saying that he *cheated on [her]*. Because of her negative and bitter attitude towards him, she recounts wishing him to get a flesh-eating bacteria that she heightens with raised FORCE and FOCUS in *ravaged his entire body slowly and painfully*. The DI *oopsie!*, then, conveys the negative AFFECT that appears in *my bitterness*, in addition to raised FORCE and possibly negative JUDGEMENT.

Wowie! and Lordy!

The more frequent use of *wowie!* and *whoopsie!* in ironic, derogatory, and sarcastic comments seem to act as precursors to Twitter writers employing them in angry situations, as in (81).

- (81) a. oh my fucking GOD i hate [AFFECT-] messages like this
"i'm drunk and under the impression that you have a lot [R-FORCE] of money and that you can give me some of that money, so whaddya say, WANNA HOOK UP"
WOWEE WHAT A PROPOSAL [Twitter, 22 December 2017]
- b. look at me im a grumpy [JUDGEMENT-] millennial complaining about how technology simultaneously connects and distances us because **LORDY** i hate [AFFECT-] responding to internet small talk. if I don't have to respond immediately to something on social media there is a 95% chance i won't [Twitter, 28 December 2017]
- c. And isn't it interesting that AT&T laid off 600 employees at the same time as they gave the bonuses. **Lordy**, I HATE [AFFECT-] f'n [R-FORCE] corporations. [Twitter, 23 December 2017]

In (81a), the expression *oh my fucking GOD* negatively evaluates certain messages with raised FORCE and emotional Involvement (swearing) and signals that the tweeter invests a high degree of investment to the proposition in her tweet. She maximizes her negative emotional reaction towards men who want money and sex in highly colloquial (e.g. *whaddya*) and intensified terms that are expressed in capitalized words. The end of the tweet maximizes the emotion, causing *wowie!* to be part of the angry/shouting effect of the *WOWEE WHAT A PROPOSAL* in capital letters.

Examples (81b) and (81c) use the diminutive interjection *lordy!* to amplify the negative Attitude of the *I hate X* construction. In (81b), the tweet writer appraises himself with negative JUDGEMENT when he self-identifies as a “grumpy millennial” who hates internet small talk. Here, *lordy!* appears in capital letters as an intensifier to the negative evaluation. In (81c), *lordy!* intensifies the already-intensified negative *hate* and shortened *f'n* (< *fucking*) towards corporations like AT&T because of the treatment of their employees. Therefore, the fact the diminutive interjections *wowee!* and *lordy!* co-occur with high intensity *hate*, expletives, raised FORCE, and capitalized words points to an overall angry meaning. The intensity may also be lowered, as there are instances on Twitter which use *(really) don't like* and *dislike* with *lordy!* and *wowee!*

It should be noted that many tweets are short, making it impossible to determine whether the tweet is ironic or serious; e.g. “**wowee** i hate my family” [21 December 2017] may mean that she loves her family. Such an analysis may apply to “Ricky is making me go to a club. **Wowee**, I hate clubs” [25 November 2017] as well, where the writer may, in fact, love going to clubs and goes on a regular basis. In the examples in (81), there is enough context to suggest that the diminutive interjections are not ironic or sarcastic, and they express hate by a “global negation of the object and the wish to be dissociated from or even to eliminate the object” (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 397).

7.6.2 Polish

The fact that Polish diminutive interjections, which are typically used to convey warm and dear feelings, are used in contexts with *nienawidzę* ‘I hate’ appears perplexing at first. However, unlike the English examples in (81), children and youth typically write these types of tweets that deal, on the most part, with trivial and childish things, and the use of DIs in these contexts is also sporadic. Three examples are given in (82).

- (82) a. **Jejku** jak ja nienawidzę [AFFECT-] jak ktoś pisze „w” tam gdzie powinno być „we” to przecież aż kłuje w oczy
 ‘Jejku how I hate it when someone writes ‘w’ where ‘we’ should be it even stings the eyes’
 [Twitter, 29 December 2017]

b. boze jak ja nienawidzę [AFFECT-] tego wczesnego wstawiania, kiedy w domu jest tak [R-FORCE] strasznie [R-FORCE] zimno **Jezusku**

‘God how I hate this rising early, when the house is so terribly cold Jezusku’ [Twitter, 4 December 2016]

c. **Ojejku** nienawidze [AFFECT-] jak zaczne ogladac jakis serial ktory jest jeszcze malo znany i dam na snapie zdjecie a tu pozniej kazdy go ogl..#nocprawd

‘Ojejku I hate it when I start watching some series which is still little known and I put a picture on SnapChat and here later everybody is watching it... #nighttruths’ [Twitter, 30 December 2016]

Here, (82a) negatively evaluates, with *jejku!*, the error of writing *w* ‘in’ instead of *we* ‘in’ (used before words beginning with the letter *w*, for example) because it makes the tweeter’s eyes sting. In (82b), *jezusku!* is used to take the evaluative stance that getting up early in a cold house is terrible. In (82c), the tweeter negatively evaluates the effect of putting a picture of a show on SnapChat and making it popular, and adds additional attitude through the expletive *boże* ‘god’.¹³⁷ None of these tweets appear as angry as the English tweets and none draw on Appraisal resources outside of negative AFFECT in *nienawidzę* ‘I hate’ and a couple instances of raised FORCE. Overall, these tweets seem to express relatively neutral and trivial feelings.

The categories of Attitude for contexts of bitterness and anger are generally low in intensity, using negative AFFECT lexis in *nienawidzę* ‘I hate’. The only instances of negative JUDGEMENT occurs when a tweeter refers to herself as a *grumpy millennial*, and in a literary text where the character refers to her ex-husband as a *male whore* who cheated on her. Rather, the Graduation category of raised FORCE amplifies anger and bitterness in literary dialogue and tweets. It intensifies the negative feelings expressed through or in the immediate context of the DI, but not as often or to such a high degree of intensity as in earlier emotional contexts. That is, the anger expressed seems relatively mild in English, and even milder and more trivial in Polish.

¹³⁷ These are similar to other tweets where the objects of negative evaluation include the school subject *Łaciny* ‘Latin’, *robić prezentacji do szkoły* ‘making presentations at school’, *mojego internetu* ‘my internet’, and *siedzieć długo z gośćmi* ‘sitting with guests for a long time’.

Lexical items used include Polish *tak strasznie* ‘so terribly’, the English quantifier *a lot*, and capitalization. Curiously, exclamation marks are not used in the examples under discussion.

7.7 Chapter conclusions

Although diminutives typically favor positive emotions, several diminutive interjections occur in negative contexts such as anguish, pain, and angry outbursts, and they most frequently access the Appraisal category of negative AFFECT. The typical interjections to occur in these contexts are those with base interjections that have a specific meaning of disgust or pain, as in English *owie!*, *ouchies!*, and *yuckie!* or *ughie!*, and Polish *fujka!* ‘yuck.DIM’. Sometimes other interjections are suffixed in these contexts for more of an intensifying effect, such as and English *wowie!* and *lordy!*, and Polish *jejku!* ‘oh dear.DIM’ and diminutively-suffixed forms of *Jezu(s)!* ‘Jesus’.

Diminutive interjections also (typically) have a secondary emotion, such as self-pity or helplessness, and/or function as intensifiers. This may be observed when unaffixed and affixed interjections appear in the same immediate context. A speaker who says, *ow ow owie owie!* shows that she first processes the pain as a reaction to a physical pain stimulus, and then accesses her emotions to intensify the pain and/or her negative feelings towards that pain. Conversely, a speaker who says, *yuckie yuck!* first responds with emotional upset and then analytically with a disgust response.¹³⁸ Of course, we must acknowledge that some speakers use these interjections out of habit, or attempt to create a more interesting word with the suffix without understanding the implications of the diminutive.

In terms of Appraisal, negative AFFECT was the frequently-used resource of Attitude because feeling pain or responding to another person’s pain evoked negative feelings of unhappiness and sympathy. In literary dialogues and Twitter posts, negative AFFECT lexis appeared in *terror*, *tears*, *anguish*, **cringe**, the *I hate X* construction, descriptive verbs in literary excerpts including *appalled*, *moaned*, *scowling*, and other phrases like *I’m not in the mood*, *frustration-smacked*, and *I’m crying*. These helped to identify the behaviour or disposition of unhappiness, which ranged from sadness to crying, to frustration and anger. Twitter posts used emoticons instead of descriptive verbs to indicate when the tweeter was crying or angry.

¹³⁸ Phrases such as *yuckie yuck!* and *wowie wow!* occur so frequently that they may be semi-frozen phrases and not necessarily following a spontaneous emotional response or thought process.

The Attitude category of negative JUDGEMENT invites disapproval (Martin 2004) because it evaluates human behaviour in terms of social esteem and social sanction. In examples of pain, sympathy, and disgust, JUDGEMENT did not feature predominantly, as it did in the playful and sarcastic contexts of Chapter 6. The Attitude category of APPRECIATION, which evaluates things and processes aesthetically, also was used minimally in the immediate context of the diminutive interjection. These two categories mainly appeared in this chapter in the JUDGEMENT lexis *male whores*, *cheated on me* (which is contrasted with *the good little girl I am*), *deathtrap of a chair*, and APPRECIATION lexis of *rough*, *gross*, and *stupid broken knees*, all of which seem to be used in the texts to evoke sympathy and/or convey a sense of self-pity.

The Graduation category of raised FORCE was used to a certain extent, with e.g. Polish *tak strasznie* 'so terribly' or English *a lot*, and the intensity of FORCE varied between contexts and tweets. The intensity of FORCE was somewhat diminished in these tweets when compared with the positive and playful contexts in Chapters 5 and 6. It seemed as though one or two high-intensity appraisals, such as *I hate*, and/or some carefully-placed capitalized words, were able to convey the tweeter's emotion. In fact, those diminutive interjections which expressed anger did not include any exclamation marks, even though they were used almost excessively in positive contexts. In comparison, lowered FORCE appeared in *slowly*, and was suggested by a tweeter who used *ughie!*, but otherwise Appraisal was not able to clearly suggest where a Twitter user was attempting to be cute or silly, or trying to de-intensify negative feelings.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Summary and contributions

Many authors in linguistics have treated interjections as inflexible ‘little words’ that do not receive affixes except, perhaps, for the rare neologism (Ameka 1992, Wierzbicka 1992, Wilkins 1992, Strange 2009). Such views are not surprising, for interjections were long viewed as marginal to language (e.g. Jakobson 1960, Sapir 1970) until Ameka’s 1992 special issue on interjections in the *Journal of Pragmatics*. However, the definition of interjections as unproductive, monomorphemic, and ‘morphologically simple’ has (generally) remained unchanged, even though examples of affixed interjections appear in literary works, digital communication and other genres in English and Polish.

The aim of this dissertation was to compare and describe diminutive interjections in English and Polish, and to question the role of affixation in pre-existing definitions of interjections. It asked the following three research questions:

- With which suffixes and base interjections are affixed interjections typically formed and what are the main causes for these word-formation choices?
- Which fundamental semantic and pragmatic features underlie the formation of affixed interjections? In other words, what emotional connotations do affixed interjections convey?
- What can digital communication and literary dialogue, viewed through the Appraisal framework, reveal about the main evaluations of diminutive interjections? In which contexts are they found most often, and how do they differ between English and Polish?

To answer these questions, the study presented diminutive interjections in relation to their contexts of use, various formations, and their semantic features and important themes in English and Polish. Users of slang dictionaries suggest their various meanings, and their (in)frequent use in reference corpora, in Twitter, recipe blogs, fanfiction, and literary dialogue illustrate their emotional and interactional connotations.

8.1.1 Formation of affixed interjections

The first goal of this dissertation was to challenge the assumption that interjections are ‘morphologically simple’ and monomorphemic (e.g. Ameka 1992, Stange 2009), meaning that

they do not receive endings of any kind. Rather, the present study argued that interjections in English and Polish may receive affixes.

In Chapter 4, it was shown that diminutive and augmentative affixes and slang affixes could be attached to interjections in English and Polish. Of the two languages, Polish had the larger set of possibilities for slang, diminutive and augmentative endings due to possibilities for second- and third-degree diminutive formations on many base interjections, which created, for example, *narka!*, *narazka!*, *nareczka!* and *narazicho!* (< *nara!* ‘so long’). English was shown to be creative in its inventory of affixes as well. It has several slang endings used by youth and adults for ‘in-group’ identity, such as *-aroo* (*craparoo!*), *-s* (*oh noes!*), *-ski* (*lolski!*), and *-er* (*whoopser!*), and the diminutive *-y/-ie* suffix could be attached to many base interjections to form, for example, *eeksie!*, *owie!*, *wowie!*, *yuckie!* Therefore, it is clearly possible morphologically for interjections to receive endings.

The fact that diminutive interjections exist in English and Polish makes it seem necessary to revise the definition of interjections as follows:

An interjection is a meaningful and syntactically independent linguistic item which either expresses or displays the speaker’s current mental state, and may become polymorphemic by hosting derivational (i.e. diminutive, augmentative, and slang) morphemes.

This definition removes the often-used term *monomorphemic* and replaces it with the term *polymorphemic* because interjections may host derivational morphemes such as the diminutive affixes discussed in the present study. In addition, the definition reflects the fact that interjections are not necessarily automatic expressions of a current emotional state because they may be feigned for various reasons, such as social expectations (cf. 1.5). Also, since other languages like Polish may be more likely to attach diminutive or augmentative suffixes to interjections, the definition is less English-centric (i.e. following the rules of English interjections).

Of course, not all types of interjections receive affixes. Affixed interjections are generally limited to primary emotive interjections (for conveying emotion), contact interjections (for greeting, apologizing, and other types of routine formulae), and secondary emotive interjections (also for conveying emotion). The other types of interjections, such as descriptive interjections (e.g. *boom!*, *whack!*), cognitive interjections (e.g. *aha!*), and conative interjections (e.g. *shh!*),

were not examined because they receive affixes very rarely (e.g. *bammo!*). Thus, though conceptually and phonologically many interjections could receive a diminutive, augmentative, or slang affix, the social and emotional interjections typically receive expressive suffixes to intensify the emotion conveyed by the base interjection, or to add a certain emotion to a base interjection.

A quantitative analysis of several corpora showed that affixed interjections are rare in comparison with their unaffixed counterparts, especially in English. Moreover, as would be expected across such a varied linguistic landscape, some affixed interjections are used more frequently than others. The English affixed interjections with a normalized frequency above zero are *eeks!*, *(wh)oopsie!*, *ouchy!*, *ouchie!*, *owie!*, *wowie!*, *wowza!*, *yucks!*, *yuckie!*, *yucko!*, *yuckola!*, *sorries!*, *thankies!*, *lordy!*, *oh goodie!*, and *(oh) dearie (me)!* (and alternate spellings). From these, only *whoopsie!*, *oopsie!*, and *lordy!* have a normalized frequency over 10 (per 100 million words). In Polish, many affixed interjections have a normalized frequency above zero (if not above 10), including *siemka!* 'hi, how are you.DIM', *narka!* 'so long.DIM', *hejka!* 'hey.DIM', *papatki!* 'bye-bye.DIM', *(o)jejku!* 'oh dear.DIM', *jezusku!* 'Jesus.DIM' and *cholerka!* 'damn.DIM' (and spelling variants). Moreover, *hejka!*, *heja!*, *jejku!*, *siemka!* and *siemanko!* have a normalized frequency over fifty. This preliminary analysis suggests that in general, Polish affixed interjections may be about five times more frequent than English affixed interjections in standard corpora of written language.

Several affixed interjections appeared in *Urban Dictionary* but did not appear in any of the corpora during the quantitative analysis. These include *fuckorama!*, *fuckaroo!*, *fuckaroonie!*, *fuckarooski!*, *shitola!*, *hiyee!*, *whoazers!*, *whoaz!*, *oucher(s)!*, *ugha!*, *yayzello!*, *yayzor(s)!*, *lolski!* and *lolz!* Other affixed interjections are likely possible, but do not appear in either *Urban Dictionary* or in any of the corpora, such as **wowaroo!*, **oopsaroo!*, **whoopsarama!*, **Jesusie!*, and **good morningsies!* Interestingly, the most affected suffixes here are the slang *-(o)rama*, *-(a)roo*, *-ola*, and *-ski*, which tend to be attached to secondary interjections, especially *fuck!*, *shit!*, and *crap!* In addition, religious secondary interjections like *Jesus!* and *Christ!* are not suffixed in English (compared to Polish *Jezusku!*), along with many contact interjections of greeting and farewell. Therefore, it is likely that the specific base interjection largely informs the formation of affixed interjections, followed by the specific suffix.

Layperson definitions in *Urban Dictionary* suggested that the cause for attaching affixes to interjections are (most) frequently for emphasis; that is, to intensify the emotional content of the base interjection. The users also suggested that affixed interjections were also created to make interjections more interesting, and other times simply to make them more amusing, childish and/or jocular because the base was viewed as being mundane and lacking in emotional and/or attitudinal force. These functions usually placed the affixed interjection into slang-like and informal language for social affiliation between groups of friends and family. The definitions also showed some common perceptions that some affixed interjections are more frequently used by males than females; or, they are viewed as something a female would say because of associations with cutesy and childlike language.

These causes for creating and using affixed interjection directly tie into the present study's second research question about the semantic and pragmatic features of affixed interjections.

8.1.2 Semantic and pragmatic features

The second goal of this dissertation was to identify the semantic and pragmatic features of affixed forms of interjections based on layperson definitions in *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski*. We already know the typical semantic features of diminutives (e.g. Jurafsky 1996, Prieto 2005, Ponsonnet 2018), but the semantic and pragmatic features of slang, diminutive, and augmentative interjections have to date received less scholarly attention.

The *Urban Dictionary* and *Miejski* definitions were able to suggest several semantic and pragmatic features for affixed interjections. The following were identified for English: [+GOOD HUMOUR], [+NONSERIOUS], [+DRAMATIC HEIGHTENING], [+AMUSING], [+FEMALE], [+CUTE], and [+SILLY] and the semantic features [+INTENSE] and [+EXTREME]. The Polish online slang dictionary, *Miejski*, was not as thorough and extensive as *Urban Dictionary*; however, the following semantic and pragmatic features of Polish affixed interjections were identified: [+INTENSE], [+WARM], [+AFFECTIONATE], [+CUTE], and [+SILLY]. Three features are used in English and Polish: [+INTENSE], [+CUTE], and [+SILLY]. They features suggest that English and Polish affixed interjections intensify (emotional) meanings, may be positively viewed as attractive in a pretty or endearing way (i.e. 'cute'), or negatively viewed as absurd and foolish (i.e. 'silly').

Diminutive contact interjections like Polish *hejcia!* 'hey.DIM', *siemanko!* 'hi, how are you.DIM' and *papatki!* 'bye.DIM' work for social cohesion to establish and maintain friendly,

cheerful, warm, and/or intimate relations even to the very end of the interaction, as suggested through the features [+WARM] and [+AFFECTIONATE]. One user on *Miejski* stated that *siemanko!* is a 'joyful' greeting; that is, having an affectionate disposition. This finding is also supported by Szymański (2012), who writes that contact interjections are emotionally-loaded forms that arouse a positive, jocular, fun, and friendly atmosphere in an interaction. These emotions tend to lessen the distance between interlocutors; thus, in informal contexts there is a presupposition that they are positive lexical items. In English, however, diminutive contact interjections often invoke features of [+CUTE], [+SILLY], and [+FEMALE], which may cause the opposite effect of creating distance between interlocutors.

A diminutive interjection can convey negative meanings in sarcastic contexts and angry outbursts (discussed in terms of Appraisal in Chapter 7). The pronounced use of diminutives for sarcasm and irony on social media in political domains poses an interesting conundrum because the typical semantic associations of diminutives are [+DEAR], [+LITTLE], and [+CHILD]. Here, the negative associations of diminutives exploit emotional connotations of disapproval and feature [+CHILD] (in its negative sense of 'childish') to intensify insults and negative attitudes towards those people with whom a tweet writer strongly disagrees. Thus, using a diminutive interjection such as *whoopsie!* may amplify the negative situation by making the target seem childish, silly, incompetent, and small.

In the context of pain, the diminutive interjection tends to be serious and heightens emotional intensity. The DI helps to show the negative evaluation of the object or person causing the pain, while downplaying the expression of pain in some contexts by the features of [+SILLY], [+CHILD] and [+CUTE]. In other contexts, the pain can evoke negative outbursts where the DI occurs with swear words like *damn!* to highlight the seriousness of the situation. Sympathy, another type of reaction to pain, allows a hearer to imagine pain and emotionally connect with the other person, and sometimes Twitter users convey (stronger) sympathy through a diminutive suffix with English *owie!* and *ouchies!*, and Polish *jejku!* and *jejciu!*

The productive diminutive English -y suffix has inherently childish connotations that arise from its frequent use in nursery rhymes and baby-talk. Therefore, y-suffixed interjections including *whoopsie!*, *owie!*, and *wowie!* have associations with children and baby talk more so than their slang-affixed counterparts. Polish seems to operate in reverse: the productive and frequently-used -k- diminutive affix is creating new, (currently) acceptable words that are

becoming so well-incorporated into the language that palatalized and second-degree forms are constantly being added into the lexicon (e.g. *sorkil!*, *sorka!*, *soreczki!* < *sory!* ‘sorry’).

The various emotional connotations in a variety of contexts of text types conveyed by diminutive interjections may be divided into positive, playful, and negative emotions, based on Ponsonnet (2018) and Biały (2015). They are:

- Positive: admiration, affection, endearment, approval, delight, surprise, and excitement
- Playful: romantic/sexual feelings, flirtation, jocularity, fun, (playful) sarcasm, (self-) irony, and melodrama
- Negative: dismay, exasperation, compassion, contempt, sympathy, empathy, belittlement, anguish, negative surprise, disappointment, annoyance, disgust, unhappiness, and fear

Diminutive interjections are also, though less frequently, found in contexts of anger. The present study divided these emotional connotations into three chapters from an Appraisal standpoint: positive connotations such as admiration in Chapter 5, playful and sarcastic connotations in Chapter 6, and negative connotations such as pain and sympathy in Chapter 7.

8.1.3 Appraisal

The third goal of this dissertation was to identify resources of Appraisal used in diminutively-suffixed interjections in several text types (Twitter, literary dialogue from Google Books, fanfiction and comments, and recipe blogs and comments). Resources of Involvement were also considered where relevant.

The study found that diminutive interjections typically indicate positive APPRECIATION in positive contexts, negative JUDGEMENT in playful and sarcastic contexts, and negative AFFECT in negative contexts. The objects and events which evoked positive appraisals include grilling roundups, salads, body parts (e.g. shoulders, a smile), a TV episode, and cinnamon rolls, which were evaluated with (often amplified) adjectives such as *delicious/delish*, *brilliant*, *glorious*, and *colorful and fun*. The judgements of people focused on how special, dependable, or capable they were perceived to be with adjectives such as *bad*, *self-obsessed* and *careless* along with the nouns *moron* and *imbecile*. In the more sarcastic/ironic comments, some sentences convey an opposite meaning, e.g. *aren't you the lucky one* and *those bad meanies*. It was shown how the DIs (*oh*) *goodie!*, *whoopsie!*, and *wowee!* in these contexts are negated; they mean *not good*, *not a mistake*,

and *not wow*. Expressions of pain, disgust, fear, anger, and sympathy conveyed behaviours and dispositions of unhappiness, insecurity, dissatisfaction, and disinclination with *I hate X*, *tears*, *anguish*, *terror*, and *whine*.

In terms of Graduation, it was shown that diminutive interjections in positive and playful contexts are used to express raised FORCE but that raised FORCE appeared less frequently in negative contexts. It is likely, that the minimal use of raised FORCE in negative contexts reflects the established fact that diminutives tend to disfavor strongly negative emotions such as fear or anger (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1997). DIs are able to convey high intensity negative emotions in situations of terror or anguish at the sudden death of a loved one. When referring to oneself, the emotional upset is typically foregrounded while the speaker's expression of pain (e.g. 'X hurts me physically') is backgrounded, lending support to the notion that diminutive interjections are 'complex' linguistic items psychologically (Lockyer 2015a).

Literary dialogue and fanfiction use reporting verbs of AFFECT, such as high intensity *wail* and low intensity *cry* to convey misery, *chuckle* and *laugh* to convey cheer, or *tremble* and *shudder* to convey fear. In digital communication, reporting verbs are replaced with emoticons; smiley faces show positive AFFECT, sad faces show negative AFFECT. Similarly, literary dialogue and fanfiction use adjectives that function to convey Attitude (i.e. JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION, or AFFECT) and/or Graduation (i.e. FORCE or FOCUS). The Attitude categories of APPRECIATION and AFFECT clarify the evaluative landscape and help systematically categorize the connotations/evaluations of the DIs. The present study has seen adjectives such as *plain* and *boring* used as part of the APPRECIATION lexis. JUDGEMENT lexis such as *witty* admires a person's capability and *bad* condemns a person's propriety. In digital communication, these lexical items are replaced with vaguer emojis (e.g. clapping hands may show positive JUDGEMENT).

Of course, not all text types are the same. Recipe blog comments are primarily positive and often pay compliments and gratitude towards the recipe author for posting the recipe. We would expect positive DIs to appear most frequently in this genre. Literary dialogue provides a wide variety of meanings for DIs; however, the rarer forms are not found in fiction. Therefore, literary dialogue is of little use for the study of rare forms such as *ughie!*, *whoaee!*, *heysies!* and *byesies!* Fanfiction dialogue has a greater chance of yielding lesser-used forms than published works of fiction because of its online platform. Twitter arguably contains most, if not all, possible

diminutive interjections, but the lack of context, spelling/grammatical mistakes, and frequent use by children and youth cause difficulty with interpretation.

In Chapter 6, emotional connotations of romantic/sexual love and flirtation were associated with male-female dichotomies and lovers' language in excerpts of *Harlequin*-type literary dialogue and fanfiction. It was found that females in literary texts may use *whoopsie(s)!* to make themselves seem smaller, more endearing, and silly for a male's affection. That is, female characters sometimes deliberately diminish their size using qualifiers of lowered Graduation in order to appear 'cute' and baby-like. Their body language, paralinguistic gestures, and childlike playfulness contribute to an image that supports Jurafsky's (1996) associations of diminutives with females and children, and the feature [FLIRT] posited by Prieto (2005). The main difference is that the female characters in these fictional works use these stereotypes as games that are planned and implemented on the (un)suspecting male.

Diminutive interjections were also used in the construction of intimacy and affiliation through Involvement. Following Eggins and Slade (1997), the dissertation considered two main Involvement resources that play a role in realizing and varying the level of intimacy; naming (e.g. endearments, diminutives) and swearing (e.g. *fn*). Naming appeared most explicitly in the positive, playful, and sarcastic contexts explored in Chapters 5 and 6, with endearments like *darlin'*, *dearie*, the endearment *Tai Tai* for the speaker's grandmother, *Eddie* (< *Eduardo*), *little-bit*, and Polish *Sebuś* (< *Sebastian*) and *Netka* (< *Natalia*). Swearing with *bullshit*, *fn*, *fuck*, *hell*, *dang it*, and *fucking GOD* occurred in sarcastic and angry contexts to amplify the negative Attitude of the utterance. Of course, full first names and examples without swear words also appear, suggesting that endearments and swear words are not necessary to convey the evaluation expressed by the DI.

Overall, the findings of the present study have shown important implications for how interjections are categorized morphologically in English and Polish written language because the present study has shown that interjections are not as morphologically simple as previously thought. Not only are the base interjections complex and difficult to define, but their affixed forms produce more complexity and semantic-pragmatic nuances that create a multi-layered group of interjections.

8.2 Limitations

First, and perhaps most importantly, the present study is qualitative and does not claim to have provided every possible context where affixed interjections are used, and neither does it cover every text type. In addition, because of the qualitative approach taken in the study, the results were not tested to discover whether they are statistically reliable and therefore cannot be applied to a broader context than the one under examination. Moreover, because the present study did not look at spontaneous spoken language, the results reported cannot be applied to everyday speech.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell which emotional connotation is primarily intended in a certain context. This may occur because diminutive connotations are largely subjective and involve multiple layers of feelings; there is usually a primary emotion from the base, and additional emotional connotations evoked by the diminutive suffix.

Twitter is used by monolinguals and multi-linguals across the globe; thus, it is likely that many of the examples used in this study were from multi-linguals. The Polish tweets and blog comments were more than likely written by those who have studied English to at least an intermediate level because the educational system in Poland requires students to learn (British) English alongside multiple other European languages such as German and Russian. As the lingua franca in Europe, a high level of fluency in English is required in many jobs. Therefore, English cultural values and linguistic expressions have likely influenced the use of the diminutive interjections in Polish.

This dissertation has focused more on English than Polish because previous scholarly research showed a greater need for an analysis of English diminutives than the well-researched Polish ones. In addition, Google Books provided fewer Polish literary dialogues than English, and many contemporary literary texts in Polish are translations from English or other languages and thus do not adequately display native-Polish language use. Therefore, a future direction for this study would be to collect a larger corpus of Polish contemporary fiction by native Polish authors and look at atypical uses of diminutive interjections, such as sarcasm and anger. This would provide a more accurate portrayal of diminutive interjections across the contexts not found in the present study.

8.3 Future directions

The present study should be considered as a first step in exploring affixed interjections in English and other languages. It would be interesting to add other text types and spontaneous spoken dialogue in order to discover the extent to which these findings appear in other modes of communication. Because of variation between Englishes, it would also be interesting to analyze these results according to their regional and independent varieties (e.g. Australian English, Canadian English, Jamaican English, and Euro-English). We also need to find out more about affixed interjections in relation to sociolinguistic factors such as age and gender, which have been shown to be important for diminutives.

There has been a focus on feelings ‘of the heart’ that are realized through emotive interjections. This focus provided little room for a discussion of social cohesion and the communicative functions of diminutive contact interjections such as English *thankies!*, *sorries!*, *goodnighty!* and *hellosies!*, and the Polish *dzieńdoberek!* ‘good day.DIM’, *cześćcik!* ‘hi/bye.DIM’ and *dobrej nocki!* ‘good night.DIM’. These affixed interjections also appear in languages such as Czech, Slovak, Russian, German, and Italian. A critical discourse analysis study of, e.g. telephone dialogue would provide an interesting cross-cultural analysis of the features and functions of spoken contact DIs.

It also should be taken into account that much of the diminutive use of interjections resides in areas of usage far away from standard Polish; in fact, some of the narratives included in the study are prime examples of what a Polish speaker would describe as ‘grafomania’. While there are well-established DIs in Polish that appear in standard language (e.g. *jejku!*), there are several diminutive interjections in Polish which may be best viewed as non-standard, such as *cholercia!* and *mniamku!* However, this difference in register seems to contradict Haman’s (2003: 43) observation “that almost any potential [diminutive] innovation can be found as a correct, acceptable word in standard adult Polish.” An interesting direction of research would be to examine the register of diminutive interjections in present-day Polish (and English), along with any areas of on-going change.

Another interesting avenue of cross-cultural study would consider the acquisition and use of affixed interjections by multi-linguals. Does their native language, or their knowledge of additional languages, influence their use of affixed interjections? Slovak learners of English have

been shown to add diminutives to English words like *snail-ik* (for *snail*). Would they likewise be more likely to add diminutive or augmentative affixes to interjections, or might they refrain from using affixed interjections because of the language taught in their English classrooms? Finally, translators of adult fiction and children's books might prove instructive in the transfer of affixed interjections between languages.

Stange's (2016) study of interjections as used by children vs. adults may provide a starting point for a similar study of affixed interjections. Because Ponsonnet (2018) writes that the 'deeper' emotional connotations of diminutives stem their 'mild' connotations typically used by children, we would expect children to use affixed interjections with positive, endearing, and mildly unhappy emotional connotations instead of romantic/sexual love, empathy, humility, self-irony, and respect. However, since Stange (2016) has shown that children use emotive interjections more frequently than adults, it is possible that children may use affixed emotive interjections in more contexts and for different emotional connotations than adults. Finally, following Stange's (2016: 204) suggestion, it may be fruitful to examine the data of adolescents in order to bridge the gap between child and adult use of affixed interjection.

In Chapter 1, I suggested how diminutive interjections with -y may differ from 'slang' and alternate 'diminutive' interjections (e.g. *nighty-night!/nighto!*). These alternate forms were not discussed in the main study. In my view, the slang versions are less likely to be perceived as childish or 'lover's talk'. In future studies, an analysis of the 'slang' and augmentative forms may help solidify how diminutive interjections are used in comparison with augmentative interjections.

Throughout this dissertation, I have noted ideas and linguistic items that could benefit from further study. Some remaining questions that deserve further consideration include:

- What is the diminutive function of slang suffixes that end with -ee, such as the -siree suffix (e.g. *yessiree*)? Does the sound symbolism of /i/ give them any diminutive meanings?
- How have the core functions and connotations of affixed interjections changed over time?
- How can we bridge the divisions between different interpretations of the -y suffix, which has been referred to as a 'familiarity marker', 'hypocorism', 'diminutive suffix', slang, etc.?

- How can we view affixed descriptive interjections such as *?bammo!*, which have base interjections not typically associated with emotions?
- Do diminutive interjections have implications for understanding meaning-making and/or affiliation in discourse communities?

Affixed interjections clearly merit further investigation from qualitative and quantitative angles. Goffman (1978: 814) writes that “[interjections] are too commonly met with in daily life [...] to justify scholarly neglect.” After all, interjections are used by many on a daily basis. Diminutives and augmentatives, too, justify scholarly study. Ponsonnet (2014: 109) writes that diminutives “display a clearer focus on the expression of positive emotional connections between people.” As shown in this study, diminutive interjections play a curious role for creating distance between speaker and hearer when used sarcastically, or lessen the difference in positive romantic contexts. Interjections “act as ‘symptoms’ of the speaker’s state of mind” (Stange 2016: 205) as do affixed interjections, which, while much rarer than their base forms, are essential to the language of emotion in self-talk and interaction.

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