

How to Cite:

Grzega, J. (2021). The linguistic impact of coronavirus on online service offers in Spain as well as France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the UK. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(1), 31-42. <https://doi.org/10.37028/lingcure.v5n1.82>

The Linguistic Impact of Coronavirus on Online Service Offers in Spain as well as France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the UK

Joachim Grzega

University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (Germany) & VHS Donauwörth (Germany)

Abstract---Service offers from online platforms in Spain, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the UK since the COVID-19-related lockdowns in March 2020 are analyzed and related to classical pragmatic nomenclatures. As a result, COVID-19-related lexemes are used particularly in Spain, hardly in the Netherlands, and to a medium degree in Germany, France, Italy, and the UK. Often, such phrases are expressive/phatic, occasionally with an appeal to pity, just to promote positive connotations, not adding anything to the nature of the service. COVID-related lexemes are used, albeit rarely, to say that there is something positive in the crisis. More frequently, these lexemes are employed, in Spain, Germany, and Italy, to explain the motivation for the service offer. In all countries, the lexemes are (semantically superfluously?) used to say that the service offered is free from danger (sometimes being pseudo-assertive). In Spain, covid-lexemes are very typically used to show that the service supplier is free from danger (even in headlines and first sentences), in various kinds of wordings, which mostly do not support the pretended message from a strictly medical point of view: beyond classical terminology, such cases could be termed *jargon-related conventional pseudo-implications*.

Keywords---contrastive linguistics (Spanish, German, French, Italian, English, Dutch), coronavirus, online service offers, persuasive texts, speech acts.

Introduction

On the argument of the spread of the coronavirus variant SARS-CoV-2 and the related disease COVID-19, be it on solid medical evidence or not (cf., e.g., the critical retrospect accounts by [Reiss & Bhakdi \(2020\)](#), [Courtois \(2020\)](#) and [Ioannidis \(2020\)](#), political leaderships ordered lockdowns in many countries in

March 2020. At the same time, political leaderships did not take effective measures to avoid that a considerably large share of people loses their income to a significant degree (cf. Flassbeck & Spiecker, 2020). As a consequence, many people have largely or fully lost their incomes (and often employments). Despite employment agencies in many EU countries, people also place offers, or applications, for their working capacities online. Has the coronavirus background had any impact on the design of these offers? Do cultures differ in this respect? The study will delineate that this is the case and that panic and medical ignorance can render words pure transmitters of connotations (irrespective of their denotations).

In research studies, the linguistic analysis of self-presentations and service-presentations in social media have only occasionally been investigated. Concerning the presentation of professional capacities, there is one study on LinkedIn by Bremner & Phung (2015); LinkedIn is rather formulaic, with limited variability in the linguistic/discursive design and thus not comparable to the corpus of this study. Broader linguistic aspects of self-presentation were analyzed on Instagram influencers by Löwe (2019) and more generally by Ochsner (2014) since being an influencer is a job, it is also different from what is analyzed in this study. This paper sheds light on web applications for jobs, or offers of services, in the times of the aftermath of the SARS-CoV-2-triggered lockdowns in March 2020. Such texts are persuasive texts, requiring adequate arguments to persuade or convince the reader to hire the writer. The study looks at forums used in Spain, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Britain. It particularly presents the outstanding role of the Spanish ads in the use of certain argument patterns (Manoharan et al., 2021; Ren et al., 2020; Piller, 2020).

Methods

Popular sources for ads of individuals or teams of friends or family offering their services are these:

- Belgium: <https://www.marktplaatsbelgie.be> and <https://www.2dehands.be>
- France: <https://www.jemepropose.com> and <https://www.annonces.fr>
- Germany: <https://www.markt.de> and <https://quoka.de>
- Italy: <https://lavoro.aannunci.it>
- Netherlands: <https://www.marktplaats.nl> and <https://www.aanbodpagina.nl>
- Spain: <https://www.milanuncios.com>
- UK: <https://www.freads.co.uk>

These websites were searched for morphological variants of the lexemes for “coronavirus”, “SARS-CoV-2”, “COVID-19” and “pandemic” (for reader-friendliness all these lexical forms will hence be called *covid-lexemes*) in ads from July 2020 and the first 7 days of August 2020. The search proceeded on 8 August 2020. When there were no ads, prior periods were searched if possible. Although every one of these platforms enables to offer services, they differ otherwise: some allow only offers of services, others also products; some store an ad only a month, others longer.

The study is therefore not interested in cross-cultural statistical analysis, but it is predominantly qualitative research (non-participant observation), with some additional quantitative remarks. The core questions are: What are the pragmatic functions of integrating the coronavirus topic in such web texts? Are they the same in the cultures analyzed? For this, we will refer to some classical theories in the philosophy of language.

Results and Interpretation

Entries with covid-lexemes were particularly prominent on the Spanish site, with more than 250 advertisements solely in the first seven days of August (in the category “Servicios”, sub-categories both “particular” and “professional”). The Spanish corpus was closed after 60 entries since the same phenomena kept reoccurring. In contrast, the sites from Germany (DE), Britain (UK), France (FR), and the Netherlands (NL) yielded considerably few results: 23, 12, 10, and 6. On the Italian site (IT), there were no hits for July and early August; from March to June there were 6 relevant entries. On the Belgian sites, not a single relevant ad was found. The ads finally collected reveal the traits below. Note that the quotes will not correct linguistic errors in the originals and the translations will stick to the original wording in the best possible way.

- 1) As with every new societal change, the covid-lexemes, too, are used to suggest or highlight that addressees may have new demands. Occasionally, people say that their services or the prices for their services are a special offer during or due to COVID-19 times. Rarely, people with coronavirus are implicitly or explicitly addressed as potential customers/clients in Spanish ads.
- 2) While people are used to exclusion from services based on age and health of the customer. One Spanish ad explicitly excludes people with COVID-19 as potential customers/clients based on the situation of the customer:
 - ES “No personas con covid, por preservar a mis ancianos padres” [‘No people with COVID, to protect my elderly parents’].
It is also interesting to see that a German non-medical natural health practitioner excludes ill people from her service writing:
 - “Bitte sehen Sie bei grippeähnlichen Symptomen oder bei einem bestätigten Infektionsfall mit dem Coronavirus COVID-19 in Ihrem persönlichen Umfeld von einem Besuch bei mir ab ![...] Als Heilpraktikerin ist mir laut Infektionsschutzgesetz die Behandlung von Patienten mit einer Infektion mit COVID-19 nicht gestattet.” [‘Please abstain from visiting me with influenza-like symptoms or an attested case of infection with Coronavirus COVID-19 in your personal environment! [...] As [non-medical] natural health practitioner the Infection Protection Law does not allow me to treat patients with a COVID-19 infection’].
 - The covid-lexemes are used to explain why the writer is without work. This is not only an assertive speech-act, this also has expressive, or social, quality in [Searle \(1969\)](#) terms and phatic function according to [Jakobson \(1960\)](#). More precisely, this could be considered an *argumentum ad misericordiam*, or appeal to pity in Walton’s terminology

(e.g. Walton 1997). This use of covid-lexemes is present among the ads from France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Examples:

- 3) FR “Suite à la crise covid 19, l'entreprise dans laquelle je travaillais à fait faillite.” [‘Due to the COVID-19 crisis, the company in which I worked went bankrupt’];
- 4) DE “ich bin seit Anfang April durch die Corona-Krise Arbeitslos geworden” [‘since early April I have become unemployed due to the corona crisis’];
- 5) ES “Me urge mucho trabajo, quedado sin trabajo por covid 19” [‘I very urgently need work, left without work due to COVID-19’].

One German already writes this into his headline:

- 6) “Durch Corona kein Einkommen” [‘No income because of corona’].
Interestingly, the limitation or loss of work is verbally related to the virus and COVID-19, but never to the lockdowns. This may be because the vast majority stays behind their political leaders’ decision of a lockdown, although scientists have not yet calculated the benefit of the lockdown to avoid infections in comparison to the lockdown’s negative outcomes (in the form of socioeconomic destructions and people dying due to lockdown consequences). Instead of criticism, though, despair can sometimes be felt from the wording of ads:
- 7) ES “Mi miedo no es el coronavirus, es no trabajar” [‘My fear is not the coronavirus, it is not to work’];
- 8) IT “capisco la situazione covid19; capisco restiamo tutti a casa; ma dobbiamo essere concreti. Io cerco lavoro; mi manca lavorare; e ho bisogno lavorare” [‘I understand the COVID-19 situation; I understand we stay all at home; but we have to be practical. I am looking for work; I lack work; and I need to work’].

More indirectly, but ultimately in the same vein of the Italian’s ad is this heading:

- 9) DE “Suche dringend Arbeit trotz Corona” [‘Urgently looking for a job despite [not: because of] corona’].

A father writes:

- 10) DE “Das ist ein Hilferuf eines Vaters. Corona hat vieles Verändert. Meine Tochter stand kurz vor dem Arbeitsvertrag in einem Seniorenheim. [...] Sie darf jetzt nicht resignieren. Werden Sie jetzt glücklich und lassen Sie sich betreuen. Meine Tochter [...] lacht und versprüht Optimismus.” [‘This is the cry for help from a father. Corona has changed a lot. My daughter was close to a work contract in a home for the aged. [...] She mustn’t give up now. Get happy and have yourself taken care of. My daughter [...] laughs and sparks optimism.’].

The covid-lexemes are sometimes used to merely mention the contemporary period without the further recognizable added value of information. In this case, they may just again be an appeal to pity, as it may be seen as generally known that the lockdowns had massive negative implications for some people. Empathy

and sympathy may create a positive social bond between sender/writer and receiver/reader of the message. It can also be seen again as speech acts with phatic function or expressive function, in other words: as small talk. Examples can be found among the German, Italian, Spanish and British ads:

- 11) DE “Die Corona-Krise trifft jeden.” [‘The corona crisis hits everyone’];
- 12) IT “Offro lezioni impartite su skype per chiunque desideri approfondire o migliorare le materie a tutti i livelli anche vista la situazione del paese in occasione del Covid19, coronavirus.” [‘I offer individual lessons on Skype for everyone who wishes to deepen or improve the contents at all levels, also viewing the country’s situation on the occasion of COVID-19, coronavirus’];
- 13) ES “Me ofrezco para cuidar bebés and niños ahora con el coronavirus” [‘I offer myself for taking care of babies and children now with the coronavirus’].

Whether this kind of phatic topic should be classified as an personal or impersonal topic—this is the differentiation by [Ventola \(1979\)](#) is hard to decide.

Some covid-lexemes are connected to positive things triggered by the crisis. Examples:

- 14) DE “Wegen der Pandemie wurden alle meine Konzerte auf das nächste Jahr verschoben, so dass ich jetzt mehr Zeit habe, etwas anderes zu tun, das ich liebe, nämlich auf Kinder aufzupassen.” [‘Due to the pandemic all my concerts were postponed to next year so that now I have more time to do something else that I love, namely taking care of children’];
- 15) IT “Negli ultimi mesi, vedi situazione Covid, ho sentito la forte necessità di rinnovarmi” [‘During the last months, see the COVID situation, I felt the strong need to renew myself’].

This strategy may be used to create a positive aura around the writer in an implicit way; the writer appears as optimistic; this would cover a phatic, or expressive, function again. Possibly, the second part of the next remark can also be listed here:

- 16) UK “Due to the current Coronavirus situation all sessions take place over Skype, which is both effective and convenient.”

Occasionally, the covid-lexemes are, in all countries, integrated to express that the service provider will adhere to respective safety measures. This may be seen as an argument from rules and/or an argument from values and/or an argument from public opinion (cf. [Walton, Reed & Macagno 2008](#)). The respect of legal rules should be normal and marketing with legal matters of course is forbidden in some countries, e.g. Germany. Semantically superfluous, this would represent flouting [Grice’s \(1989\)](#) maxim of quantity. Yet, the explicit mentioning may imply that writers feel that readers either (a) may assume some people violate the rules (a false implicature to avoid) or (b) cannot imagine how something is possible respecting rules. Examples:

- 17) FR “Respect des règles de sécurité contre le coronavirus” [‘Respect of safety rules against coronavirus’];
- 18) DE “Aus- und Fortbildung im liturgischen Singen, mit nur kleinen Gruppen in entsprechendem Abstand und Beachtung der geltenden Hygienemaßnahmen” [‘first and further training in liturgical singing, with only small groups with adequate distance and respect of current hygiene measures’];
- 19) IT “PS :tutto ciò rispettando le norme di sicurezza per quanto riguarda la pandemia covid19.” [‘P.S.: all this [hairdressing] respecting the norms of safety concerning the COVID-19 pandemic’];
- 20) ES [blacksmith and mason] “se respetarán todas las medidas de protección contra el covid-19” [‘all means of protection against COVID-19 will be respected’].

Furthermore, people even underline that they have attended a specific course in hygiene against coronavirus. Examples:

- 21) UK “With over 10 years experience [of hairdressing] and completed a vast range of specialized courses from colour excellence to the latest COVID-19 safety training”.

In another alternative, as the fullest form of safety, the applicants offer their services on-line or with a special device. Examples:

- 22) UK “I am a professional violin player and teacher based in Birmingham but conducting lessons online due to the Covid-19 problem”,
- 23) NL “Zingt nu met scherm voor uw veiligheid, i.v.m. corona.” [‘Now singing with visor for your safety, in connection with corona’],

and, without further explanation,

- 24) NL “Feest Zanger [...] Corona-Proof Optreden” [‘Party singer [...] Corona-Proof Performances’].

It is practically exclusive among the Spanish ads to use covid-lexemes to show that they are not dangerous. This is done in various ways, which are partly illogical or meaningless from a medically denotative perspective:

- The writer just says, or claims, that s/he has not yet undergone the disease. This triggers the connotation of ‘not ill, not dangerous’, but means that the disease has not already been undergone and could still come. Examples:

- 25) ES “No he pasado el covid soy persona sana” [‘I haven’t had COVID, I’m well’]
- 26) ES “por supuesto no tengo coronavirus y uso las maximas medidas de higiene” [‘Of course, I don’t have coronavirus and use the maximum measures of hygiene’].

These are just words, not official proofs.

- The writer says that s/he shows no symptoms and was not in contact with infected people:

27) ES “no sintomas de covid-19, ni estaba en contacto con las personas contagiadas” [‘no symptoms of COVID-19, neither was I in contact with infected people’].

Here too, we have just words to trigger positive connotations. The writer can of course not prove that s/he was not in contact with infected people. Also, the lack of symptoms does not mean that the writer is not infected (although it may mean that s/he is less infectious).

- The writer says that s/he was checked against the virus (without saying further how):

28) ES “No tengo ninguna enfermedad. Me he mirado por sí tendría el CoronaVirus” [‘I have no illness. I have had myself checked if I have the CoronaVirus’].

- The writer says that a test—allegedly a PCR test—was proceeded (without saying the result). Example:

29) ES “Ya me hice la prueba del COVID” [‘They have already done the COVID test on me’].

- The writer says that a test—allegedly a PCR test—was proceeded and that it was positive. Examples:

30) ES “he pasado el Covid-19, demostrable” [‘I have passed COVID-19, provable’].

- The writer says that a test—allegedly a PCR test—was proceeded and that it was negative (which actually means that you still could get or by now have gotten the virus):

31) ES “Tengo hecha la prueba del covid (negativo)” [‘I have had done a covid-test (negative)’];

32) ES “Me hice la prueba del covid 19 y salgo negativo” [‘They have done the COVID-19 test on me and my result was negative’].

This is the only category into which a non-Spanish ad may also be classified: An escort lady writes,

33) FR “Je suis testée négative au coronavirus avec preuve à l'appui donc pas d'inquiétude pour la baise.” [‘I am tested negative against coronavirus, with proof as confirmation, so no worry about fucking’].

However, since the service and the service-provider are more or less the same, this ad could also be seen in the same light as the ads in Point 6.

- The writer says that a PCR test was preceded and that it was negative (which means that you still could get or by now have gotten the virus).

34) ES “PRUEBA PCR COVID-19 NEGATIVA” [‘PCR COVID-19 test negative’].

- The writer says that an antibody test was preceded and that it was negative (which actually means that you still could get or by now could have gotten the virus):

(35) ES “Señora titulada, con resultado Negativo al Coronavirus en la prueba de anticuerpos.” [‘Lady with a diploma, with negative result of coronavirus in the antibody-test.’].

- The writer says that s/he has already undergone the disease. Examples:

(36) ES “ya tuve el covid” [‘I have already had COVID’]

(37) ES “Ya tuve el covid, estoy sana” [‘I have already had COVID, I am well’]

(38) ES “HE PASADO COVID-19, EN MARZO” [‘I have passed COVID-19, in March’].

- The writer says that an antibody test was preceded and that it was positive:

(39) ES “No hay riesgo de coronavirus ya que tengo anticuerpos del virus (probado).” [‘There is no risk of coronavirus as I have virus anti-bodies (attested)’].

Concerning medical attestation, this is the best result.

Sometimes a mixture of more than one strategy is used. The writers of the argumentative fallacies may not be aware that their safety-related arguments mean nothing or the contrary that they want to express; at any rate, they intend their phrases’ meanings ‘the person has passed COVID’ and ‘the person has done a test’ to be interpreted as ‘the person is safe to hire’ by the reader. This sounds like truth by consensus or majority opinion (cf. Warburton 2000: 134f.). Such a fallacy-driven intended implicature does not seem to be covered by the traditional classification of implicatures (cf., e.g., Grice 1989; Levinson 1983). However, they occur in variations and are expected to be generally understood, without the context, although only in non-medical jargon. We may thus term them *jargon-related conventional pseudo-implicatures*. Among argumentation schemes, this falls under argument from popular opinion (or popular practice) according to Walton, Reed & Macagno (2008); one may also enlarge their nomenclature by *argument from cause to pseudo-effect*. A certain reflection of some Spaniards’ despair due to the consequences of the events around the spread of the coronavirus is also the position of lexemes related to the applicant’s health. They could be and are in the middle of the text. But not infrequently this topic seems so relevant that it occurs at the more prominent places of an ad: in the last sentence, in the first sentence, or even in the heading. In the headings of the first seven days of August we find:

- (40) “BUSCO TRABAJO TEMPORAL. INMUNE COVID-19” [‘I’m looking for temporary work. COVID-19 immune’]
- (41) “CUIDADO PERSONA MAYOR COVID 19 NEGATIVO” [‘elderly person care, COVID-19 negative’],
- (42) “LIMPIEZA, PLANCHA, HE PASADO COVID-19” [‘cleaning, ironing, I have passed COVID-19’],
- (43) “PLANCHADORA, HE PASADO COVID-19, EN MARZO” [‘ironer, I have passed COVID-19, in March’].

Records of integrating this information in the first sentences are these:

- (44) “AUXILIAR DE ENFERMERÍA: Señora titulada, con resultado Negativo al Coronavirus en la prueba de anticuerpos.” [‘nurse: lady with diploma, with result negative to coronavirus in the antibody-test’] (so the information comes right after naming the educational level);
- (45) “CHÓFER / CONDUCTOR 2020: PRUEBA PCR COVID-19 NEGATIVA” [‘chauffeur 2020: COVID-19 PCR test negative’],
- (46) “LIMPIEZA Y ATENCION A MAYORES: Con examen de covid 19 y con todas las medidas de seguridad e higiene.” [‘washing and care of elderly people: With an examination of COVID-19 and all means of safety and hygiene’].

Some ads are unclear:

- (47) UK “All my staff are professionally trained, vetted and covid- 19 verified.”

COVID-19-verified would literally mean that the staff has COVID-19—a message which the writer unlikely wants to send. It could thus either aim to mean ‘had COVID-19’ or ‘do not have COVID-19’.

- (48) DE “Gerne vorab in Teilzeit solange Maskenpflicht in Geschäften besteht, später ggf Vollzeit angenehm.”

The word *solange* ‘as long as’ could mean work is looked for ‘if there is compulsory mask-wearing in stores’ or ‘while there is compulsory mask-wearing in stores’.

- (49) DE “Ich bin 19 Jahre alt und wohne in der Münchener Innenstadt. Ich gehöre nicht zur Covid 19-Risikogruppe und würde gerne Familien oder Müttern bei der Kinderbetreuung helfen.” [‘I am 19 years old and live in the center of Munich. I do not belong to the COVID-19 risk group and would like to help families or mothers in taking care of their children.’].

This may trigger the connotation ‘I am not dangerous’, while as a matter of fact the denotation is ‘I am not endangered’. These two Spanish ads may reveal a certain cynical desperation:

- (50) “Solo ponerse en contacto conmigo cobro 500€, no es mucho ya que esa cantidad se puede negociar en el precio con el vendedor además de exponerme al covid.” [‘Just contact me. I charge 500 euros. This is not

much since this quantity can be negotiated together with price with the vendor, apart from exposing me to COVID']

- (51) “Me ofrezco gratis, cuidar finca motivo de la deccion [decisión?], covid 19 gracias” [‘I offer myself for free, taking care of a finca, motive of decision, COVID-19, thanks’].

The qualitative (and quantitative) cross-cultural differences do not seem to be deducible from the number of deaths: Spain did have the highest excess mortality in spring 2020, but England was similarly high, and France and the UK were not so far behind either (cf. the constantly updated information on www.euromomo.eu)—no matter to what degree this was really due to the disease or the measurements against the disease or still something else. Cross-cultural studies on behavior in the business world (e.g. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). Thus, differences seem to have sprung from accidental cultural particularities.

Conclusion

Covid-lexemes are used in the ads of our sources particularly in Spain, clearly less frequently in the other countries. In rare instances, ads exclude customers with COVID-19 or describe something positive about the situation. In Spain, Germany, and Italy, writers occasionally employ covid-lexemes to explain why they are looking for a job, which gives no additional information on the service offered, but represents an appeal to pity (Walton, 1997); the phatic function of language is present here, with pseudo-referential function (Jakobson, 1960); they are expressive speech-acts, with pseudo-assertive function (Searle, 1969) on purpose or by accident. The phatic or expressive function is also present when a writer only mentions that the world is in COVID-19 times: it simply creates positive connotation. In all countries, the respect of safety regulations can be found, which may imply that the service is of particularly high quality, although it is not, since everyone must or at least should adhere to legal constraints. Is this flouting Grice (1989) maxim of quantity? Furthermore, it is strikingly typical of current Spanish advertisement culture to illustrate that the service supplier is no health danger. Here, covid-lexemes are frequently used in a way that makes the message just sound positive: the lexical design just purveys positive connotation, while the technical denotation is zero or even the opposite of what the applicant tries to portray; this is done in prominent positions of the ad, including headlines. For this latter phenomenon, classifications by Grice and Walton and their followers can be supplemented by *jargon-related conventional pseudo-implicature* and *argument from cause to pseudo-effect*.

Particularly, the observations on the creation of positive connotations mirrors that the coronavirus topic has a considerable influence on our way of living. Further, it shows people’s lack of reflected information. Such lack is promoted if people access information of unreflected figures, where absolute figures are not put into relations, where “positive test result”, “infection” and “disease” are lexically and conceptually confused, where every dead person once tested SARS-CoV-2-positive is classified a victim and where different countries count cases differently (cf. the descriptions by Reiss & Bhakdi (2020) and Courtois (2020) as well as the definition warnings in WHO’s daily situation reports under

<https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/situation-reports/>). If people are simply shocked when they hear the words “positive test” without asking which test it was, how good the test is (in technical terms: what sensibility, specificity and prevalence are), and how often a test was applied to the person, then the collocation has become thought-terminating. If this happens during a crisis, it seems time for linguists, other scholars, and political communicators to bring more awareness back into our communication styles and thus open up, especially in decision-makers, new thoughts for ways out of the crisis.

References

- Bremner, S., & Phung, B. (2015). Learning From the Experts: An Analysis of Résumé Writers' Self-Presentation on LinkedIn. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 58(4), 367-380.
- Courtois, D. (2020). Et si Didier Raoult avait raison: Les coulisses d'un scandale international. Paris: Investigation Editions.
- Flassbeck, H., & Spiecker, F. (2020). Corona, die Politik und die europäische Herausforderung. *Makroskop*, 27 March 2020. <https://makroskop.eu/2020/03/corona-die-politik-und-die-europaeische-herausforderung/> [in English as: Corona, Politics, and the European Challenge. Flassbeck Economics International, 28 March 2020. <https://www.flassbeck-economics.com/corona-politics-and-the-european-challenge/>]
- Grice, P. (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words*. Harvard University Press.
- Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). Culture and organizations: software of the mind, intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival. *McGraw-Hill, New York*, 3, 79-107.
- Ioannidis, J. (2020). The infection fatality rate of COVID-19 inferred from seroprevalence data. *MedRxiv*.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Linguistics and poetics. In *Style in language* (pp. 350-377). MA: MIT Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics* Cambridge University Press. *Cambridge UK*.
- Löwe, S. (2019). Vom optimierten Selbst erzählen. Überlegungen zum transmedialen Phänomen der Instagram-Influencerin. *Diegesis*, 8(2).
- Manoharan, A., Jones, J., Jiang, Z., & Singal, M. (2021). Career optimism of culturally and linguistically diverse hotel workers in the pandemic age. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 93, 102796. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2020.102796>
- Ochsner, B. (2014). Image 2.0 oder: SelbstTechnologien in sozio-medialen Netzwerken. In *Das öffentliche Ich* (pp. 161-178). transcript-Verlag.
- Piller, I. (2020). Covid-19 forces us to take linguistic diversity seriously. In *A De Gruyter social sciences pamphlet: perspectives on the pandemic: international social science thought leaders reflect on Covid-19* (pp. 12-17). De Gruyter.
- Reiss, K., & Bhakdi, S. (2020). *Corona, False Alarm?: Facts and Figures*. Chelsea Green Publishing.
- Ren, Z., Liao, H., & Liu, Y. (2020). Generalized Z-numbers with hesitant fuzzy linguistic information and its application to medicine selection for the patients with mild symptoms of the COVID-19. *Computers & Industrial Engineering*, 145, 106517. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cie.2020.106517>

- Searle, J. R., & Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language* (Vol. 626). Cambridge university press.
- Ventola, E. (1979). The structure of casual conversation in English. *Journal of pragmatics*, 3(3-4), 267-298. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(79\)90034-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(79)90034-1)
- Walton, D. (2016). *Appeal to pity: Argumentum ad misericordiam*. SUNY Press.
- Walton, D. N., Reed, C., & Macagno, F. (2008). *Argumentation schemes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Warburton, N. (2000). *Thinking from A to Z*. London: Routledge.