

Editorial

Diachronic pragmatics: New perspectives on recent developments of spoken English

1. Introduction

Diachronic pragmatics as a field of studies deals with the historical developments of language usage. As such it is a subfield of the more comprehensive field of historical pragmatics. Historical pragmatics investigates all kinds of historical aspects of language usage and as such is also interested in synchronic descriptions of patterns of language usage in earlier periods of specific languages. These may be relatively short, if the works by specific authors, e.g., Geoffrey Chaucer or William Shakespeare, are under investigation, or they may extend over several centuries. Such studies often focus on the synchronicity of specific usage patterns and largely ignore their diachronic variability. Diachronic pragmatics, on the other hand, focuses specifically on the development of usage patterns over time. In a first step, this might be a comparison between an earlier and a later situation. This is very similar to contrastive pragmatics in which two, or more, different linguacultures are compared, except that in a diachronic description, the two varieties under comparison are ordered as an earlier and a later variety with an implicit or explicit understanding that the latter developed out of the former. In a second step, diachronic pragmatics shifts from a comparison across time to a truly diachronic one, in which not only the different manifestations of pragmatic entities at different times are in the focus of the investigation but the actual trajectories that lead from one to the other (see [Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013](#) for an overview). In this Virtual Special Issue both the contrastive and the diachronic perspective are represented.

Traditionally, diachronic pragmatics and historical pragmatics in general had to rely on written data to explore changes of usage patterns across time (see, e.g., the contributions to [Kytö Merja and Walker Terry 2018](#)). In the early work, this was done with apologetic excuses about the lack of actual records of spoken language and with an attempt to investigate types of written language that could be argued to be as close as possible to spoken language (e.g., drama texts, courtroom proceedings or private correspondence; see for instance [Culpeper and Kytö 2000](#) or [Kytö 2010](#) for details). In later work, attitudes changed, and all kinds of written data were investigated in their own right on the assumption that pragmatics needs to be able to

describe and analyze all kinds of communicative interactions, whether spoken or written. In the process, spoken language lost its privileged status as the only kind of data appropriate for pragmatic theorizing (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: chapter 2).

However, spoken language and its immediacy of interaction have continued to fascinate historical pragmaticists. For the more distant past, we do not have any direct access to instantiations of spoken language, but in recent years, new tools and data sources have become available that make it possible to investigate the diachronicity of spoken language in its more recent history. This is the topic of this Virtual Special Issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics*. It combines four papers that explore in four different ways how such sources can be used to investigate diachronic developments in actual spoken language across the live spans of one, two or even up to four generations.

In the following section, we are going to provide an overview of some of these new sources that have become available as well as some previous work that has already made use of these sources. In Section 3, we have a closer look at diachronic trajectories from long-term trajectories spanning several centuries to life-time trajectories that span only a few decades. A little more than half a century ago, Labov (1963, 1972) made the crucial conceptual step to link historical linguistics to sociolinguistics with its focus on short-term developments. According to this view, processes of language change over centuries (the realm of historical linguistics) is closely linked to the processes at work in language change from one generation to the next (the remit of sociolinguistics). It is now time to extend this step to historical pragmatics. In Section 4, we discuss potential analytic levels of pragmatic change in spoken language and how this new research program on the diachronic pragmatics of spoken language can contribute to our understanding of the relation between language use, discourse norms and socio-cultural changes as well as of the general evolution of pragmatic domains and linguacultures. Section 5, finally, will give an outline of the papers assembled in this Virtual Special Issue together with a brief outlook to future research opportunities.

2. New data sources

Two overlapping developments of recent years have radically changed the situation for the investigation of the diachronicity of actual spoken language. One development concerns the increased availability of audio and video archives of spoken language that have recently become available, and the other concerns the considerable increase in the availability of corpora of spoken language with a historical dimension.

Archives of audio and video recordings provide direct access to samples of spoken language of the past. Depending on the quality of the recording, they preserve all the phonetic and phonological details that are necessary for an analysis. As a technical innovation, sound recordings have a history that goes back to the second half of the nineteenth century. These were first invented by Edouard-Léon Scott de Martinville in France in 1857, and again by the U.S. American Thomas Alva Edison in 1877 (<https://www.nps.gov/edis/learn/historyculture/origins-of-sound-recording-the-inventors.htm>). But the early recordings that are readily available appear to consist of a few sentences, a poem, a nursery rhyme, or a children's song. There is generally no interaction in these early recordings and, therefore, little potential for pragmatic analyses (but see the phonograph recordings of what seem to be elicited and scripted narratives in South Estonian Kraasna collected by the Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu in 1914; Weber 2021). However, some archives have now become available that contain conversational material that goes back to the middle of the last century.

In the early 1920s, the first commercial radio news programs and entertainment programs were aired in the United States (https://hancockhistoricalmuseum.org/i-love-the-1920s/1920s-radio/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=1920s-radio). Only a few years later, the first sound movies containing longer stretches of dialog were released (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Jazz-Singer-film-1927>). During the 1960s, audiocassettes began to be sold for home use (<https://www.britannica.com/technology/magnetic-recording>), providing a cheap tool for everybody to make sound recordings. The Newport Beach corpus, a collection of American English telephone conversations between two elderly sisters and their family and friends, is an early testimony of audiotaped mundane interactions widely studied in Conversation Analysis (<https://ca.talkbank.org/access/Jefferson/NB.html>). The production of commercial sound film cameras for private use in the 1970s paved the way for the first home movies (<https://history.nebraska.gov/collections/saving-memories-home-movies>) and the study of gesture and embodied interaction (Kendon and Ferber 1973; Mondada 2013).

The databases studied in this VSI largely reflect this technological evolution of sound and film recordings. Jucker and Landert (2015), for instance, used the audio archive of a long running BBC radio program "Desert Island Discs", which goes back to the 1950s and provides audio files of the program that continue right up to the present day. Reber (2023) uses an archive of audio and video recordings of a very different type. Her material consists of recordings of Prime Minister's Question Time, which was first radio broadcast in 1978, and televised in 1989. Since 2002, the video recordings have also been broadcast and are retrievable online. Such sources of audio (and video) recordings provide direct access to specific and highly contextualized varieties of spoken interactions. As such, they provide a unique source for the investigation of spoken data from a diachronic perspective, but they require a laborious process of transforming the recordings into detailed transcriptions. Jucker and Landert (2015) as well as Reber (2021, 2023), therefore, had to rely on a small selection of the available material.

In some cases, archives of actual spoken interactions are already available in transcribed form. The *Hansard Corpus*, for instance, contains the official record of the oral proceedings in the British parliament and spans from 1803 to 2005. It is based on reporters' minute-taking in the House which may be revised and edited in the process (e.g., Jordan 1931, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/about>). The comparison between the audio and video recordings of parliamentary proceedings and Hansard lays bare stark differences in the wording and the representation of interactional dimensions during parliamentary sessions,

which has led [Slembrouck \(1992\)](#) to argue that “the Hansard report systematically masks the spoken nature of the debate” ([Slembrouck 1992](#): 10; see also [Mollin 2007](#); [Reber 2021](#) for discussion). This then raises the implication that not all historical written sources of spoken data provide equal access to the original wording of sequences of speech. [Sealey and Bates \(2016\)](#), for instance, appear to treat the transcripts in Hansard as a text type of its own, indexical of “political processes in themselves” ([Sealey and Bates 2016](#): 21). [Clayman and Heritage \(2022, 2023\)](#), on the other hand, simply acknowledge the use of the archive of US presidential news conferences (*Public Papers of the Presidents*, 1953–2000), an archive that is already available in the form of transcripts.

Such archives, whether in the form of audio and video files or in the form of more or less literal transcription, were generally compiled for historical or cultural and political purposes rather than linguistic investigations. However, a large range of corpora that have recently become available were compiled with linguistic analyses as one of their main purposes. The second development that has changed the feasibility of investigating the diachronicity of actual spoken language concerns the increasing availability of corpora of spoken language with a historical dimension. Corpora have been an important part of empirical linguistics for at least three decades now with some corpora going back to the 1960s and 1970s (see [Landert et al. 2023](#) for an overview). However, most of the early corpora relied predominantly or entirely on written language. It is only recently that the spoken components have become more prominent and that corpora consisting entirely of spoken language have become available. At the same time, more and more corpora are now available with a dedicated historical dimension (see [Table 1](#) for a relevant selection).

Table 1
A selection of spoken language corpora.

Corpus	# words	Dialect	Time period	Genre(s)
Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): Spoken ^a https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/	126 million	American	1990–2019	Spoken
The TV Corpus https://www.english-corpora.org/tv/	325 million	6 countries	1950–2018	TV shows
The Movie Corpus https://www.english-corpora.org/movies/	200 million	6 countries	1930–2018	Movies
Corpus of American Soap Operas https://www.english-corpora.org/soap/	100 million	American	2001–2012	TV shows
Hansard Corpus https://www.english-corpora.org/hansard/	1.6 billion	British	1803–2005	Parliament
London-Lund Corpus 1 and 2 (LLC-1, LLC-2) https://projekt.ht.lu.se/llc2/	0.5 million words each	British	1950s–1980s, 2014–2019	Face-to-face and phone conversations
British National Corpus (BNC1994, BNC2014) Spoken natcorp.ox.ac.uk , corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014	10 million words each	British	1980s–early 1990s, 2012–2016	Spoken

^a COCA is a balanced corpus with eight different genres and a total of one billion words. Apart from the Section “Spoken” which consists largely of radio shows, it also contains a section “TV/Movies”. The material in this section is extracted from the *TV Corpus* and the *Movie Corpus*.

The *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), the *TV Corpus*, the *Movie Corpus*, the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* and the *Hansard Corpus* provide continuous timelines extending over several decades or even centuries. These constitute compilations of written transcripts, scripts, subtitles and/or official reports of spoken language use. COCA covers three decades from 1990 to 2019. Its spoken part contains mainly material from radio shows, but it also includes samples from the *TV Corpus* and the *Movie Corpus*. The *TV Corpus* covers material from 1950 to 2018 and the *Movie Corpus* from 1930 to 2018. The *Hansard Corpus* is by far the largest corpus of spoken material. It consists of 1.6 billion words and covers the period from 1803 to 2005 (see <http://english-corpora.org> for details and for access to these corpora; see also [Landert et al. 2023](#) for a detailed overview of the status of corpora in pragmatic research). In some cases, existing corpora from the last century with spoken components have recently added a second edition with more recent material. The *London-Lund Corpus of Spoken British English* (LLC), for instance, has received a recent update. The first of the two *London-Lund Corpora* (LLC–1; [Greenbaum and Svartvik 1990](#)) represented a pioneer enterprise, containing a broad range of spoken language material including face-to-face interactions, telephone conversations, parliamentary and legal proceedings, and prepared speeches. The recordings of the original version date from the 1950s to the 1980s, a period during which audio recordings were still costly and required a material-intensive production (see [Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis 2023](#)). A recent update has now become available with parallel material recorded in the period from 2014 to 2019. In a similar fashion, the *Spoken British National Corpus 2014* (Spoken BNC2014) is an update of the spoken component of the original *British National Corpus*. The original version contained material collected in the 1980s and early 1990s while the material of the update was gathered between 2012 and 2016 (see <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014/> for details).

It is useful to visualize the different types of sources and the relation that they have to the actual words spoken in a particular conversational situation on a scale (see [Fig. 1](#)). Authentic audio and video recordings are closest to the actual conversation, but even such recordings are an abstraction. They necessarily lose some of the original context in which the conversational exchange took place. Depending on the placement of the microphones and cameras, they record some details

and leave out others that might also have been relevant. In mediated video footage, the analytic access is beyond the control of the researcher, being “naturally” constrained by the professional scene editing, camera direction, and orchestrated use of microphones. This methodological problem used to be solely addressed as a drawback of using media broadcasts but has been increasingly discussed with respect to self-recorded video material in Conversation Analysis (Mondada 2019). Mere reports about a conversational event are furthest removed from the actual situation because they may summarize or paraphrase what was said and leave out much of the actual content.

The sources that we are interested in are situated between these two extremes. COCA, the *TV Corpus*, the *Movie Corpus* and the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* all rely on existing transcriptions of varying quality. Mark Davies, the compiler of these corpora, and his team used these transcriptions because they were readily available on the Internet. They fall into the categories of subtitles and institutional third-party transcripts and do not follow linguistic standards of transcriptions. The *Hansard Corpus*, as pointed out above, was also prepared for non-linguistic purposes. It is committed to the accuracy of what people said and meant rather than to how they said it. By design, *Hansard* adheres to “the written paradigm as the socially prestigious means of recording and officialdom” (Slembrouck 1992:108). The *London-Lund Corpus* and the spoken part of the *British National Corpus*, on the other hand, were transcribed on the basis of linguistic principles and standards of accuracy. They are, therefore, closer to the linguistic realities of the actual conversational exchanges. Transcripts prepared by the researchers themselves depend on the specific research purposes. They can include prosodic, phonetic and even non-verbal details that general purpose linguistic transcriptions have to ignore, or they can leave out some of the details if they are of little interest for a specific research project. Note that the spectrum of sources for the diachronic study of spoken language use and their degree of authenticity illustrated in Fig. 1 should be regarded as a dynamic continuum rather than a fixed state of affairs. Sources may be manually adapted to fit the researcher’s needs. For example, authentic audio and video recordings always need to be transcribed for analytic purposes. Linguistic third-party transcripts can be customized by repeated listening to the recordings and adding prosodic detail. The practices of creating institutional third-party transcripts as we know them today may have evolved historically. One and the same source may contain summarizing reports on what was said as well as institutional third-party transcripts (e.g., *Hansard*).

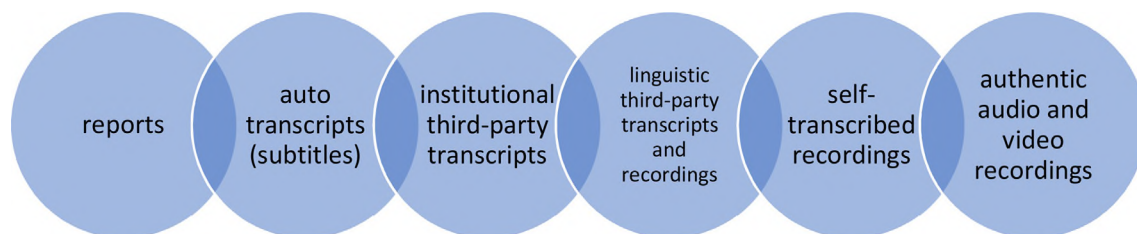


Fig. 1. Data sources in the historical study of spoken language use since the 20th century.

All these new data sources have their strengths and weaknesses (many of which are discussed in detail in the four contributions to this Virtual Special Issue), but in spite of their weaknesses, they offer new and exciting research perspectives for diachronic pragmatics. Drawing on these new resources, this Virtual Special Issue presents contributions that combine a diachronic pragmatic perspective with an interest in spoken English and dimensions of change, and, by doing so, explores the potential of these new tools. The contributions demonstrate the forte of a spoken language approach in diachronic pragmatics, exploring the role of evolving genres and activities in the historical study of language use, and showing the breadth of methodologies deployed, and variety of data sources to be studied.

This Virtual Special Issue focuses on English language data. This provides some additional coherence and comparability across the four articles in this issue, and it is perhaps true that a larger range of resources has recently come to light for English than for other languages. But it is to be hoped that similar investigations for many different languages and language families will soon follow.

3. Time depth in diachronic pragmatics

The issue of time depth leads to a variety of questions: First, what is the necessary time span to identify change in spoken language use? In the 1960s, it marked a radically new insight that we do not need to study the development of a language across centuries to observe change in the sound system of a linguistic variety.

Language variation and change are socially motivated (Labov 1963, 1972), and “ongoing processes [of change] can be observed in the course of one or two generations”, i.e., during periods ranging from 25 to 50 years (Weinreich et al. 1968: 103). Later, Labov suggested that ongoing sound change can be detected even faster in datasets comprising 13–50 years (“a minimum of a half generation to a maximum of two”; Labov 1981: 177). In an apparent-time study, variation across age groups at a certain point in time is observed (Labov 1994: 45–46). A real-time study examines variation and change within a language community comparing two (or more) periods over time (Labov 1994: 73). Mair (2002) comments that change

happens in the linguistic domains at different paces. Lexical change should be observable faster than phonetic change, while the process of observable syntactic change should take longer (Mair 2002: Fn 2). To our knowledge, the pace at which pragmatic change happens has not been investigated.

The studies assembled in this Virtual Special Issue suggest that noticeable pragmatic change may happen relatively quickly. Reber (2023) in her investigation of paying tribute during Prime Minister's Question Time focuses on two time periods that are roughly one generation apart (1978–1988 versus 2003–2013). Clayman and Heritage (2023) on journalistic questioning focus on twice that period in their investigation of presidential press conferences (1950–2000). In their study on all-cleft constructions, Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis (2023) extend the diachrony to about sixty years (1950–80 versus 2014–19) while Jucker and Landert (2023) on im/politeness cover almost a century (1930–2019), and thus trace usage patterns across nearly four generations.

To what extent diachronic changes are observable depends not only on the length of the time period under investigation but also on the nature of the data itself. The recent pandemic has shown that interactional practices can change within weeks (see Mondada et al. 2020a, b on doing greetings and paying as cases in point). Some genres or activities may develop more slowly or more quickly than others. Political discourse in highly regulated and traditional contexts but also shaped by specific powerful participants (Reber 2023; Clayman and Heritage 2023) may well be very different in this respect than fictional interactions produced for the movie screen with its own regulations (some even with legal implications, e.g., in the case of the use of swearwords; Jucker and Landert 2023). And both of these may be very different from spontaneous, everyday interactions (Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis 2023). All these domains of language use evolve in interdependence with changing social norms and structures. More work will be needed to explore time frames of pragmatic change on a larger basis.

4. Analytic levels of pragmatic change

A fundamental question in the study of diachronic pragmatics is on what levels of spoken language use processes of change can be observed. Past research has suggested that pragmatic change can occur on these levels.

- Marginal elements, such as *er* and *erm*, so called planners or hesitation phenomena (Jucker and Landert 2015)
- Discourse markers, such as *well* and *like*. Here pragmatic change is tightly interwoven with the grammaticalization of the discourse markers (Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen, 2002 on *but*; Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen, 2011 on *and*; Reber 2021 on *he said*).
- More generally, syntactic units of any size, including words, e.g., swearwords (Jucker and Landert 2023), phrases, and clauses, e.g., all-cleft constructions (Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis 2023)
- Discourse relations, e.g., contrast (Reber 2021), and more generally, rhetorical strategies, e.g., of persuasion
- Action formation, e.g., questioning (Clayman and Heritage 2023), paying tribute (Reber 2023) and specific speech acts (requesting, commanding, promising, complaining, greeting, complimenting to mention just a few)
- Turn taking, e.g., changes in interruptions and overlap with regard to institutional roles (Jacobi and Schweers 2017)
- Courses of actions and genres, e.g., enticing sequences (Reber 2021)

Research on these domains is in its early beginnings, while other domains relevant to the diachrony of spoken language use are not researched at all. To our knowledge, it has only scarcely been investigated how prosodic patterns in naturally occurring talk evolve over time. For example, Boula de Mareüil et al. (2008) analysis of 10 hours of French broadcast news from 1940 to 1995 demonstrates the potential of the study of prosodic change. Their formal analysis shows a tendency towards less mean pitch, less prominent word-initial stress and a reduced lengthening of penultimate nasal vowels before pauses especially since the 1960s but does not link the observed development to the functional environment in which these prosodic features are used. In a similar vein, change in gesture or bodily movements in general has not been studied systematically from a functional perspective. We have already referred to the rapid changes in embodied action formats during the pandemic. Like lexico-semantic change, the evolution of gesture can be interrelated with technical progress and the invention of new material objects. For example, the call-me hand gesture with the little finger and thumb extended is iconic of landline telephone speakers. Following the invention of smartphones, casual observation suggests that this gesture is still deployed by the older generation while a new gesture iconic of smartphones (a flat palm to the side of the speaker's face) seems to have become conventionalized among at least some of the digital natives (Evans 2020; Schöller et al. 2019).

More research in these areas from a diachronic pragmatic perspective on spoken language will have the potential to answer more general questions about how language use changes over time, including the following: What drives pragmatic change? How does change in language use relate to discourse norms and sociocultural change, e.g. brought about by shifting ideologies? Mair (2006) suggests that discourse norms represent an “interface mediating between structural-linguistic change on the one hand, and sociocultural changes on the other – a field of inquiry in which more is speculated about than is properly understood” (Mair 2006: 182; see also Leech et al. 2009: 12 for a discussion).

What kinds of changes on the micro level of language use are facilitated by changes on the macro level of languages use? For example, Reber (2021) argues that the grammaticalization of the discourse marker *he said* was furthered by longer – and thus more interactional – question-answer sequences between the leader of the opposition and the prime minister during Prime Minister's Questions in the British House of Commons, which rose from an average of two question-answer sequences

per session during the period of 1978–1988 to six question-answer sequences between 2003 and 2013. The other way round, what kinds of changes on the macro level are fostered by changes on the micro level of language use? From a comparative perspective, we may ask: Which pragmatic change is divergent, which is convergent across multimodal and pragmatic domains as well as linguacultures?

5. The contributions in this issue

The four articles combined in this Virtual Special Issue illustrate some of the relevant dimensions of diachronic pragmatics of spoken language (see Table 2), and they give an idea of the type of pragmatic entities that might be investigated from this perspective. Two of the papers (Reber 2023; Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis 2023) adopt a contrastive approach. They compare a set of earlier data with a set of more recent data. Reber compares an early set of recordings of UK Prime Minister's Question Time (1978–1988) with a more recent one (2003–2013) while Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis (2023) use the original version of the *London-Lund Corpus* with recordings from the 1950s to the 1980s with the London-Lund Material from 2014 to 2019. The other two contributions follow a roughly continuous timeline. Clayman and Heritage (2023) trace US presidential press conferences from 1950 to 2000, and Jucker and Landert investigate politeness and impoliteness in movies from the 1930s up to the 2010s.

Two of the contributions are concerned with a single activity within political discourse (Reber 2023; Clayman and Heritage 2023). They are based on relatively small corpora and more qualitatively based analyses. The other two contributions investigate conversational behavior in more general contexts (Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis 2023; Jucker and Landert 2023). They both explore relatively large corpora.

Table 2
Dimensions of diachronic pragmatics in this Virtual Special Issue.

	Political discourse small, single genre corpora	Conversations ^a , large multi-purpose corpora
Contrastive approach (early versus later period)	Reber (2023) UK Prime Minister's Question Time 1978-88 versus 2003–2013	Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis (2023) <i>London-Lund Corpus</i> 1950s–80s versus 2014-19
Diachronic approach (timeline development)	Clayman and Heritage (2023) US presidential press conferences 1950–2000	Jucker and Landert (2023) <i>Movie Corpus</i> 1930–2019

^a The term “conversations”, as it is used here, refers loosely to spoken discourse in general and not only to mundane interaction, as is often the case in Conversation Analysis.

Thus, the four papers demonstrate a range of different starting points for plotting pragmatic change across time. Reber (2023), Clayman and Heritage (2023) and Jucker and Landert (2023) all start with specific speech functions and explore their changing realisations across time. For Reber, this is a very narrow function, i.e. paying tribute, restricted to a specific situation within parliamentary discourse. Clayman and Heritage trace the considerably broader discourse function of asking questions, but still within a narrow and rather specific text type, presidential press conferences. Jucker and Landert's discourse function is clearly much broader still. It concerns ways of being polite and impolite in a large range of (fictional) interactions. Seitanidi, Pöldvere and Paradis (2023), on the other hand, take a specific construction as their starting point, i.e. *all*-clefts, and trace the development of its functional profile across time.

Together, the four papers also demonstrate a range of resources that have recently become available and a range of different approaches. They make a strong case for further work on actual spoken language of the past. Historical pragmatics has learned to investigate historical patterns of language use and their diachronic developments on the available basis of written language. For English, these records reach back for more than a millennium. The availability of historical recordings of spoken language is much more restricted, but more and more resources are now available that allow a diachronic investigation of actual spoken language. This is an important and significant addition to the existing work in historical, and more specifically, diachronic pragmatics.

6. List of contributions

Reber, Elisabeth, 2023. On the ritualization of commemorative practices: Paying tribute in British Prime Minister's Questions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 214, 92–106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.05.008>.

Clayman, Steven E., Heritage, John, 2023. Pressuring the President: Changing language practices and the growth of political accountability. *Journal of Pragmatics* 207, 62–74. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.01.014>.

Seitanidi, Eleni, Pöldvere, Nele, Paradis, Carita, 2023. *All*-cleft construction in the London-Lund Corpora of spoken English: Empirical and methodological perspectives. *Journal of Pragmatics* 207, 78–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.02.003>.

Jucker, Andreas H., Landert, Daniela, 2023. The diachrony of im/politeness in American and British movies (1930–2019). *Journal of Pragmatics* 209, 123–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2023.02.020>.

Declaration of competing interest

No conflict of interest.

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