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- ◆ to promote scholarly exchange and cooperation among Russian and international linguists and specialists in related areas of investigation;
- ◆ to disseminate theoretically grounded research and advance knowledge pertaining to the field of Linguistics developed both in Russia and abroad;
- ◆ to publish results of original research on a broad range of interdisciplinary issues relating to language, culture, cognition and communication;
- ◆ to cover scholarly activities of the Russian and international academia.

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Research Article

“... to grasp the native's point of view ...” — A Plea for a Holistic Documentation of the Trobriand Islanders' Language, Culture and Cognition

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Abstract

In his famous introduction to his monograph “Argonauts of the Western Pacific” Bronislaw Malinowski (1922: 24f.) points out that a “collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionum*, as documents of native mentality”. This is one of the prerequisites to “grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world”. Malinowski managed to document a “*Corpus Inscriptionum Agricultrae Quriviniensis*” in his second volume of “Coral Gardens and their Magic” (1935 Vol II: 79-342). But he himself did not manage to come up with a holistic *corpus inscriptionum* for the Trobriand Islanders. One of the main aims I have been pursuing in my research on the Trobriand Islanders' language, culture, and cognition has been to fill this ethnolinguistic niche. In this essay, I report what I had to do to carry out this complex and ambitious project, what forms and kinds of linguistic and cultural competence I had to acquire, and how I planned my data collection during 16 long- and short-term field trips to the Trobriand Islands between 1982 and 2012. The paper ends with a critical assessment of my Trobriand endeavor.

Keywords: *Trobriand Islands, Kilivila, language documentation, learning the local language as a prerequisite for field research, common ground*

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«...как понять туземца...» — Необходимость целостного описания языка, культуры и менталитета тробрианцев

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Аннотация

В знаменитом вступлении к своей монографии «Аргонавты западной части Тихого океана» (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*) Бронислав Малиновский (1922: 24f.) отмечает, что «собрание этнографических описаний, характерных нарративов, типичных высказываний, элементов фольклора и магических заклинаний должно быть представлено в виде *corpus inscriptionum* как собрания свидетельств туземного менталитета». Это одно из условий «понимания точки зрения туземцев, их отношения к жизни, их мировосприятия». Малиновскому удалось создать “*Corpus Inscriptionum Agriculturae Quriviniensis*” во втором томе своего труда «Коралловые сады и их магия» (*Coral Gardens and their Magic*, 1935 Vol II: 79-342). Но он не смог представить холистический *corpus inscriptionum* тробрианцев. В ходе исследования языка, культуры и способов когниции тробрианцев я стремился заполнить эту этнолингвистическую нишу. В данной статье я рассказываю о том, как осуществлялся этот сложный и амбициозный проект, какими видами языковой и культурной компетенции мне пришлось овладеть и каким образом я планировал процесс сбора данных в течение 16 длительных и кратковременных полевых экспедиций на Тробрианские острова в 1982—2012 гг. В заключение статьи дается критический анализ моего Тробрианского проекта.

Ключевые слова: *Тробрианские острова, Киливила, языковая документация, изучение местного языка как условие проведения полевого исследования, взаимопонимание*

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1. Introduction¹

In 1981 Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt — the head of the Human Ethology Unit at the Max Planck Institute for Behavioral Physiology in Seewiesen — offered me a post-doc position as the linguist in his interdisciplinary project on “Ritual Communication on the Trobriand Islands”. Our project was funded by the Max Planck Society and the German Research Society (DFG). In July 1982 I arrived in Papua New Guinea and a few days later I first set foot on the beach of the village

¹ This paper was presented at the panel "Emancipatory Pragmatics: Probing language usage in diverse contexts" organized by Scott Saft, Sachiko Ide and Yoko Fujie at the 16th International Pragmatics Conference at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 9—14 June 2019 and as an invited plenary talk at the PASE conference in Poznan, 27—28 June 2019. I thank Sachiko Ide and Yoko Fujie for a grant which enabled me to participate in the IPrA conference in Hong Kong. I also would like to thank my audiences for helpful comments.

Tauwema, my place of residence during my field research on Kaile'una Island, the second largest island of the Trobriand archipelago. Together with an anthropologist, the PhD student Ingrid Bell-Krannhals, I was supposed to do field research there from July 1982 till November 1983 — with a break of 6 weeks between the years. In 1983 my wife stayed with me in Tauwema for the whole year. In the years to come these first two fieldtrips were followed by 14 more short- and long-term periods of field research in Tauwema up till 2012. One of these field trips (in 1989) was financed again by the German Research Society in cooperation with the MPI in Seewiesen; during this field trip my wife and our then 2 and 4 year old children accompanied me. The other field trips — which I did on my own — were funded by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. In 1991 I left the Institute in Seewiesen and accepted a position in Stephen Levinson's Cognitive Anthropology Research Group (which became the Department of Language and Cognition in 1995) at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. I kept this position until my retirement as extraordinary Professor of General Linguistics and Senior Investigator in February 2018.²

But back to the beginnings: My field research in 1982/83 was supposed to document as many forms of ritual communication as possible in Kilivila, the Austronesian language of the Trobriand Islanders, and to answer the research question "How can we refine the definition of ritual communication and improve theories that deal with this fascinating concept on the basis of empirical speech data?" Thus, from the very beginning my research on the Trobriand Islands had a somewhat "holistic" touch. When it became clear that I would have the unique opportunity to continue my research on the Trobriand Islands until the end of my career — though with different focal points in my research on the interface of language, culture and cognition — I immediately decided to do my very best to provide the *corpus inscriptionum* for Kilivila Bronislaw Malinowski so emphatically asked for in the famous introduction to his monograph "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" published back in 1922. Malinowski pointed out that

...the goal of ethnographic field-work must be approached through three avenues:

1. *The organisation of the tribe, and the anatomy of its culture* must be recorded...

2. Within this frame, the *imponderabilia of actual life* and the *type of behaviour* have to be filled in...

3. A collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folklore and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionum*, as documents of native mentality. These three lines of approach lead to the final goal, of which an Ethnographer should never lose

² Here is the list of these additional field trips and their duration: May 1989 — August 1989; July 1992 — September 1992; June & July 1993; August & September 1994; May & June 1995; May & June 1996; May & June 1997; August & September 1998; May & June 2001; June 2003; July & August 2004; June 2006, August & September 2008, May & June 2012.

sight. This goal is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise *his* vision of *his* world.

(Malinowski 1922: 24f.)

Malinowski, the master of Trobriand ethnography, managed to document a *Corpus Inscriptionum Agriculturae Quriviniensis* in his second volume of "Coral Gardens and their Magic" (1935 Vol II: 79—342). But he himself did not manage to come up with a holistic *corpus inscriptionum* for the Trobriand Islanders. One of the main aims I pursued during my long-term research on the Trobriand Islanders' language, culture and cognition was to fill this ethnolinguistic niche.

2. Learning Kilivila as the basic prerequisite for doing my research

However, the basic prerequisite for doing my research on the Trobriand Islands was to learn the language of the Trobriand Islanders.³ To gather data on such a complex topic like "ritual communication" I not only had to get a good understanding of the grammar and the lexicon of this Austronesian language, but I also had to unravel, learn and understand the pragmatic rules of this speech community to speak the language properly and adequately in various different speech situations and social contexts. This seems to be a trivial insight — in his essay "Considérations sur les diverses méthodes à suivre dans l'observation des peuples sauvages" published already in 1797, Joseph-Marie Degérando asked the critical question "How can we fancy to really observe people we do not understand and with whom we cannot talk?" — but it is a sad fact — if not scandalous — that up to the present day only a small minority of linguists and anthropologists doing field research in so-called "exotic" languages and cultures master the language of the speech community in which they do their research!⁴

Before we go *medias in res*, I first briefly introduce the Trobriand Islands, the Trobriand Islanders and some important aspects of their culture as well as their language Kilivila (see Senft & Senft 2018: 7f.).

On his search for the missing ship *La Pérouse*, the French naval officer and explorer Joseph Antoine Bruni D'Entrecasteaux (1739—1793), discovered an island archipelago which he named after one of his officers on his ship "Espérance", Jean François Sylvestre Denis, comte de Trobriand (1729—1810). The indigenous name of the biggest island of this archipelago, which is now called Kiriwina, is Boyowa. The Trobriand Islands, a group of about 20 islands and islets, in the Solomon Sea are situated at the 151.04° of Eastern Longitude and 8.38° of Southern Latitude in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. Kitava Island is an elevated coral island which rises to about 30 m at a central ridge. The other islands and islets are low-lying flat coral atolls. All islands are coral formations composed of coralline limestone. Most of them are fringed by coral reefs. The islands Kitava,

³ See also Senft 2008a; 2012a.

⁴ See also Dixon (1984: 199) where he criticizes the limitations of the approach of "asking questions over a desk" as follows: "it is no substitute at all for living with a language, observing it being used, and using it oneself" (see also Dixon 1984: 219).

Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kaile'una, Muwa, Kuiawa, Munuwata, Tuma, and Simsim are populated. The islands are considered to be an important tropical rainforest ecoregion. The climate on the Trobriands is tropical. The average temperature is between 28° and 30°, with maximal temperatures of about 35° and minimal temperatures (at night) of about 22°. The humidity is very high throughout the year with an average of more than 90%. The rainy season lasts from November till April with the northwest monsoon as the prevailing wind, the dry season lasts from May till October with a constant southeast trade wind blowing.

The Trobriand Islanders have become famous, even outside of anthropology, because of the anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, who did field research there between 1915 and 1918 (see Young 2004; also Senft 2006, 2009a). The Islanders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim' (see Haddon 1894: 184; also Liep 2015: 185). They are gardeners, doing slash and burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualized 'Kula' trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers the Massim area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922; Leach & Leach 1983; Persson 1999). Other highly important features of the Trobriand Islanders' society are that it is matrilineal and follows the rule of patrilocality — or virilocal residence — which means that a newly married couple lives in the village of the husband (see Baldwin 1971: 246, 270ff).

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of PNG (see Senft 1986: 6). It is an agglutinative language; its word order is rather free; the most frequent word order is SubjectVerbObject, but its general unmarked word order pattern is subject-prefixVerbObject(Subject). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labeled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages — Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers living on the Budibud Islands), — Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4,000 speakers living on Woodlark Island and on the populated islands Gawa, Iwa, Kwaiawata, Egum and Yanaba of the Woodlark Islands group — this group of islands is also called Marshall Bennetts Islands), and — Kilivila (or Kiriwina, and also Boyowa), with about 40,000 speakers; Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata and Simsim). The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the Papuan-Tip-Cluster group (Senft 1986: 6).

In the preparatory phase of the project I quickly realized that Kilivila was not properly described at all. The little bits and pieces of information on Kilivila which I found in the literature turned out to be either erroneous or completely wrong (see Senft 1991: 27, 46). The only exception were the few notes on Kilivila scattered throughout Malinowski's Oeuvre (see e.g., Malinowski 1920). And unfortunately his second volume of "Coral Gardens and their Magic" titled "The Language of

Magic and Gardening” published in 1935 presents magical formulae which have nothing to do whatsoever with the Kilivila variety which is spoken in everyday social interactions (I will come back to this fact below).

2.1. Learning Kilivila based on “opportunistic” forms of data collection and everyday interactions with the Trobriand Islanders

When I arrived on the Trobriands, one of the first things I did was to ask the missionary on Kiriwina Island, Father William Cunningham, to tell me the Kilivila equivalents for the English question words “who” (*avela*), “what” (*avaka*), and “where” (*ambeya*) and to translate the sentences “What is this” (*avaka beya*) and “I want to learn Kilivila” (*magigu banukwali biga Kilivila*) for me. When we arrived in Tauwema a few days later, Wulf Schiefenhövel, another colleague from the MPI in Seewiesen (who left the islands after 6 weeks), introduced us to the village community — he could speak Hiri Motu, a lingua franca of Papua New Guinea which some of the older people of Tauwema understood —, and the day after our arrival in my village of residence to be on Kaile'una Island, I started to collect data with the memorized question words and phrases listed above to compile a Kilivila-English wordlist. I also had an English-German picture-dictionary with me (Pheby & Scholze 1979) — and it turned out that the pictures in this volume were excellent means to elicit words and even short sentences from my Tauwema consultants. I also approached people with my tape recorder indicating that I would like to record their speech; usually my attempts were answered by a friendly nod. And so I managed to record a broad variety of different speech data. I processed the data as soon as possible — with the help of at least two consultants who controlled my correct understanding of the recorded data — and then I transcribed the data using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). These IPA transcriptions provided the basis for my phonetic/phonological analyses which allowed me to come up with the Kilivila orthography after I had returned from the field (Senft 1986: 14ff). In the first 2 weeks in Tauwema I could also work about half an hour or so per day with Uveaka, a young man who could speak English. Unfortunately he left the village to work on a ship. I was lucky to find a number of people who wanted to teach me their language — among them were my main consultants Nusai, a man in his late 30s who was the son-in-law of our chief Kilagola, Nusai's 14 year old son Pulia who attended school in our neighboring village Kaduwaga and who could speak a very basic variety of English, and Weyei, a man in his 60s, the local weather-magician and chief Kilagola's younger brother. Thus, my unguided language acquisition process of Kilivila took place in an almost monolingual situation — only my lexicographic sessions with Pulia and Nusai in which I tried to translate mainly with the help of Pulia the meaning of Kilivila words documented in my transcribed texts could be characterized as somehow bilingual.

My motivation to learn Kilivila as soon as possible was intensified in situations in which I realized my inability to communicate. It was very awkward and uncomfortable, for example, to sit in the evening in my house in the bright light of

my Coleman lamp together with gradually arriving guests and to realize that after a few one-word utterances I just was able to smile around the room, but that most of the time I had to hide behind a novel. It was also weird to walk through the village with a group of young children in line behind me and to realize that they were singing a song every stanza of which ended in roaring laughter; what was most irritating in this situation was that the only word of the song I understood was my name. But the most important motivation resulted from my relationship with my teachers: I was completely aware of the fact that my potential failure in learning Kilivila would fall back on them: they would have to take the blame by their fellow villagers, they would be the ones to lose face in Tauwema if it turned out that I was a lousy learner!

I also learned rather quickly that my motivation had to be combined with a lot of humor and the ability to laugh about myself — everybody who learns a language in such a situation and in such a way as I did it is doomed to make mistakes — even severe ones. Many of these mistakes were simply based on not recognizing word-boundaries and the proper meaning of words. To give just one example: Seeing a beautiful net of a funnel-spider in the bush I asked my companions “*Avaka beya?*” — “What is this?” I noted down the answer “*kapalilabwala*” and translated it as “spider-web”. Then I saw a spider and learned that the Kilivila word for it was “*kapali*”. Checking my word-list at home I realized that I had noted down the word “*bwala*” and translated it as “house”. This implied that I had to parse the utterance “*kapalilabwala*” as “*kapali la bwala*” which literally meant “spider its house” and which could be glossed as “spider-web”. Other mistakes were more serious, as the following example illustrates (see Senft 2014: 1f.):

Every morning after I had gotten up and brushed my teeth, I would grab my towel and the little box that contained my soap, shampoo, hair brush and other articles we West-Europeans think to be absolutely necessary for having a bath and walked through the village to the path that leads to a fresh water grotto, about a ten-minute walk into the bush southeast of Tauwema. Although everyone could infer from the things I carried where I was going, and although all the villagers knew after some time that this was part of my morning routine, people always asked me in the village or on the path to the grotto *Ambe?* — “Where?” — implying “Where are you going to?” At first I reacted with a smile and answered with the name of the grotto: *Bugei*. However, after some weeks — having made some progress in my language acquisition, I responded somewhat impatiently by either waving with my towel to the people who asked this (for me then rather silly) question or by simply answering *O, kunukwali, bala Bugei makala yumyam* — “Oh, you know, I will go (to the) Bugei like every day”. After having responded to this question in this way for a few days, Weyei — my neighbor and one of my best informants and friends — approached me and told me that I should always answer this question as exactly as possible. Thus, after some further progress in learning the language I could react to the question *Ambe?* in the appropriate Trobriand way, answering for example: *Bala bakakaya baka'ita basisu bapaisewa* — “I will go, I will have a bath, I will return,

I will stay (in the village), I will work”. With Weyei’s help I came to understand that this question was in fact a greeting formula. People who meet in the Trobriands and who want to indicate that they care for each other do not use greeting formulae such as *Bwena kaukwa* — “good morning”, but instead ask each other where they are going. This question is always answered as truthfully and as comprehensively as possible (as in the example given). This has a practical reason: all paths on Kaile’una Island and most paths on the other islands belonging to the Trobriand group are just small trampled paths that often lead over sharp coral rocks where it is quite easy to hurt one’s foot or leg. Also, sometimes the paths cross a grove of coconut trees, and it has also happened that people on these paths have been rather severely hurt by falling coconuts. Moreover, Trobriand Islanders are very much afraid of the *kosi*. According to their belief the *kosi* are ghostly spirits of dead persons who were not properly mourned immediately after their deaths and who therefore terrify the living. The apparition of a *kosi* may frighten someone in the jungle in such a way that they might lose their orientation. Therefore, the answer to this form of greeting functions to secure one’s way and one’s safe arrival at one’s destination. If people do not show up after a certain time at the places mentioned in their answers to the greeting question, their fellow villagers and friends will look for them. Thus, being greeted with this question is a sign that the community cares for the person. It is a daily routine that serves the function of social bonding. And it is considered so important that Trobrianders who are not greeted in this way at least by their fellow villagers will conclude that they must have committed some serious offense against the community. A village community that does not greet one of its fellow villagers with this question indicates that it no longer cares for this person. So it was a completely inappropriate reaction when I — sometimes quite conceitedly — smiled about what I first thought to be a silly question. On the contrary, being greeted with this question by the people of Tauwema after only a few days in their village was a first sign of their good will and intention to integrate me into the community.⁵

As a newcomer in the Trobriand speech community I hardly knew anything about the conventions, rules and regulations with respect to how the Trobriand Islanders use their language Kilivila in social interactions, what kind of meanings their words, phrases and sentences convey in what kind of contexts and what kind of functions their use of language fulfills in and for its speakers’ communicative behavior. To gain this kind of knowledge requires the study of the culture-specific forms of the Trobriand Islanders’ language use. To learn the pragmatic rules that are valid in a speech community is as important as to acquire the lexicon and the grammatical algorithm of their language!

From the very beginning my language acquisition process went hand in hand with my processing and transcribing of my data with the help of my three language teachers and some other consultants. This work resulted in first hypotheses about

⁵ I provide a list of mistakes like this one in Senft (1995).

syllable- and word-boundaries which I could verify or falsify with my gradually growing Kilivila-English word-list (to be later transformed into a basic dictionary). This word-list was based on a corpus of audio-documented speech data encompassing a variety of text categories or genres which represented both forms of everyday verbal interactions and of forms of ritual communication. I documented these texts in a completely opportunistic manner — that is to say, whenever I had the chance to tape-record verbal interactions of all kinds, I did it. My interest in their language and culture and the progress I made in acquiring Kilivila was very much appreciated by the people of Tauwema. For me this kind of empirical research was a fascinating approach to linguistics, and the interest I evinced not only in their language but also in their culture, their customs and their ways of living was very positively and openly acknowledged by the Trobrianders. This overall commitment for my research was essential for its success. The work of all field researchers ultimately depends on the good will of their consultants and their willingness to cooperate in the planned projects. My experience on the Trobriands totally confirms William Labov's (1972: 114f) observations about the behavior of field researchers:

A field worker who stays outside his subject, and deals with it as a mere excuse for eliciting language, will get very little for his pains. Almost any question can be answered with no more information than was contained in it. When the speaker does give more, it is a gift, drawn from some general fund of good will that is held in trust by himself and the field worker. A deep knowledge implies a deep interest, and in payment for the interest the speaker may give more than anyone has a right to expect. Thus the field worker who can tap the full linguistic competence of his subjects must acquire a detailed understanding of what he is asking about, as well as a broad knowledge of the general forms of human behavior.

Indeed, after a few weeks of my activities in Tauwema, inhabitants of the village themselves approached me and offered to provide me with some interesting texts or invited me to participate in interesting village activities or to accompany them to our neighboring villages to observe special village activities.

Thus, in the course of the time I was more and more accepted as a member of the village community with all the rights and responsibilities to participate in cultural activities in Tauwema. This enabled me to collect a growing corpus of speech data which provided me with crucial grammatical insights into the phonology, the morphosyntax, the semantics and the pragmatics of Kilivila. I managed to gain these insights not only by processing and transcribing these texts with the help of my consultants, but also by actively speaking with the Trobriand Islanders about my experiences, my everyday observations and my data — with the risk of making funny speech errors by producing ridiculous words or phrases. The very positive reaction of the people of Tauwema to these mistakes was that they first laughed about them, of course, but then immediately corrected the mistakes including all cases of incorrect or inadequate speech behavior. And they kept doing

this up to my very last day on the islands in 2012 — although during the cause of the years these interventions became rarer and rarer.

But again, back to the beginnings in 1982/83 and the general course of my language acquisition process then: after about 10 weeks living in Tauwema I had a first breakthrough in my more or less unguided language acquisition process — I unveiled the word-formation processes of verbal expressions in Kilivila and came up with the first paradigm providing the relevant morphemes for the indication of persons and numbers (1st, 2nd. and 3rd Person Singular, Dual inclusive, Dual exclusive, 1st Person Plural inclusive, 1st Person Plural exclusive, 2nd Person Plural and 3rd Person Plural) and 4 different series of Tense/Aspect/Mood-markers (neutral/unmarked; incomplete action/future/irrealis; completed action; habitual action/optative). I also learned 10 new Kilivila words every day and tried to memorize the names of the inhabitants of Tauwema (with the help of a census we made using polaroid photos with personal data written down on file cards for mnemotechnic reasons). After about 4 months I could write a first and very basic sketch of the grammar; after about 8 months of my staying in Tauwema I could follow and conduct conversations, and at the end of my 1983 field trip I could speak Kilivila in a way which did not only please my language teachers.⁶

2.2. Learning Kilivila in a more theoretically informed way

As mentioned above, in the preparatory phase of my field research I carefully read Malinowski's publications on the Trobriand Islanders. It surprised me to realize that the Trobrianders obviously had a lot of metalinguistic expressions to refer to different genres or text-categories. In discussing the 'Mythology of the Kula' in his famous masterpiece 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific', for example, Malinowski (1922: 299) points out that the Trobriand Islanders'

...folk-lore, that is, the verbal tradition, the store of tales, legends and texts handed on by previous generations, is composed of the following classes: first of all, there is what the natives call *libogwo*, 'old talk', but which we would call tradition; secondly, *kukwanebu*, fairy tales, recited for amusement, at definite seasons, and related avowedly untrue events; thirdly, *wosi*, the various songs, and *vinavina*, ditties, chanted at play or under other special circumstances; and last, not least, *megwa* or *yopa*, the magical spells. All these classes are strictly distinguished from one another by name, function, social setting, and by certain formal characteristics...

...[T]he 'old talk', the body of ancient tradition, believed to be true, consists

⁶ Interesting compilations of other field-researchers' statements about their competence in the language of the community they researched are provided by Fischer (2000: 5—12), Franklin (1992), and Werner (1994: 79—86). These statements vary considerably. Raymond Firth (1957: 6), for example, claims that after three weeks of his staying with the Tikopia he only worked with them in their own language. Hortense Powdermaker (1966: 66) on the other hand confessed frankly that she never managed to properly learn the language of the Lesu in New Ireland. And Malinowski (1935: xi) asserts: "It took me about a year to speak easily, and I acquired full proficiency only after some eighteen months of practice, that is, towards the middle of my second expedition".

on the one hand of historical tales, such as the deeds of past chiefs, ... stories of shipwreck, etc. On the other hand, the *libogwo* class also contains what the natives call *lili'u* — myths, narratives, deeply believed by them, held by them in reverence, and exercising an active influence on their conduct and tribal life.

Malinowski then elaborates on these "*lili'u*" differentiating three groups of 'mythical folk-lore:

1. *The Oldest Myths*, referring to the origin of human beings....
2. *Kultur myths*... stories about ogres and their conquerors... [and]
3. *Myths in which figure only ordinary human beings*, though endowed with extraordinary magical powers.

(Malinowski 1922: 304 f.)

Malinowski's discussion of genres in Kilivila and his reference to the Kilivila metalinguistic terms for these genres and speech varieties were fascinating and the more I got confident in my gradually growing competence in speaking Kilivila, the more I tried to discuss forms of the Trobrianders' metalinguistic awareness manifest in their metalinguistic vocabulary with my consultants. It turned out that the Trobriand Islanders' understanding of genres and speech varieties is much more complex than Malinowski suspected.

In his essay "The problem of meaning in primitive languages" Malinowski (1923: 316) pointed out "that language in its ... original form has an essentially pragmatic character, that it is a mode of behaviour, an indispensable element of concerted human action". My intensive research on the Trobriand Islanders' metalinguistic vocabulary and their metalinguistic concepts provides unequivocal emic support for this important insight. I want to emphasize explicitly that the salient relevance of the concepts codified by these metalinguistic terms is so important for the Trobriand speech community that it is one of the most important characteristics of the language to be recognized in anthropological linguistic field research. Whoever wants to learn and speak Kilivila properly has to grasp them, because the understanding of these concepts is compulsory for the pragmatically adequate use and understanding of this language.

In this second phase of my language acquisition process which was guided by Malinowski's first and more or less anecdotal insights in the importance of Kilivila metalinguistics, I learned that the Trobrianders distinguish not only local varieties — or dialects — of Kilivila (see Senft 1986: 6ff), but also non-diatopical registers that I have called "situational intentional varieties".⁷ I refer with this label to registers or varieties of Kilivila that are used in a given special situation and produced to pursue certain intentions (see Senft 1986: 124ff.). To my knowledge, Kilivila native speakers differentiate and metalinguistically label eight of these varieties, two general and six specific ones. They form the basic framework

⁷ There is no metalinguistic expression in Kilivila that can be compared with this — etic — concept of 'situational intentional varieties'. However, it is obvious that the Trobriand Islanders differentiate these varieties metalinguistically.

necessary for adequately describing genres in this Austronesian language, because the various genres that the Trobriand Islanders differentiate and also label metalinguistically are — generally speaking — constitutive for these situational-intentional varieties. I have documented and illustrated the Trobriand Islanders' emic typology⁸ of these registers and their genres and analyzed their communicative interactional functions in detail in a special monograph (Senft 2010). In what follows I will first briefly present these varieties and their constitutive genres (see Senft 2010: 10ff) and then justify the claim I made above that the understanding of these concepts is compulsory for the pragmatically adequate use and understanding of Kilivila.

1. '*Biga bwena*' — 'Good speech'

The general situational-intentional variety '*Biga bwena*' — 'good speech' subsumes all utterances in all but one of the Kilivila language varieties that adequately match in style and lexicon the respective speech situation in which interactants are involved. Thus, with the exception of its antagonistic variety '*biga gaga*' ('bad speech'; see below), the '*biga bwena*' concept applies to all other Kilivila speech varieties, emphasizing the adequate use of language in a given communicative context. This superordinate register is constituted by the appropriate production of all genres that are themselves constitutive for all other situational-intentional varieties except for the '*biga gaga*' register and especially except for the specific genre '*matua*' ('insults, swear words') that co-constitutes the '*biga gaga*' variety. The basically aesthetic label '*biga bwena*' is used to qualify speakers' utterances with respect to a given standard norm of appropriate speech behaviour. Someone who is famous for using '*biga bwena*' enjoys a good reputation and much social prestige, irrespective of the status within the otherwise highly stratified clan and subclan hierarchy of the Trobriand society.

2. '*Biga gaga*' — 'Bad speech'

As mentioned above, the '*biga gaga*' variety is just the opposite of the '*biga bwena*' register. With the exception of its antagonistic variety '*biga bwena*' (see 1) but also with the exception of (almost all aspects and constitutive genres of) the '*biga sopa*' variety (see 8), this second general situational-intentional variety

⁸ The emic/etic distinction (from phonemic versus phonetic) made here goes back to Kenneth Pike (1954). Gustav Jahoda (1995: 129) quotes French (1963: 398) who defines the two approaches as follows:

Pike identifies the emic approach as a structural one. The investigator assumes that human behaviour is patterned, even though the members of the society being studied may not be aware of many units of the structuring. In Pike's view, the goal of the emic approach is to discover and describe the behavioural system in its own terms, identifying not only the structural units but also the structural classes to which they belong.

In contrast, an etic approach can be characterized as an external one. Items of behaviour are examined not in the light of the systems in which they occur, but rather in that of criteria brought to bear on them by the observer.

applies to all other Kilivila speech varieties, emphasizing the inadequate use of language in a given communicative context. The basically aesthetic label is also used to qualify speakers' utterances with respect to a given standard norm of speech behaviour. The use of this variety generally implies the distancing of speakers from their addressees. It is aggressive and insulting. Its use is — at least officially — not approved by the speech community and quite often sanctions are imposed against someone who produces such 'bad speech'. This superordinate register is constituted by the inappropriate production of all genres that are themselves constitutive for all other situational-intentional varieties except for the '*biga bwena*' and the '*biga sopa*' variety. Moreover, this superordinate register is co-constituted by the specific genre '*matua*' which subsumes all kinds of — seriously meant and produced — insults, swear words, obscene speech and the verbal breaking of taboos.

3. '*Biga tommwaya / Biga baloma*' — 'Old people's speech / Speech of the spirits of the dead'

This archaic variety is very rarely used in everyday discourse and conversation. If words or phrases that are characteristic for this register are used in everyday interaction, they serve the function of sociolinguistic variables which indicate high status of the speaker. This situational-intentional variety is used in highly ritualized contexts. The register is constituted by specific songs sung during the harvest festivals and during a certain period of mourning; these songs are summarized under the specific genre label '*wosi milamala*' — 'songs of the harvest festival'. The majority of these songs describe the carefree 'life' of the spirits of the dead in their 'underworld paradise' on Tuma Island. Moreover, magical formulae also represent many features of the '*biga baloma / biga tommwaya*' register. However, because other features are also constitutive for these formulae, the Trobriand Islanders classify them as constituting a variety of their own, namely the '*biga megwa*' — the 'magic speech' register (see 4.). Both magical formulae and songs have been passed on from generation to generation with the immanent claim to preserve their linguistic form. The majority of the people citing these magical formulae and singing these songs do not or no longer understand their semantic content, their meaning.

4. '*Biga megwa*' — 'Magic speech'

As mentioned above, this language variety is very similar and closely related to the '*biga tommwaya / biga baloma*' variety. However, the variety not only encompasses archaic Kilivila words, syntactic constructions, and shades of meaning, but also so-called magical words and loan words from other Austronesian languages. Malinowski contrasts this variety which he calls '*megwa la biga*' ('magic its speech') with ordinary speech, to which he refers with the label '*livala la biga*' ('speech its language, spoken (everyday) language'; see Malinowski: 1935, Vol. II: 225)⁹. This variety is highly situation dependent, of course, and very

⁹ I have never heard this latter expression on the Trobriands.

onomatopoetic and metaphoric. Trobrianders differentiate between various forms of magic. All these specific forms of magic have specific names, however, they are all subsumed under the genre label ‘*megwa*’. And it is this genre that constitutes the ‘*biga megwa*’ variety.

5. ‘*Biga tapwaroro*’ — ‘The language of the church’

This variety of Kilivila is used in church services and other Christian rituals. When the Overseas Missions Department of the Methodist Church commenced work in the Trobriand Islands in 1894, its headquarters was established in Kavataria on Kiriwina Island. Till 1989 this variety was heavily based on the language variety spoken in Kavataria and its neighboring village Oyabia (the dialect is called ‘*biga galagoki*’); moreover, it showed traces of archaic language and had borrowed a number of loan words from the Dobu language. The Methodists started their missionary work in Milne Bay on Dobu Island and used Dobu as their lingua franca in the area. The Trobrianders use the label ‘*biga tapwaroro*’ to refer to the variety represented in Christian rituals and texts that are associated with the church service. Two genres are constitutive for this register: ‘*tapwaroro*’ refers to all forms of speech produced during various forms of church services, and ‘*wosi tapwaroro*’ — ‘church song’ — is the label for the genre ‘Christian hymns’. The ‘*wosi tapwaroro*’ sometimes represent hymns that are sung in neighboring languages like Dobu or Muyuw, and the ‘*tapwaroro*’ genre that co-constitutes this variety represents a formal language variety typically used by older Trobriand Islanders of high status which is slightly different from modern Kilivila used in profane, secular contexts. Nevertheless, the ‘*biga tapwaroro*’ label of this variety emphasizes the Christian context of these forms of speech and songs.

6. ‘*Biga taloi*’ — ‘greeting and parting speech’

This variety just refers to the Trobriand forms of greeting and parting as well as to the formulae for politely opening and closing public speeches. These relatively few forms and formulae are subsumed under the genre label ‘*taloi*’ — and this genre constitutes the ‘*biga taloi*’ register.

7. ‘*Biga pe’ula / Biga mokwita*’ — ‘Heavy speech / hard words / true (direct) speech

This variety is rather rarely used; but when it is used, the directness of the speakers indicate that they are completely aware of the fact that they have to take all risks of stripping away ambiguity and vagueness with which speakers normally can disguise their own thoughts — a feature characteristic for the ‘*biga sopa*’ variety (see 8) — and that they can stand to argue publicly in terms of the heavy (‘*pe’ula*’) dimension of truth (‘*mokwita*’). Thus, the use of this variety implies an important personal and social impact of what is said; moreover, its use is explicitly marked by speakers declaring that what they are going to say now or what they have said is not ‘*sopa*’ but ‘*biga pe’ula*’ or ‘*biga mokwita*’. The speakers’ commitment in the marked sense finds its expressions in ritualized formulae, like, for example,

‘*Besatuta balivala biga mokwita!*’ — ‘Now I will talk true language! The following four genres are co-constitutive of this register: ‘*yakala*’ — ‘litigations’, ‘*kalava*’ — ‘counting baskets full of yams’, ‘*kasolukuva*’ — ‘mourning formulae’, and ‘*liliu*’ — ‘myth’.

8. ‘*Biga sopa*’ — ‘Joking or lying speech, indirect speech, speech which is not vouched for’

This variety is absolutely characteristic for the Trobriand way of speaking — it constitutes the default register of Trobriand discourse, so to speak. It is based on the fact that Kilivila, like any other natural language, is marked by features that include ‘vagueness’ and ‘ambiguity’. Both these features are used by its speakers as stylistic means to avoid possible distress, confrontation, or too much and — for a Trobriand Islander at least — too aggressive directness of certain speech situations. If hearers signal that they may be insulted by a certain speech act, speakers can always recede from what they have said by labeling it as ‘*sopa*’, as something they did not really mean to say. Thus ‘*sopa*’ represents the speakers’ “unmarked non-commitment to truth” (Bill Hanks, p. c.). Trobriand etiquette then prescribes that hearers must not be offended at all by those utterances that were explicitly labeled as ‘*sopa*’. If they feel offended and display this feeling publicly, then they lose face. The Trobriand Islanders employ this variety in everyday conversation, in small talk, in flirtation, in public debates, in songs and stories as a means of rhetoric to avoid possible conflicts and to relax the atmosphere of the speech situation. The ‘*biga sopa*’ variety also contributes to put forward arguments because it allows speakers to disguise their thoughts verbally and to disagree in a playful way without the danger of too much personal exposure. Moreover, the ‘*biga sopa*’ variety is used for mocking people. As a means of irony and parody it can be used to criticize certain forms of sociologically deviant behaviour, relatively mildly asking for immediate correction. Finally, the ‘*biga sopa*’ variety offers the only license for the verbal breaking of almost all taboos and thus for the licensed use of ‘*biga gaga*’ (see 2.) — not only for adults but also for children. The following genres constitute the ‘*biga sopa*’ variety: ‘*sopa*’ — ‘joke, lie, trick’, ‘*kukwanebu sopa*’ — ‘story, joke in form of a story’, ‘*kukwanebu(1)*’ — ‘tale’, ‘*kasilam*’ — ‘gossip’, ‘*wosi*’ — ‘songs’, with a number of separately named subvarieties, ‘*butula*’ — ‘personal mocking songs’, ‘*vinavina*’ — ‘mocking ditty’ — with a number of named subvarieties, ‘*matua*’ — ‘some insults and swear words as well as obscene speech’, and ‘*sawili*’ — ‘harvest shouts’.

9. Other genres

The Trobriand Islanders also differentiate a number of genres that oscillate between the ‘*biga sopa*’ register and the ‘*biga mokwita*’ variety. They classify them as ‘*kena biga sopa kena biga mokwita*’ — ‘either joking speech or true speech’. These genres are ‘*kukwanebu(2)*’ — ‘story’ (fiction and non-fiction), ‘*kavala*’ — ‘personal speech’, ‘*luavala*’ — ‘admonishing speech’, ‘*-kasemwala-*’ — ‘(actions of) propositioning and/or seduction’, and ‘*-nigada-*’ — ‘(actions of) ... requesting’.

My insights in the utmost importance of understanding the Trobrianders' metalinguistic concepts as being compulsory for the pragmatically adequate use and understanding Kilivila were actually based on the severest mistake I made in the course of my field research on the Trobriands — namely on my breaking of the Trobrianders' most important taboo during a wedding ceremony I observed in 1983 — and on my attempts to reconcile myself with the person I had insulted in this way afterwards (see also Senft: 2017a; 2018).

One morning in 1983 my wife and I saw Itakeda sitting together with Yau on the veranda of his house. This meant that the girl had decided to marry her boyfriend — and her family as well as Yau's family were busily and happily preparing for a festive exchange of gifts between the two families. Itakeda's father was even preparing to kill a pig. After we came back from our morning bath, we sat down on a veranda of one of the neighbors of Itakeda's father. It was more or less by chance that this was the house where Itakeda's best girlfriend Bomsamesa lived. She was sitting at my right side and her older brother crouched beside my wife and observed the preparation of this little feast in honor of the newly married couple. After a while I asked Bomsamesa: “When will you marry?” And immediately hell broke loose: Bomsamesa's mother who was standing behind us came on me like a fury, scolded me and actually chased me away! Back in my house I realized that I had just violated the most important taboo of the Trobrianders — the Brother-Sister Taboo! It is taboo for siblings to know anything about one another's erotic affairs (see Malinowski 1929: 433ff). I had carefully read Malinowski before I went to the Trobriands, I knew about the taboo, but in the actual situation I really behaved like a bull in a china shop. I tried my best to regain the friendship of Ibova again. It took some time, though, and many sticks of tobacco as peace offerings. One afternoon I was close to her house while she was playing cat's cradle — or string figures — for her little grandchildren. And I was flabbergasted when I heard her reciting the following verses — realizing that the little kids obviously had a lot of fun with their granny:

<i>Tobabane, Tobabane</i>	Tobabane, Tobabane,
<i>kwakeye lumta!</i>	you fuck your sister!
<i>Kwalimati.</i>	You fuck her to death.
<i>Kusivilaga,</i>	You turn around,
<i>kuyomama.</i>	you are weak and tired.

It was obvious that this game referred to a case of incest between brother and sister — the extreme case with respect to the violation of the brother-sister taboo. I asked Ibova why she recited these pornographic verses to these very young children, on the one hand, whereas on the other she was recently so furious with me because of my — according to my standards — innocent question. She laughed at me for the first time after my faux pas and said that this was something completely different. She was only playing with her grandchildren and this play was just *sopa*! We had obviously made peace with each other at that moment, but what the heck did she mean?

My consultants told me that the *biga sopa* — the “joking or lying speech”, the “indirect speech”, the “speech that is not vouched for” — is absolutely characteristic for Trobriand forms of talk; it constitutes the default register of Trobriand discourse. On the basis of my consultants' explanations of the concept of 'sopa' I could come up with the definition and description of this variety of Kilivila and I could list its constitutive genres (see 8 above). Because of the fact that the *biga sopa* variety offers the only license for the verbal breaking of taboos and thus for the licensed use of *biga gaga* Ibova had no problems in reciting the bawdy verses that accompany the Tobabana string figure to her little grandchildren. The various *biga sopa* genres that include *biga gaga* characteristics — like the ditty Ibova recited — also serve the function of so-called “safety valve customs” (Heymer 1977: 187; Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984: 492 ff).

This ethological concept needs some explanation: Every society puts some of its realms, domains and spheres under certain specific taboos. However, the stricter the society is in regard to its observance of these taboos, the more these taboos are ignored. But a society can secure its members' observance of certain taboos, especially of taboos that are important for its social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966), by allowing the discussion of its taboos — especially of the sociologically less important ones — as topics of discourse. It may even allow its members to imagine the ignorance of taboos — in a fictitious way, of course. And this is exactly how and why safety valve customs develop. Texts and utterances that show features of *biga gaga* are first of all classified as *sopa* — as play, as something fictitious in Trobriand society. The *biga sopa* thus generates a forum where the breaking of taboos — and thus the use of (milder forms of) “bad language” — is allowed, if it is done verbally! This forum permits a specially marked way of communication about something “one does not talk about” otherwise.

Thus, the *biga sopa* variety channels emotions, it keeps aggression under control, and it keeps possibilities of contact open. This concept with its tension-releasing functions secures harmony in the Trobriand society and contributes to maintaining the Trobriand Islanders' social construction of their reality.

It is obvious that the understanding of this metalinguistic concept is crucial for everybody who wants to learn Kilivila and to use the language situation-adequately in social interactions — and it goes without saying that this insight also holds for the other situational-intentional varieties of Kilivila mentioned above. The Trobriand Islanders' metalinguistic vocabulary codifies extremely important aspects of their own indigenous or emic theory of their language!

Once I had gained these important insights into the metalinguistics of Kilivila situational-intentional registers and their constitutive text-categories, I systematically collected data illustrating the genres of these varieties and discussed them intensively with my consultants. In the course of this documentation — the compilation of my Kilivila *corpus inscriptionum* which was guided by the Trobrianders' own — emic — metalinguistic concepts, I also learned much about the conventions, rules and regulations with respect to how the Trobriand Islanders'

use their language in social interactions, what kind of meanings their words, phrases and sentences convey in what kind of contexts and what kind of functions the use of language fulfills in and for its speakers' communicative behavior. The acquisition of these pragmatic rules that govern the adequate and appropriate use of Kilivila in different communicative contexts was decisive for reaching my aim to meet Malinowski's (1922: 24f.) claim to "grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world".

3. My Kilivila corpus inscriptionum — a brief survey and a critical acclaim

Immediately after I returned from my 1983 fieldtrip I started to compile the grammar and the Kilivila-English / English-Kilivila dictionary (which was published in 1986), because I was convinced that after my 15 months of fieldwork I was at the height of my acquired speech competence in Kilivila. Already in 1901 Georg von der Gabelentz pointed out the following:

Ich wiederhole es, dieser Aufgabe [eine Sprache zu beschreiben] ist nur der gewachsen, der die Sprache praktisch beherrscht: das wissenschaftliche Kennen, das Erkennen und Beurtheilen setzt ein Können voraus; die wissenschaftliche Darstellung wird nichts Anderes sein, als eine sachgemäße Erklärung dieses Könnens. Es ist dies ein Zustand, dessen sich der Grammatiker bewußt sein muß, und in welchem er sich Eins weiß mit dem Volke, dessen Sprache er lehren will

(von der Gabelentz 1901: 82)¹⁰

It was only on the basis of my speech competence in Kilivila that I could collect natural speech data in the Kilivila speech community. The will to learn the local languages and the effort to speak it facilitates the researcher's establishment in her or his field. The gradually growing knowledge of the language opens up insights which are extremely difficult to gain otherwise. If we accept that one of the most important aims of research within the humanities is to understand meaning, than it is obvious that the royal road to reach this aim is speech, communication, verbal interaction. On the basis of my grammar it was easy to enhance the accessibility and analysis of almost all kinds of speech data I collected throughout my research on the Trobriand Islanders' language, culture and cognition. However, it goes without saying that there were some grammatical phenomena which remained problematic for me to describe in an adequate and appropriate way. In Senft (1994) I provide a list of these cases with an explanation why I could not properly cope with them. Among these cases were the four series of possessive pronouns which

¹⁰ This quote translates as follows [my translation, G.S.]:

"I repeat, only somebody who commands a language can meet this challenging task [to describe a language]: scientific knowledge, recognition and assessing requires competence; the scientific presentation cannot be anything but an appropriate explanation of this competence. This is a condition a grammarian needs to be aware of and in which he is at one with the people whose language he wants to teach."

can also be analyzed as possessive or relational classifiers. On the basis of my publications Matthias Passer re-analyzed the data in his PhD thesis on "The Typology and Diachrony of Nominal Classification" in which he presents — among many other fascinating research results — an elegant and convincing model of possessive marking in Kilivila (Passer 2016: 32ff).

During my field trips in 1982/83 and 1989 I especially collected data that documented different forms of ritual communication (see e.g., Senft 2009b) and specific grammatical and semantic phenomena like the system of nominal classification in Kilivila (Senft 1996; 2008b), complex serial verb constructions (Senft 2008c) and the inventory and use of color terms (1987; 2012b). The data on ritual communication fit into the Trobriand Islanders' metalinguistic typology of genres and the speech varieties constituted by them.

With the exception of the genres 'yakala' — 'litigations' (which I could not observe during my field research) and 'kavala' — 'intimate personal speeches', and '-kasemwala-' — 'propositioning, seducing' (which I did not even try to document because of ethical reasons), I have illustrated all the other genres and thus the situational-intentional varieties of Kilivila in my *Kilivila corpus inscriptionum*.

As pointed out above and elsewhere (see Senft 2010: 276ff), speakers of Kilivila recognize speech genres because of their specific linguistic and/or contextual features and because of their being embedded in specific situative contexts, and they have no difficulties whatsoever in noting when a speaker is shifting from one genre to the other. Whoever wants to speak and understand Kilivila properly must acquire this ability to recognize these genres, to assign them to the situational-intentional variety which they (co)-constitute and to understand their pragmatic function in, and for, the Trobriand Islanders' speech community.

To my knowledge, the Trobriand Islanders' typology of situational-intentional varieties and their constitutive genres documented in my published and/or accessible parts of my Kilivila corpus is as exhaustive as possible.¹¹ However, I want to emphasize here that this claim of 'exhaustiveness' only refers to varieties and genres that are metalinguistically labeled in Kilivila. Malinowski pointed out that the Trobriand Islanders realize the difference between myth and historic account, although they do not mark the difference with specific metalinguistic terms. That is to say, the realized difference between myth and historic account is not articulated in emic categories. During my long-term fieldwork I have also collected a number of descriptions of how to do certain things (like building a canoe, making a sail, burning lime, making a grass-skirt, etc.) and I have documented how mothers talk with their babies; these 'ways of speaking' are not differentiated by specific metalinguistic labels from other forms of talk in Kilivila, either. Thus, I am aware of the fact that my description of the Kilivila 'ways of speaking' purely in terms of emic genres is not complete in the strict sense of the term (see also Sherzer 1983:16). I am also aware of the fact that Duranti's (1988:

¹¹ See my list of publications: <https://www.mpi.nl/people/senft-gunter/publications> and especially Senft (2010).

220) critical assessment of the ethnography of speaking paradigm applies to my approach as well:

A possible criticism of speech-event analysis is that it tends to select strips of interaction that are labeled by a culture, but it may overlook those interactions which are not recognized as units of some sort by the members. It should be mentioned here that, although the presence of a lexical term for a given activity or ‘strip of interaction’ is only one level of local organization of experience — perhaps the most obviously ideological — the lack of a term for any given such ‘strip’ is an interesting clue for fieldworkers.

However, my *corpus inscriptionum* for Kilivila provides such a great variety of ‘ways of speaking’ and kinds of speech that I think I can live with this criticism, especially given the fact that I am aware of the limits of my endeavor.

Besides my guided collection of speech data which illustrate the Trobriand Islanders' metalinguistic typology of registers and their constitutive text categories I also collected data on specific grammatical phenomena like “nominal classification” and “serial verb constructions” as well as data at the interface of language, culture and cognition manifest in semantic domains like “space and spatial conceptualization” (Senft 2001) and in domains characterized by so-called ‘ineffables’ like “the emotions” (Senft 2017a&b) and “the senses” (Senft 2011). These research projects provided important insights into the relationship between language, culture and cognition within the Kilivila speech community.

With respect to the discussion of my Kilivila *corpus inscriptionum* it is also interesting to note that there are no proverbs in Kilivila, that there are no poems, either (despite the fact that some of the songs, especially the ‘*wosi milamala*’ are highly poetic), and that there are no forms of drama (despite the fact that singing the ‘*wosi gilikiti*’ during a game of Trobriand cricket is a highly staged event and a kind of dramatic performance).

Finally, I want to emphasize once more that with the situational-intentional varieties and their constitutive genres I documented in my published data and my overall Kilivila corpus, I have provided the Trobriand Islanders’ indigenous — emic¹² — framework for, and at the same time illustrated, the *corpus inscriptionum Kiriwiniensium* Malinowski asked for (and partly founded himself). I have also described the functions these varieties and their constituting genres fulfill with respect to the Trobriand Islanders social construction of reality. The salient relevance of these situational-intentional varieties and the genres that constitute them is so important for the speech community that it is one of the most important characteristics of the language to be recognized in anthropological linguistic field research. To repeat it once more: whoever wants to learn, speak and describe Kilivila properly has to grasp them, because the understanding of these concepts is compulsory for the adequate use and understanding of this language. All speakers of a natural language must learn and acquire the rules of the verbal and nonverbal

¹² See footnote 8 above.

communicative behavior that are valid in, and hold for, their speech community. In the course of this learning process one of the most important objectives is to understand and to duplicate the construction of the speech community's common social reality (see Senft 2014: 86ff). Thus, whoever wants to research the role of language, culture and cognition in social interaction must know how the researched society constructs its reality. Researchers need to be on 'common ground' with the researched communities, and this common ground knowledge is the prerequisite for any successful research on language, culture and cognition manifest in social interaction. An as exhaustive as possible *corpus inscriptionum* of a language provides a sound basis for anybody who wants to — or needs to — acquire this common ground status. This is the most important prerequisite for all attempts "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world" (Malinowski 1922: 24 f).

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Research Article

Mexican Politeness: an Empirical Study on the Reasons Underlying/Motivating Practices to Construct Local Interpersonal Relationships

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Abstract

Fundamental concepts are all too often taken for granted in im/politeness research, especially since they are not always carefully and fully defined before researchers engage in confronting methodological issues. Definitions of im/politeness may reflect ‘armchair’ or intuitive approaches (Jucker and Staley 2017), which frequently ignore the sociocultural context within which relational work is performed. Following Larina’s (2015) concept of *communicative ethno-style*, this study examines how Mexican im/politeness studies regularly build on classic ethnocentric decontextualised im/politeness approaches (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987) and fail to understand laypeople’s co-constructed discursive approaches (e.g. Watts 2003). This paper questions national and regional stereotypical approaches to understanding im/politeness practices and patterns. It examines the Mexican context and identifies how relational work is carried out at a localised level. Individual interactants can decide how they want to come across and which pragmatic resources they will employ when constructing, developing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. The paper is structured in the following way. First, I examine theoretical, discursive and contextually explanatory approaches to researching Spanish-language im/politeness in general. Then, by focusing on individual underlying social and linguistic behaviour, I scrutinise particular Mexican sociocultural politeness practices such as displaying *confianza* (familiar trust) and *respeto* (hierarchical respect) (Félix-Brasdefer 2008). In order to do so, I asked interview participants to assess their own motivations behind employing such im/politeness practices and provide experiences/instances of Mexican sociocultural practices. Finally, discussion focuses on how Mexican interactants co-construct interpersonal relations and how these are reflected through localised im/politeness patterns and practices

Keywords: *Mexican understandings of im/politeness, choice, relational work, interpersonal language*

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Мексиканская вежливость: эмпирическое исследование причин использования коммуникативных практик для конструирования межличностных отношений

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Аннотация

Фундаментальные понятия в исследовании не/вежливости часто принимаются как данность, хотя ученые, приступая к решению методологических проблем, не всегда дают им четкие и полные определения. Определения не/вежливости могут отражать далекие от реальности интуитивные подходы (Jucker & Staley 2017), нередко игнорирующие социокультурный контекст, в котором осуществляется взаимодействие. Опираясь на понятие *коммуникативного этностиля* Т. В. Лариной (Larina 2015), настоящая статья показывает, что исследования мексиканской не/вежливости в значительном числе случаев исходят из классических этноцентрических деконтекстуализированных концепций (например, Brown & Levinson 1987) и не учитывают наивные дискурсивные подходы (например, Watts 2003). В данной статье подвергаются сомнению национальные и региональные стереотипные подходы к пониманию коммуникативных практик и моделей не/вежливости. В ней анализируется мексиканский контекст и выявляется, каким образом реляционные проблемы решаются на локальном уровне. Индивидуумы могут выбирать, какой образ себя они хотят представить и какие прагматические ресурсы хотят применить, конструируя, развивая и поддерживая межличностные отношения. Статья структурирована следующим образом. Сначала в ней анализируются теоретические, дискурсивные и контекстуальные объяснительные подходы к рассмотрению испаноязычной не/вежливости в целом. Затем исследуется индивидуальное социальное и языковое поведение, а также детально рассматриваются мексиканские социокультурные практики вежливости, такие как выражение доверия близким (*confianza*) и иерархического уважения (*respeto*) (Félix-Brasdefer 2008). С этой целью был проведен опрос, в котором участникам предлагалось оценить свои собственные мотивы использования таких практик не/вежливости и привести примеры мексиканских социокультурных практик. И, наконец, рассматривается, каким образом коммуниканты участвуют в конструировании межличностных отношений и как это отражается в мексиканских паттернах и практиках не/вежливости.

Ключевые слова: мексиканское понимание не/вежливости, выбор, реляционные практики, язык межличностного общения

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1. Introduction

In an effort to categorise theoretical im/politeness models and to classify the ever-increasing number of im/politeness studies, researchers often structure different approaches in terms of first, second and third waves (Kádár 2017; Kádár

and Haugh 2013). This step has proved useful in separating universalistic theoretical first-wave perceptions from situationally focused discursive second-wave understandings. Meanwhile, third-wave approaches attempt to interrelate theory and practice so that practical observation can be grounded within a theoretical framework (Kádár 2017). These lines of research, however, have either taken for granted, or grappled with, definitions of politeness, impoliteness, rudeness etc., especially since theoretical politeness models (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987: Leech 1983) reflect ethnocentric and decontextualised perspectives (e.g., see Culpeper 2011a). On the other hand, as discussed by Culpeper (2011a), discursive approaches which examine situated and localised im/politeness instances often lack an explanatory framework from which it is difficult to draw any overall conclusions regarding im/politeness patterns and practices. As a result, third-wave approaches attempt to construct explanatory meanings from situated im/politeness practices.

Building on first-, second- and third-wave approaches to understanding politeness, I examine motivation and choice behind Spanish-language im/politeness practices (Fitch 2007) as interactants decide how they want to come across personally, interpersonally and socially. Personal projection of politeness, following Halliday's personal dimension, reflects 'the expression of our own personalities and personal feelings' (1973/1997: 36). The interpersonal aspect signals participant co-construction i.e. 'the achieving of meaning and action in interaction (Arundale 2010, 2078). Meanwhile, societal norms will dictate acceptable and appropriate politeness behaviour (Fraser 1990).

To understand communicative choices from the language users' perspective, I adopt a participative approach (Kádár and Haugh 2013), which helps identify personal, interpersonal and social patterns of behaviour, or what Larina (2015) terms *communicative ethno-style*. This position examines how laypeople employ im/politeness in establishing, maintaining, enhancing and undermining relationships (see also Spencer-Oatey 2008a, and section below on Second-wave Politeness). Given the predominantly Western cultural influence on im/politeness studies which are often seen to be ethnocentric, this study examines Latin American practices with a focus on how Mexican interactants engage in relational work. To this end, 32 middle-class Mexican professionals were interviewed regarding their perception of Spanish-language im/politeness communicative modes or speech events (Fitch 2007).

To examine the concept of politeness choices, I first relate first- and second-wave approaches to the study of Latin American politeness practices. Subsequently, I survey communicative choices that Mexican participants employ in order to express im/politeness. Then, the results of the interviews are presented and analysed so as to understand how these resources are used to achieve relational objectives. It should be stated from the outset that this is not a comparative study — other cultures may well adhere to the same practices. However, the objective of this study is to understand how Mexican interactants themselves understand their own practices.

2. Spanish-language politeness

Whilst im/politeness studies in Spanish have largely compared and contrasted regional practices and are heavily influenced by universalistic ‘Anglo-American models’ (Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005: 166), less research work has focused on relational dimensions that allow interactants to construct their own modes of behaviour. So rather than attempting to survey Spanish-language politeness research which has been amply and carefully carried out by Placencia and García (2007) and Félix-Brasdefer and Mugford (forthcoming), this work examines how choice is enacted in Spanish-language politeness practices. As seen in the ensuing examination of the three waves, Mexican politeness ought not to be discussed in ‘scientific’ terms but rather needs to be studied regarding how it is enacted and perceived by the interactants themselves.

2.1. First-wave politeness

First-wave politeness approaches in Spanish have mainly concentrated on studying speech acts (Marquez Reiter and Placencia 2005), mitigation (Czerwionka 2014; Maíz-Arévalo 2018) and terms of address (Mugford and Arias Moreno 2017). These communicative activities reflect the use of strategic and ritual politeness (Bernal 2018). First-wave approaches are theory-driven and are supported by practical examples as opposed to examining real-life practices and conventions, and consequently constructing a theoretical framework. Classic approaches towards politeness adopt a universalist approach and claim that politeness practices are similar across languages: ‘The essential idea is this: interactional systematics are based largely on universal principles. But the application of the principles differs systematically across cultures, and within cultures across subcultures categories and groups’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 283).

Strategic politeness ‘refers to acts intended to avoid face-threatening risks’ (Bernal 2018, 133). Research into speech acts, for instance, has focused on how interactional objectives are achieved as seen through Ecuadorian refusals of offers (Placencia 2019) or Venezuelan and Argentinean invitation practices in terms of distance and power (Garcia 2008). Meanwhile, mitigation may be achieved through the use of diminutives (e.g. *-ita* in *abuelita* to show affection for grandmothers) and intensifiers (*-ísima* as in *buenísima* to say ‘very good’) and consequently provides choices regarding how interactants wish to express emotion, affect, and closeness (Czerwionka 2014; Maíz-Arévalo 2018). With regards to terms of address, interactional choices take into consideration the addressee, context and communicative function. For instance, Mugford and Arias Moreno (2017) argue that the T/V pronoun distinction in Mexican Spanish cannot solely be understood by identifying predetermined social variables, e.g., power and respect, but needs to be understood through the concepts of autonomy and affiliation (Bravo 2008) (see also Scollon and Scollon 1995). Whilst hardly new, these concepts reflect an attempt to describe Spanish-language politeness in its own terms rather than solely

rely on Anglo-American ethnocentric and decontextualised models (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983). Bravo (2008) argues that autonomy refers to how an interactant wants to portray him/herself and how he/she wants to be seen by others. Therefore, the choice of T/V pronouns often reflects how an interactant positions him/herself with respect to others.

Ritual politeness reflects everyday behavioural practice which ‘occurs in meeting situations (which include acts of greeting at their initiation and saying goodbye at the end), and visit situations, including several acts that are performed by the host or the guest, according to their situational role in the encounter’ (Bernal 2018: 266). Bernal’s definition, which also appears to cover conventional politeness (for the distinction, see Terkourafi and Kádár 2017), would indicate that choice is determined by interpersonal relationships, situation and communicative purpose.

Whilst identified in first-wave politeness approaches, choices reflect communicative strategies rather than how interactants envisage their overall relationship with others and they reveal how relationships can be developed, maintained or disregarded. First-wave approaches provide a strong theoretical basis and framework with which to construct an understanding of politeness patterns and practices but often lack a situational setting in which to examine its actual use and practice.

2.2. Second-wave politeness

Second-wave politeness approaches in Spanish have focused on local contextual language use across conversational turns as opposed to examining single speech acts. Bernal (2018) discussed this in terms of valorising and discursive politeness. Valorising relates to relational work, e.g. rapport enhancement (Spencer-Oatey 2008a) whilst discursive reflects interactional and conversational expressions of politeness. Spencer-Oatey’s work is especially relevant for second-wave Spanish-language politeness research as she argues that ‘[e]very language... provides a very wide range of linguistic options that can be used for managing face and sociality rights, and hence for managing rapport’ (2008b: 21). This means that each language needs to be studied as to how rapport is expressed interpersonally, situationally and contextually at both the individual and interactional levels. This can be achieved through ‘[t]he discursive approach [which] is focused on the analysis of utterances in context and concerns itself with the judgements of individuals...’ (Mills 2017: 15). Therefore, in trying to understand politeness practices and patterns, the individual interlocutors are the focus of attention.

Valorising politeness attempts ‘to enhance the face of interlocutors, which can be achieved through acts such as directly complimenting them (their intelligence, their physical appearance) or things that belong to them’ (Bernal 2008, 268). This can be carried out by engaging in face-boosting acts (FBAs) (Bayraktaroğlu 1991, 2001) and face enhancement (Sifianou 1995). In the Mexican context, FBAs are often expressed by demonstrating ‘*confianza* — ‘sense of deep familiarity’ (Félix-Brasdefer 2006, 2162); *camaraderie* — interpersonal intimacy (Félix-Brasdefer

2008); *afiliación* — group affinity and loyalty (Curcó 2007); *respeto* — respect for the addressee's personal integrity (Curcó 2007); and *reciprocidad* — reciprocity (Curcó 2011)' (Mugford 2014: 108). These strategies aim to develop and consolidate interpersonal relationships by directly, often publicly and unreservedly bolstering the face(s) of other interactants.

Discursive politeness is revealed in conversational turns as interactional resources aid the co-construction of communicative meaning between participants. Discursive politeness 'utilizes the social function of showing interest for the interlocutors as competent speakers and of showing commitment with their discourses, ratifying them as valid narrators' (Bernal 2018: 136). In Spanish-language interaction this needs to be considered in terms of identity (Fant 1989), self-assertiveness (Fant 1989) and affiliation (Bravo 2008). The expression of identity, self-assertiveness and affiliation can be seen in such discursive patterns as the sequential organisation of talk and organisation of turn-taking patterns (Márquez Reiter and Placencia 2005). These practices can be specifically examined in backchannelling, interrupting, latching, overlapping, etc., as interactants establish their individuality and affiliation with other participants. For instance, whilst interrupting is socially proscribed, observation

in all but every formal meetings between strangers, suggests that Spaniards talk over each other (a) without necessarily 'interrupting' the speaker, (b) without any intention of impeding the beginning, middle or end of a message, but rather (c) most often simply to express an opinion for forcefully showing enthusiasm, passion and positive involvement in the conversation... (Hickey 2005: 318)

Therefore, interrupting practices in Spanish often allow participants to demonstrate their individuality, self-assuredness and identification with other interactants. A discursive approach can also be found in Fernández-Amaya (2019) who examines assertion and affiliation in terms of disagreement and impoliteness in a WhatsApp interaction within a Spanish family. She concludes that disagreement within the family should not necessarily be interpreted as face threatening.

Second-wave research provides rich data but the nature of its situational collection and analysis means that greater theoretical insights and implications may not be achieved and explored. As argued by Haugh (2007), the discursive approach runs the risk of abandoning politeness theory altogether and reducing its field to the study of interpersonal interaction.

2.3. Third wave politeness

Third-wave politeness interrelates communicative practice with theoretical understandings. It attempts to offer a contextually explanatory approach to understanding why participants behave in certain ways. Third-wave politeness understandings reject first-wave rationalistic theory-driven approaches which exemplify 'its principles with examples of observed language use' (Grundy 2000,

186). Unlike second-wave approaches, it attempts to construct theory and explanation from situated politeness practices. A third-wave approach was adopted by Culpeper (2011b) in order to understand participants' understanding of impoliteness. He collected a mass of data including video recordings, written texts, corpus data and 100 informant reports and by also administering an impoliteness perception questionnaire. Based on findings from such data, Culpeper made firm scientific statements regarding impoliteness practices. However, as argued by Márquez Reiter and Placencia, '[t]he model of politeness that has had the greatest impact in the work of Hispanists, as in the work of other language specialists, is without doubt that of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987)' (2005: 177). Consequently, Spanish-language politeness research work has focused on supporting theory with practical examples. However, there are exceptions and third-wave approaches can be found, for instance, in Félix-Brasdefer who 'examined pragmatic variation in the context of service encounters in markets in Yucatán, Mexico' including 'the forms of address used to negotiate the request (stylistic level)' (2012: 44). He concludes that

... it is important to understand that requests for service in commercial (and non-commercial) settings are co-constructed and are the result of a collaborative process between buyer and seller to conduct transactions and to achieve meaning in social interaction. (Félix-Brasdefer 2012: 44)

Meanwhile, Márquez Reiter examined how Spanish speaking 'participants to service calls may navigate commercial constraints in their attempt to pursue their interactional agenda' (2019: 140). With both the call centre agent and the client negotiating high levels of ambiguity, Márquez Reiter (2019) sheds light on the minutiae of trying to achieve a sale and client resistance and the interactive resources that the participants employ to further their irreconcilable agendas.

3. Mexican sociocultural values

Mexican politeness practices reportedly focus more on the hearer rather than on the speaker. For instance, Grinstead (2000, in Curcó 2007) argued that 'Mexicans place the hearer in the center and the self on the periphery' (Curcó 2007: 113). This study examines and questions this assertion and examine the focus on Mexican politeness practices. Mexican politeness practices have been identified in second-wave approaches as a way of understanding politeness patterns and conduct. However, work still needs to be done on explaining the theoretical basis for these choices (a third-wave approach). In order to avoid privileging first-wave politeness methods which reflect researcher analysis, this paper takes a user-centred approach by asking the interactants themselves what is the rationale behind engaging in specific politeness practices and to highlight their perceptions and understandings of politeness practices. By examining real-life practices and conventions, this paper consequently aims to construct a subsequent theoretical framework rather than commencing with a theoretical framework or solely looking at politeness practices

in a series of communicative situations. Since politeness conduct always involves choice, there must be a basis for interacting in a certain manner. In this way, everyday relational activity can be related to an overall framework of interpersonal understandings and communicative meanings.

If Mexican politeness as a concept cannot be described in universalistic terms as argued in classic politeness theory and only at a discursive level, it becomes important to examine how interactants themselves understand politeness practices and conduct. This position is supported by Locher and Larina who underscore the importance of the 'evaluative and situated nature of concepts such as impoliteness or politeness' (2019: 875). Whilst Mexican politeness practices such as *confianza*, *camaraderie*, *afiliación*, *respeto*, and *reciprocidad* have been identified (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer 2008; Mugford 2011, 2013, 2014), little follow-up work has specifically examined, illustrated and exemplified the phenomenon. A greater understanding can be achieved by constructing a theoretical framework around which their use highlights how interpersonal and transactional relationships are constructed, developed and are maintained in everyday Mexican Spanish politeness practices.

Mexican politeness practices reflect relational work as interactants establish, develop/enhance and play with interpersonal and transactional relationships. One way of achieving this is by engaging in such practices as *mostrar confianza* (show familiar trust) and *mostrar respeto* (demonstrate hierarchical respect) (Félix-Brasdefer 2008). A specific politeness practice will depend on personal choice, interpersonal cooperation and social patterns of behaviour. Furthermore, politeness practices need to be related to specific speech communities and, therefore, the following terms relate specifically to the Guadalajara metropolitan area, which is located in western central Mexico, with a population of more than 5 million inhabitants.

When establishing relationships, participants will often focus on identifying and responding to the needs of others, which involves showing respect (*respeto*), catering to others' needs without being purposely asked (*ser servicial*) and recognising others' social status (*dar su lugar*). These actions acknowledge the addressee's social status and pay them the respect that they are seen to be worthy of.

In maintaining relationships, participants will often do good and help others without seeking or expecting any reciprocal action (*hacer el bien*) and are ready and willing to help when needed (*acomodarse*). Such activities reflect conformity to social norms and, at the same time, indicate a disinterested desire to respond to the needs of others.

To develop and enhance relationships, interactants frequently adopt a much more personal dimension by demonstrating very Mexican expressions of closeness, certainty and trust (*mostrar confianza*), and openly display a sense of fondness, affection and warmth towards others (*mostrar cariño*). Such manifestations may be apparent through *face boosting acts* as interactants publicly strengthen others' positive image and standing.

The ludic dimension to interpersonal relationships can be seen through good-natured teasing (*echar carrilla*) and joking/pulling someone's leg (*vacilar*). Whilst conversationally risky, the use of playful language, if successfully carried out, can further consolidate relationships as addressees do not feel that their *face* has been threatened or undermined.

These categories can be summarised as follows:

Relational work	Mexican Spanish term	Translation to English
Establish relationships	<i>Dar su lugar</i> <i>Mostrar respeto</i>	Recognise social status Show respect
Maintain relationships	<i>Hacer el bien</i> <i>Ser servicial</i> <i>Acomedirse</i>	Do good to others Be helpful and attentive Be ready / willing to help
Develop/ enhance relationships	<i>Mostrar confianza,</i> <i>Mostrar cariño</i>	Show trust Show affection
Play within relationships	<i>Echar carrilla</i> <i>Vacilar</i>	Tease Pull someone's leg

Figure 1: Mexican Spanish-language relational modes

Given the interpersonal, cooperative and social nature of Mexican politeness practices, interactants have the freedom to enact them in the way they want to (or not at all). How relational work is actually carried out depends on individual choice as interactants decide how they want to adhere to personal, interpersonal, cultural and social patterns of behaviour. Therefore, choice offers the participants communicative options regarding how they want to come across in each individual relationship.

4. Data and Methodology

To carry out the study, emails were sent out during October 2019 to 100 potential respondents inviting them to participate in the research which aims to understand the relational choices available to interactants when enacting politeness. The participants were requested within a month to complete a questionnaire which asked them whether they employed a particular politeness resource and, if so, why, with whom and where (see Appendix). In follow-up interviews, the participants were asked to recall and highlight specific politeness patterns and practices.

The politeness categories examined in this paper build on classification studies previously undertaken by Félix-Brasdefer (2008), Fitch (2007) and Mugford (2011) who have examined concepts such as *respeto* (respect), *ser servicial* (to be helpful and obliging) and *confianza* (sense of deep familiarity). This study centres on respondents' subjective perceptions of politeness practices in terms of personal motivation and choice. It adopts a self-report methodology as followed by Hernandez-López (2019) who examined 120 Airbnb reviews to understand users' emotional orientations. In the same vein, in this study, participants were asked whether they undertook a specific relational practice (**Adherence to practice**).

Whilst it might be anticipated that interactants would automatically say yes, the underlying focus of the study is on understanding the motivation behind politeness practices. Consequently, participants were asked why they might engage in an individual practice (**Relational focus**) i.e. why use it and for what purpose. They were then asked with whom they used the practice (**Focus of practice**) and where (**Context**). The close similarity of the answers suggests that inferences and suppositions can be drawn from the results. Whilst these might not lead to solid conclusions, they do provide insights into Mexican politeness practices.

4.1. Participants

From the emails sent out, 32 respondents agreed to take part in the study. The profile of the participant in this study is that of a middle-class Mexican educational professional holding a university degree and aged between 25 and 40. (Further research may reveal whether social and education backgrounds are important factors in studying Mexican politeness practices.) The respondents are all personally known to the researcher through professional and social networks. They live in the Guadalajara metropolitan area, Mexico's second largest conurbation after Mexico City. The respondents were assured of a complete anonymity with their answers. At the same time, all of the answers were written in English and none of their answers have been modified or corrected in any way.

4.2. Categories Analysed

In order to analyse politeness practices, data are discussed in terms of the relational work in which interactants participate as they establish, maintain and develop / enhance relationships or how they engage in play within relationships. To understand how interactants establish relationships, a language of description highlights key concepts such as respect, assistance and concern for others as interactants show interest in recognising the status of others and supporting their wellbeing. As interlocutors seek to maintain relationships, important notions concern social harmony, comity and responsiveness as interactants try to be alert, aware and sensitive to the needs of others. To further develop and/or enhance rapport, interlocutors often pursue more meaningful interpersonal relationships which are often expressed through the concepts of solidarity, supportiveness and closeness. Finally, by engaging in play within relationships, participants demonstrate greater levels of trust and closeness, especially in terms of camaraderie, commonality and interpersonal cohesion.

4.3. Questionnaire and interview design

The questionnaire asks respondents to consider whether they adhere to nine Mexican relational practices which have been discussed above; *dar su lugar* (recognise others' social status); *mostrar respeto* (show respect); *hacer el bien* (help others without seeking reciprocal action), *ser servicial* (cater to others' needs), *acomodarse* (be ready and willing to help), *mostrar confianza* (demonstrate

closeness, certainty and trust), *mostrar cariño* (display fondness, affection and warmth towards others), *echar carrilla* (good-natured teasing) and *vacilar* (joking/pulling someone’s leg). Respondents were asked first of all whether they adhere to these practices and if so, what they consider the function of these relational practices to be. They were subsequently asked to say whom they used them with and in which situations or contexts. In conclusion, these questions aim to determine the popularity of these practices among young adults. Follow-up interviews reflected reconstructed dialogue as participants were asked to recall specific incidents that exemplified a given politeness practice.

5. Results

As perhaps is to be expected, most participants utilized all the politeness resources. However, the element of choice can be perceived in their motivation for employing individual resources and with whom and in which context. Due to space limitations, some practices are exemplified more than others.

Dar su lugar

Of the 32 respondents in the study, 26 practise *dar su lugar* (recognise others’ social status):

Table 1

Use of *dar su lugar* (recognise social status) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Dar su lugar</i>	26	Self: 5 Others: 6 Society: 15	Everyone: 6 Family: 16 Friends: 5 Co-workers: 8 Socially: 10	Everywhere: 9 Home: 4 Work: 6 Social: 13

The main motivation (15 replies) was social consideration of others in order to show respect and hierarchy since *every person deserves to be treated as what they are* (MP8) and *to show politeness because of cultural tradition* (MP25). Participants asserted that *dar su lugar* is mainly practised in the family (16 replies) and to some extent at work (8 replies). This finding reflects the importance in Mexican politeness practices of recognising hierarchy and status both in the family and at work. While practised on an everyday basis, it is particularly prevalent in social events where interlocutors are sensitive to the status of others. Therefore, *dar su lugar* can be seen as a semi-private display of politeness and is not especially evident with friends or in everyday life.

The enactment of *dar su lugar* can be seen through everyday practices such as recognising addresses’ professional status e.g. the public use of titles such as *arquitecto* (architect) and *ingeniero* (engineer) before their last name or acknowledging educational achievement by addressing hearers as *licenciado(a)* if they hold a B.A. and especially if it is a law degree.

Mostrar respeto

With regards to *mostrar respeto* (show respect), all the respondents said that they engaged in this practice:

Table 2

Use of *mostrar respeto* (to show respect) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Mostrar respeto</i>	32	Self: 12 Others: 9 Society: 11	Everyone: 10 Family: 9 Friends: 6 Co-workers: 13 Socially: 15	Everywhere: 14 Home: 5 Work: 14 Social: 12

Respondents were divided as to why they express respect. with 12 participants saying that it was for reciprocal reasons: *I do it because I expect respect from others too* (MP4), *I like to be respected* (MP21) and *I treat people the way I wish I was treated* (MP29). In second place were societal reasons for showing respect: *To show hierarchy between old people and young people* (MP2), *to build feelings of wellbeing* (MP6) and *to show education* (MP27). Results show that it is a widespread public practice which aims to reinforce societal relations in terms of social harmony, comity and responsiveness.

In the Mexican context, *mostrar respeto* is an everyday practice which recognises age, social status and professional standing. So, for instance, Karla was sitting on a bus with her sister, Carolina, when an elderly lady got on and Carolina offer her seat with *¿Gusta sentarse?* (Would you like to sit down?). Whilst Carolina's action may be interpreted as simple good manners, her language usage reveals a deeper level of Spanish-language respect (see, for instance, Félix-Brasdefer (2008), Fitch (2007) and Mugford (2011). Besides using the respectful *usted* form, she employed the invitational *gustar* which carries the implied meaning of hopefully being pleasing to the addressee. Therefore, the simple use of two words was enough to recognise the elderly lady's societal status.

Hacer el bien

When it comes to *hacer el bien* (help others without seeking reciprocal action), only one respondent said that they did not engage in this practice:

Table 3

Use of *hacer el bien* (to help others) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Hacer el bien</i>	31	Self: 18 Others: 6 Society: 7	Everyone: 14 Family: 8 Friends: 10 Co-workers: 7 Socially: 9	Everywhere: 18 Home: 2 Work: 7 Social: 10

Results indicate that although the relational practice is defined as being generous and giving, the majority of interactants, (18 replies), engaged in this practice for self-oriented and reciprocal reasons: *I feel good myself* (MP 21), *well in my opinion, if I do good I will receive good* (MP 23) and *to have a clear conscience by conforming to established moral standards* (MP32). Whilst well established as a common social practice and performed in public contexts, the rationale seemed to be especially focused on the self.

Hacer el bien means doing the right thing in interpersonal and transactional relationships. For instance, in the following incident, recounted by Fabiola, office recruitment staff in the human resources department in the company where she works had received new prepaid cards with which to buy groceries. However, they went to see their manager, Fabiola, to report that they had been paid twice: on both new and old pre-paid cards. She narrates the incident in the form of reconstructed dialogue:

- Sara: Fabiola, depositaron doble en la tarjeta de vales. O sea, tengo dinero en las dos tarjetas.
 Fabiola: ¿En serio? Déjame revisar si en la mía también.
 Sara: Sólo quiero saber cuál es la buena.
 Fabiola: La nueva tarjeta, la anterior fue un error.
 Sara: Va, Gracias.

Minutos después entraron los 4 reclutadores y entregaron sus tarjetas de vales viejas.

- Sara: Les dije que te las dejáramos, porque se puede hacer mal uso de esas tarjetas y mejor te las dejamos aquí. Ya avisamos a nuestros compañeros y amigos que no las vayan a usar.

Translation:

- Sara: Fabiola, they deposited money in both voucher cards. I mean, I have money on both cards.
 Fabiola: Seriously? Let me check and see if it is the same with mine as well.
 Sara: I just want to know which is right one.
 Fabiola: The new card, the old one is a mistake.
 Sara: Ok. Thank you.

Minutes later the 4 recruiters returned and handed in their old pre-paid cards.

- Sara: I told them to leave them, because you can misuse those cards and we better leave them here. We already warned our colleagues and friends not to use them.

Whilst the incident can be seen, on one level, as an act of honesty, the employees' actions and language reveal underlying relational practices. Sara is not seeking recognition or praise but clarification: *Sólo quiero saber cuál es la buena*. (I just want to know which is the right one). There is no hint of her trying to take advantage of the situation. Beside handing in the old cards without being asked to

do so, the employees went further and asked other colleagues not to use the cards. Her actions are aimed at rectifying the situation: *mejor te las dejamos aquí* (we better leave them here).

Ser servicial

With respect to *ser servicial* (cater to others' needs), only four participants said that they did not engage in the practice:

Table 4

Use of *ser servicial* (cater to others' needs) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Ser servicial</i>	28	Self: 16 Others: 10 Society: 2	Everyone: 6 Family: 16 Friends: 11 Co-workers: 11 Socially: 7	Everywhere: 8 Home: 9 Work: 13 Social: 13

Similar to *hacer el bien*, the practice is focused on both the self and reciprocity as 16 interactants gave these reasons as their prime motivation: *To show others that I was well raised* (MP 3), *Because I look ahead, maybe one day I'll need help with something and I would like to count on someone* (MP8) and *I like to feel helpful* (MP13). However, it is important to recognise that many participants claim to be *servicial* for interactional reasons: *to help others* (MP5) and *people might need help, and also, it's better if more people finish a task all together* (MP19). Rather than being a widely practiced social phenomenon, it seems to be mostly employed with family, co-workers and friends and seen in the home, at work and in social events. Similar to *mostrar respeto*, it can be seen in terms of promoting social harmony, comity and responsiveness.

Ser servicial (to cater to others' needs) can be seen in everyday expressions in Mexican Spanish such as *mande* (literally meaning 'command me'), *a sus ordenes* (at your service) and *un servidor* (literally meaning 'a servant', but used in a third-person way to refer to oneself). The act of being *servicial* often means completely focusing on others' needs as seen in the following incident recalled by Alberto, a schoolteacher:

Two mothers were at a school party, making sure everything was being taken care of. At the moment of serving the food, there were some waiters, but they [the mothers] were also helping to serve the food. They were asking if we needed something additional to what we were offered. Since I had been in contact with one of them, she approached me and asked me how I was doing and if I needed anything else at that moment.

Hola maestro, ¿cómo está? Espero que le esté gustando todo esto, la señora Rodríguez y yo quisimos venir a ayudar a organizar el evento para ustedes. ¿Gusta que le traiga algo más?

(Hello teacher, how are you? I hope you like all this, Mrs. Rodríguez and I wanted to come to help organize the event for you. Would you like something else to be brought?)

The mothers adopted the role of servers and their only concern was the smooth running of event. Their submissiveness is conveyed through language such as *Espero que le esté gustando todo esto* (I hope you like all this) and the use of the third person address form as in *¿cómo está?* (how are you?). This incident reveals that *ser servicial* is not just a matter of being deferential to those in authority but to be willing to cater to the needs of others over a wide range of contexts.

Acomedirse

When asked if they engaged in *acomodarse* (to be ready and willing to help), only 25 respondents said that they followed this practice:

Table 5

Use of *acomodarse* (ready/willing to help) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Acomedirse</i>	25	Self: 12 Others: 8 Society: 5	Everyone: 5 Family: 18 Friends: 10 Co-workers: 10 Socially: 5	Everywhere: 6 Home: 10 Work: 9 Social: 11

Respondents were divided as to why they engaged in this practice, although most gave reciprocity as the main reason: *Again you never know when you're going to need someone's help* (MP6), *To help people and to let people know that I'm not a lazy person* (MP21) and *I do it so it returns to me later in the future* (MP31). However, other interactants engage in *acomodarse* for much more social reasons: *just to help others if they're struggling with something in particular* (MP19) and *cause if you can make someone's job or activity easier or you know how something is done and can do it, why wouldn't you?* (MP20). Results indicate that it is an extremely public practice performed throughout society and over a wide variety of social contexts.

Acomedirse (to be ready and willing to help) is often carried out surreptitiously and without fanfare as can be seen in the following example related by Sara.

On December 25, Berenice, took a male friend to her grandparents' house for Christmas lunch and during the meal the friend was very polite and talking all the time. Grandad said, Hey Berenice you said you were going to bring a friend not a refugee: "He eats like an orphan". Everyone laughed. The guest said, the food was delicious and there was no way that he couldn't eat so much. When they finished eating and they remained at the table. He went to the bathroom and when he returned, he went straight to do the dishes. No one noticed until the grandmother went to the kitchen, saw him and said:

Abuela: ¿Qué haces?
Invitado: En mi casa me enseñaron a lavar los trastes y lavé los trastes de todos.

Translation:
 Grandmother: What are you doing?
 Guest: At home I was taught to do the dishes and I have washed everyone's dishes.

The guest had helped out by doing the washing-up without the hosts being aware. The act of *acomodarse* demonstrates how interactants will help out in surreptitious and unnoticed ways without wanting to seek any recognition.

Mostrar confianza

In terms of *mostrar confianza* (demonstrate closeness, certainty and trust), 28 respondents said that performed this practice:

Table 6

Use of *mostrar confianza* (show closeness) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Mostrar confianza</i>	28	Self: 4 Others: 22 Society: 2	Everyone: 3 Family: 19 Friends: 21 Co-workers: 5 Socially: 2	Everywhere: 5 Home: 13 Work: 7 Social: 15

In *mostrar confianza*, the main and overwhelming motivation was concern for others: *I do it because I like the others to feel comfortable* (MP1), *to show others that they are in a comfortable atmosphere* (MP3) and *to build trust and happy and healthy relationships* (MP6). This practice does appear to be more limited to family and friends and carried out in social contexts and especially at home. Therefore, it might be considered to be a more private expression of relational work which aims to reinforce solidarity, supportiveness and closeness.

To demonstrate *confianza* (i.e. closeness), interactants will often display a degree of openness regarding their personal lives which in other cultures would only take place after a long period of friendship if at all. The level of *confianza* emerges through interactants' willingness to engage in *cotorreo* (chit-chat), *chisme* (gossip) and *albures* (puns with double meanings).

Mostrar cariño

When asked to focus on *mostrar cariño* (display fondness, affection and warmth towards others), only four participants said that they did not engage in this practice:

Table 7

Use of *mostrar cariño* (display affection) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Mostrar cariño</i>	28	Self: 12 Others: 16 Society: 0	Everyone: 0 Family: 28 Friends: 25 Co-workers: 1 Socially: 0	Everywhere: 3 Home: 18 Work: 6 Social: 12

The phenomenon of *mostrar cariño* can be seen as a private and interactional phenomenon that responds to personal and relational needs. On a personal level, interactants said they used it *to show I care for the person or thing* (MP26), *to show someone that you love them* (MP28) and *it feels nice to be nice and show it* (MP 29). Meanwhile, on a more interactional level, *mostrar cariño* can *make the other person know he's special* (MP6), *show a level of closeness and care and even love in a relationship* (MP14) and *build a relation* (MP15). Consequently, this practice is focused mainly on friends and family, especially at home and on social occasions. Similar to *mostrar confianza*, *mostrar cariño* also furthers solidarity, supportiveness and closeness.

The demonstration of *cariño* on an everyday basis can be seen through the widespread use of diminutives to express endearment e.g. *abuela* (grandmother) becomes *abuelita* and *mamá* (mother) can become *mamita*. Meanwhile nicknames are also a common way of showing endearment e.g. *el güero* (light-haired) and *el chino* (curly-haired).

Echar carrilla

With regards to *echar carrilla* (good-natured teasing), 25 respondents said that they engage in this practice:

Table 8

Use of *echar carrilla* (good-natured teasing) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Echar carrilla</i>	25	Self: 10 Others: 13 Society: 2	Everyone: 1 Family: 17 Friends: 23 Co-workers: 9 Socially: 0	Everywhere: 4 Home: 8 Work: 7 Social: 11

The practice of *echar carrilla* is mainly performed for interactional reasons although there is a strong personal component. Among the interactional reasons were: *To laugh at ourselves and have a good time* (MP6), *to have fun and to form a closer relationship* (MP13) and *to have fun and laugh or a while, it's also a way to showing when you feel comfortable enough to joke around* ((MP23). However, personal reasons seem to be equally important: *to laugh, to have a good time*

(MP12), to show some “humour” (MP 25) and have some fun with people you like having around (MP28). At the same time, *echar carrilla* is a semi-private practice mainly performed at home, socially and sometimes at work. When successful, *echar carrilla* can be seen to strengthen camaraderie, commonality and interpersonal cohesion.

Echar carrilla (good-natured teasing) can be interpreted as harmless language play as interactants engage in relational ribbing. This can be seen in the following incident where Carla remembered when one of her friends, Dafne was *echando carrilla* with Edna who was in a long-distance romantic relationship. Dafne said playfully ¡Eehhh *le gustas!* (Eeee you like him!), *Es guapo* (He is good-looking), *Van a hacer una pareja bonita* (You guys will make a really nice couple) and ¡*Tráelo aquí!* (Bring him here!). Carla sees this gentle ribbing as polite and said the friend was only “echando romantic carrilla” (engaging in romantic teasing). This serves to reinforce the relationship between Dafne and Edna and Dafne is demonstrating explicit approval of the boyfriend.

Vacilar

With respect to *vacilar* (joking/pulling someone’s leg). 24 respondents engaged in this practice:

Table 9

Use of *vacilar* (joking/pulling someone’s leg) in constructing interpersonal relationships

Relational practice	Adherence to practice	Relational focus	Focus of practice	Context
<i>Vacilar</i>	24	Self: 15 Others: 9 Society: 0	Everyone: 1 Family: 17 Friends: 20 Co-workers: 8 Socially: 2	Everywhere: 6 Home: 8 Work: 9 Social: 10

In comparison to *echar carrilla*, the practice of *vacilar* is more self-focused as respondents gave the following motivations: *because I am in a good mood ... I wanna joke or because the other person did it to me before* (MP7), *sometimes I use (in moderation) it to get relax with people around me, as an icebreaker* (MP21) and *to have fun with people you like having around* (MP28). However, there is an interactional dimension: *To show closeness have fun* (MP11), *to show the level of closeness and informality in a relationship* (MP14) and *to counter attack a joke or to make everybody laugh* (MP26). Similar to *echar carrilla*, *vacilar* is a semi-private practice mainly performed with friends and at social events. Similar to *echar carrilla*, *vacilar* can also bolster camaraderie, commonality and interpersonal cohesion.

Vacilar (leg-pulling) can involve making fun of others and of oneself as seen in this example provided by Sandra.

This past weekend my dad ran into a neighbour in the grocery store. My dad then gave him a ride back to his house because he was carrying a lot of many bags. On the way, the neighbour said, *Fíjese, nomás venía por una cosa y vea con todo lo que salí* (Can you believe it, I just came for one thing and look at everything that I came away with). To this my dad replied, *Yo también, cómo ve, ando de mandilón* (Me too, what do you think, I just do what my wife tells me to do).

Sandra says that her father was just joking in calling himself un *mandilón* and that he was being ordered about. However, the self-deprecation potentially creates a bond between the two men as they can see themselves in the same situation.

In summary, the results indicate that, whilst most participants employ the full range of relational practices, they do not do so for the same reasons. I have declined to show a final graphic to jointly show the responses for all the categories under analysis because this may give the false impression that these politeness practices represent alternative strategies. Rationale and context may vary between interactants and therefore represent a much more personalised motivation and choice behind the use of relational resources which reflect social harmony, comity, solidarity, supportiveness, camaraderie and commonality.

6. Discussion

Results from the research indicate that respondents view the enactment of politeness from both individual, interactional and societal viewpoints, as they seek to construct interpersonal relationships. Spanish-language first- and second-wave approaches provide useful insights into Mexican relational talk, especially in terms of strategic and ritual politeness (first wave) and valorising and discursive politeness (second wave). However, a third-wave approach may be more productive in trying to theorise politeness practises and extend understanding to other communicative contexts.

Spanish-language first-wave approaches that focus on strategic politeness (Bernal 2018: 133) help understand the reciprocal motivation of interactants who enact politeness strategies as part of a quid pro quo, especially with regards to *mostrar respeto*, *hacer el bien*, *ser servicial* and *acomedirse*. For instance, with *mostrar respeto* (show respect), 12 participants asserted that they demonstrated respect because they expected to be respected in turn. This also seemed to be the case with *hacer el bien* (help others without seeking reciprocal action), where 18 respondents said that they expected to be repaid in kind in the future. A similar situation can be seen with *ser servicial* (cater to others' needs), where 16 participants reported that it portrays them in a positive light, and they hope to be helped in a similar way in the future. A similar situation can be found in *acomedirse* (ready and willing to help), where 12 participants said that they expected to be helped out in the future. At the same time, politeness strategies also reflect Bravo's (2008) affiliative stance as also seen in interactants' answer to why they *mostrar respeto*, *hacer el bien*, *ser servicial* and *acomedirse*. Rather than engaging in these

politeness practices as a way of avoiding *face threatening acts* (Brown and Levinson 1987), Mexican respondents' answers revealed that they were more focused on developing comity and harmonious and cordial relationships. However, in the category of *dar su lugar* (recognise others' social status), 15 respondents said that they enact this practice as a way of adhering to cultural and societal norms. Since the use of these strategies tends to reflect the beginning of social and transactional relationships, their strategic use may be due to interactants trying to determine how evolving relationships might further develop and therefore can perhaps be better understood in terms of ritual politeness which 'occurs in meeting situations' (Bernal 2018: 266).

Second-wave discursive approaches reflect valorising politeness (Bernal 2018), as interactants try to enhance and further relationships while showing affiliative appreciation for the ongoing relationship. This can readily be seen in *mostrar confianza*, *mostrar cariño*, *echar carrilla* and *vacilar*, where politeness patterns and practices are more focused on developing, consolidating and reinforcing relationships. For instance, in *mostrar confianza* (demonstrate closeness, certainty and trust), 22 respondents said that they engaged in this practice as part of relational work. On the other hand, *mostrar cariño* (display fondness, affection and warmth towards others) revealed both interactional (16 replies) and personal (12 replies) motivations. The same situation can be seen with *echar carrilla* (good-natured teasing), which reflects the same practices: interactional (13 replies) and personal (10 replies). On the other hand, *vacilar* (joking/pulling someone's leg) is more focused on interactants having fun: personal (15 replies) and interactional (9 replies).

Whilst the research has identified the possible motivation behind a range of politeness strategies, a deeper understanding can be attained by developing a theoretical framework which explains how social harmony, comity, solidarity, supportiveness, camaraderie and commonality are achieved which seem to go beyond first- and second-wave explanations. At first blush, interactional relationships in Mexican Spanish have a strong transactional element, especially with initial contacts as interactants expect to be acknowledged on a similar basis if they engage in practices such as *mostrar respeto*, *hacer el bien*, *ser servicial* and *acomodarse*. The results in this study therefore question the perception that Mexican interactants are primarily focused on disinterestedly satisfying the needs of others (as argued by Grinstead 2000). So, while interactants may show genuine interest in recognising the status of others and supporting their wellbeing, they may still expect to be reciprocated in turn. Secondly, Mexican politeness strategies contain a strong emotional dimension (i.e. *mostrar confianza* and *mostrar cariño*), as well as a ludic dimension (i.e. *echar carrilla* and *vacilar*). More research needs to be conducted into the emotional and ludic dimensions as they represent a much more dynamic and evolving individually motivated nature of politeness which are strongly related to the development, consolidation and even deterioration of a given relationship.

7. Conclusion

An understanding of local politeness practices provides insights into how interpersonal relationships are developed, constructed and maintained as interactants pursue both personal, interpersonal and societal goals within a given community. Politeness patterns and practices need to be studied and analysed as motivated language use and not just in terms of simple relational work. Rather than ‘matching linguistic forms with politeness values and assessing their appropriateness’ (Ogiermann and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2019: 2), this research points to a third-wave approach that matches interactants’ perceptions with possible theoretical understandings. Since this investigation focused on middle-class Mexican professionals, future research needs to examine the social dimension to motivation and choice by examining other social groups.

So, whilst relational phenomena such as showing *respeto*, *confianza* and *cariño* (along with *camaraderie*, *afiliación* and *reciprocidad*) need to be further identified, illustrated and exemplified, a greater understanding can be achieved by constructing a theoretical framework around their use as reported by the interactants themselves. This can be achieved by using taped or videotaped data followed by interviewing participants and discussing with them why a certain politeness practice was employed. However, this paper should be seen as an initial attempt to identify practices and identify what the users themselves claim to be doing. In the case of everyday Mexican Spanish politeness practices, these insights highlight how choices and motivations influence interlocutors as they construct, develop and maintain interpersonal and transactional relationships.

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Appendix

Do you follow these Mexican relational practices? I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions. All answers will be treated anonymously.

Relational practice	Do you follow these practices? Yes / No	If yes, why do you use them? What is their purpose?	Who do you use them with? (e.g. friends, family, classmates)	Where do you use them? (e.g. at work, school, social events)
<i>Dar su lugar</i>				
<i>Mostrar respeto</i>				

Relational practice	Do you follow these practices? Yes / No	If yes, why do you use them? What is their purpose?	Who do you use them with? (e.g. friends, family, classmates)	Where do you use them? (e.g. at work, school, social events)
<i>Hacer el bien</i>				
<i>Ser servicial</i>				
<i>Acomedirse</i>				
<i>Mostrar confianza</i>				
<i>Mostrar cariño</i>				
<i>Echar carrilla</i>				
<i>Vacilar</i>				

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Research Article

Speech Etiquette in Online Communities: Medialinguistics Analysis¹

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Abstract

The article deals with the peculiarities of communicative politeness in the poorly investigated sphere of Russian-language communication focusing specifically on online groups. The purpose of the article is to identify the ways and means used in this environment for the organization of polite communication. A distinctive feature of the author's research approach is the analysis of etiquette in the context of a dialogue, which means not only the analysis of the rules of stimulus, but also the rules of reaction, which corresponds to the systematic approach as a general principle of media linguistics (as a research method). The article defines speech etiquette as a system of norms and rules of polite speech behavior, the observance of which ensures the existence of the online community. The study allows us to conclude that the communicative tactics of etiquette in online groups are as follows: a) the participant's inclusion into the community is regulated; b) bans on some forms of speech behavior are established and sanctions for violations of bans are imposed; c) high communicative status is provided to the author in different ways and freedom for creative self-expression is guaranteed to each participant; d) on the one hand, the establishment of contacts with a partner suitable in one or another parameter is stimulated, on the other hand, the degree of the partners' proximity is regulated in accordance with the wish of its initiator; e) the opportunity to give/receive a response to a particular activity of the communication initiator is provided. These setups are implemented via a variety of resources, including both technical and speech means of address and response. Netiquette, drawings and images help to ensure emotional comfort. An adequate communicative distance is supported by abbreviations used in speech and understood only by the group members, by creating an adequate balance in the use of elevated and low stylistic means, in the use of methods creating a comic effect. Following speech etiquette rules is promoted by a kind of communication sanitation, which is carried out by the group administrator and the participants themselves. Participants use a metatext, which demonstrates the reflection of the group participants' speech activity. The existing rules in online communities are aimed at making communication emotionally comfortable, ensuring easy navigation, neutralization of aggression, and prevention of speech crimes, encouraging the users to demonstrate courtesy and display attention to one another.

Keywords: *online community, speech etiquette, communication comfort, media linguistics, norms and rules of communication, communicative threats and risks*

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Речевой этикет в онлайн-сообществах: медиалингвистический анализ

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Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются особенности вежливости в малоизученной сфере русскоязычного онлайн-общения. Цель статьи — выявить средства, используемые в онлайн-коммуникации для организации вежливого общения. Речевой этикет определяется как система норм и правил речевого поведения, соблюдение которых обеспечивает существование онлайн-сообщества, поскольку они направлены на создание эмоционального комфорта в общении, демонстрацию внимания друг к другу, обеспечение удобной навигации, проявление учтивости, нейтрализацию агрессивности. С этой целью в сети реализуются следующие коммуникативные тактики: а) регламентируется включение участника в комьюнити; б) оговаривается речевая форма авторского самовыражения, устанавливаются запреты на некоторые формы речевого поведения и налагаются санкции за нарушения запретов; в) автору обеспечивается высокий коммуникативный статус и каждому участнику — свобода для творческого самовыражения; г) стимулируется, с одной стороны, установление контактов с подходящим по тем или иным параметрам партнером, с другой стороны, регулируется степень близости партнеров в соответствии с пожеланием его инициатора; д) предоставляется возможность оставить/получить отклик на то или иное коммуникативное действие инициатора общения. Эти установки реализуются использованием множества ресурсов, среди которых как технические, так и речевые средства адресации и реагирования. Эмоциональный комфорт помогают обеспечить этикет, рисунки и фотоизображения. Адекватная коммуникативная дистанция поддерживается использованием в речи понятной лишь участникам группы аббревиации, созданием адекватного баланса возвышенных и сниженных стилистических средств, приемами создания комического. Исполнение речевого этикета поддерживается своего рода санацией коммуникации, которую осуществляют администратор группы и сами участники. Участники используют метатекст, отражающий рефлексию их речевой деятельности. Существующие правила в онлайн-сообществах направлены на то, чтобы сделать общение эмоционально комфортным, нейтрализовать агрессию, поощрять пользователей демонстрировать вежливость и проявлять внимание друг к другу.

Ключевые слова: *онлайн-сообщество, речевой этикет, комфортность общения, медиалингвистика, нормы и правила общения, коммуникативные угрозы и риски*

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1. Introduction

The great variety and diversity of network communities or public groups of open and closed types spread on social networking platforms has formed new types of Russian-language communication in which text and audio-visual information is exchanged. Sociologists note that the novelty of those communities is defined by the following factors: they objectify flexible horizontal communication links which

are characterized by voluntary participation, anonymity, the game nature of communicative roles, and virtual identification of partners (“friends”) — which is often far from reality, and mediation (Boyd d., & Heer, 2006^{1, 2}; Konchakovskiy, 2010; Pronkina, 2016; Sergodeev, 2014).

Many online communities organized in the network create their own speech etiquette (hereinafter SE) which, along with the generally recognized rules (=communicative values) of social speech behavior (and sometimes in contrast to them), are important for this particular social group. The study of speech etiquette in these communities will help to understand the nature of the connections established in them and answer many questions important for humanities. What communicative purpose (themes) unite the participants? In what communicative situations and how are the rules of interaction within the community expressed? What resources provide emotional comfort and efficiency to the participants of the interaction? Which of the newly formed norms of speech communication are embedded in the architecture of the existing rules of building relationships, and which contradict them? Finally, does the social structure of communication participants influence the rules of communication within the communities?

The need to answer these questions stimulates research interest in the speech practice of the communities united on different bases (on the bases of thematic, professional interests, social roles, etc.). Representatives of different research fields aimed at understanding the peculiarities of communication in different communities come to opposite conclusions. For example, sociologists argue that the rules “regulating the communication of community members through the mechanisms of cultural diffusion become almost the same for many typical groups” (Sergodeev, 8). The linguistic analysis which allows introducing the participants’ speech behavior peculiarities into the sphere of visibility testifies to the differences in the rules (see, for example: Osetrova 2015). It becomes obvious that it is impossible to comprehend new forms of sociality in virtual reality when using only sociological analysis — the linguistic analysis of network communities’ organization is necessary as it draws attention to the form of the participants’ interaction.

Therefore, in order to understand how the rules of interaction in a community differ from the generally accepted ones and what is the relationship between the participants’ social characteristics and the deviations from the generally accepted ones, it is necessary to identify those rules and resources for their implementation. The purpose of the paper is to establish the rules of speech interaction in online groups and the means by which they are implemented. To achieve the goal, we will try to answer a number of questions: a) what are the semantic and pragmatic coordinates of SE in social networks? b) in what situations do they manifest themselves? c) what are the speech markers of etiquette situations?

2. Problem statement

Studies of speech etiquette have been conducted for several decades; however, due to the extraordinary diversity of the speech etiquette phenomenon, there is no

generally accepted definition of it in the modern linguistic literature: there are different ideas about semantic and pragmatic boundaries of SE and its linguistic markers in different languages.

In earlier linguistic studies, SE was seen as a set of stable, often formulaic and ritualized etiquette units and formulas, normative for communicants, assigned to stereotypical situations: “Greeting”, “Acquaintance”, “Farewell”, “Apology”, “Gratitude” and others (described in the following works: Akishina, Formanovskaya 1983; Coulmas 1981, 2005; Ferguson 1966; Goffman 1974; Goldin 1983; Kasper 1990, etc.), characteristic for interpersonal communication. In other words, speech etiquette is understood as the rules of communication formulas’ use where the latter are nationally-specific, stereotyped, stable, adopted and prescribed by society to manifest the attention to the interlocutor and aiming to support a comfortable, relaxed atmosphere in the interaction.

Gradually, not only ritualized etiquette formulas have become the subject of SE linguistic research. In a number of works devoted to the peculiarities of everyday communication, authors began to talk about the scenarios of establishing communicative contact, its maintenance and interruption in accordance with the rules of social interaction that have developed in such cases: situations of formal/informal communication, gratitude, apology, leave-taking, etc. However, linguistic analysis of scenarios often focuses on vocabulary and phraseological units used in etiquette situations (Akishina, Formanovskaya 1983; Balakai 2004, Goldin 1983; Ferguson 1976; Kostomarov 1971etal).

The spread of pragmatics with its attention to the communicants’ interaction expression has expanded the idea of SE in linguistics. The study of SE turned to larger units of its analyses in pragmatics, theory of speech acts, genre studies, units of a special group — etiquette speech genres, some of which became the objects of research (Blum-Kulka 1984; Duskaeva, Kornilova 2012; Olshtain 1984; Prokofyeva, Vasilieva 2016; Tarasenko 2002). With the transition to the study of speech etiquette genre design, its semantic and pragmatic boundaries have changed, since speech etiquette was now understood not only as the rules of using language manifestations of courtesy, but also as the rules of using linguistic and non-linguistic means characterizing the emotional attitude to the addressee, as well as the distance between communicators. With the introduction of the concept of politeness into linguistics and the establishment of the principles of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987), it became possible to correlate this property with the manifestation of speech etiquette. The latter began to be seen as a compliance with the rules of decency, courtesy in speech, communication harmonization manifested in the use of speech interaction forms in accordance with certain situations, as well as with gender, age, degree of kinship and acquaintance between the participants of communication. Thus, the rules of harmonization began to correlate with the speech etiquette manifestation.

Some researchers argue that “the widely accepted interpretation of etiquette forms as forms of politeness” is wrong (Khrakovskiy, Volodin 1986, 224), “the

expression of politeness and etiquette in language... must be differentiated” (Alpatov 2018, 7). Khrakovskiy and Volodin (1986, p. 224) write: “According to the existing dictionary interpretations, politeness is explained as courtesy or civility. When observing the rules of speech etiquette, we are usually not courteous and kind on purpose; we are neutral in this respect and cannot behave otherwise in a situation when we are forced to choose one of the forms of address... Nonetheless, language can express a polite speaker’s attitude to the listener... regardless of the interlocutors’ social status”. They conclude that the researchers rely on imperative forms’ expression for etiquette purposes. However, the subsequent study of SE as a system of forms refutes this statement. Thus, according to Larina, politeness in the Russian language “is compliance with the rules of conduct (not to violate means to observe)” (Larina 2009, 137). The researcher refers to the data of the Russian language dictionaries, in which *polite* is defined as ‘observing the rules of decency; courteous’. Larina emphasizes the differences in understanding politeness in different cultures: the English believe that to be polite means to show respect and attention to others, whereas Russians think it means to know and follow the rules of conduct (Ibid, 141), “Russians prefer sincere and informative behaviour rather than manners and tact” (Larina 2015: 196). Our data confirm these conclusions.

In situations of online communication, the user faces a choice — to employ or not employ etiquette forms the use of which is considered to be a manifestation of politeness. It seems natural that the concept of speech etiquette is gradually expanding in Russian and foreign linguistic research: the rules of speech behavior include not only stable formulas, but also compliance with the principles, postulates and maxims of speech behavior, which provides for a comfortable flow of communication, relieves tension in relations between communicators and makes communication effective (Grice 1975; Formanovskaya 2015; Held 2005; Kaspé, 1990; Kerbrat-Orecchion, 2006; Lacoff 1973; Leech 1983; Locher 2004; Risinzon 2010; Sifianou 1999). Studies of SE as a means of harmonization in everyday spheres (Akishina, Formanovskaya 1983), diplomatic (Ratmair 2009), business (Cubajevaite, Ruzaitė 2007) have shown that the means and methods for courtesy expression in different spheres of communication may vary. In this regard, there is a need for a differentiated study of SE depending on communication spheres, including media (Ermakova 2000; Duskaeva 2018; Pakhomova 2008; Risinzon 2010). This problem statement requires defining the SE concept in its relation to every other sphere.

Definition of SE in online communities

Despite the breadth of researchers' interest in certain aspects of speech etiquette in communicative practice, the problem of the definition of SE is far from being solved. The problem of a systematic integrated approach developing for its analysis remains open, too. The question of speech etiquette in online communities is becoming part of a broader and more urgent problem of individual communicative behavior in a virtual environment. The questions about the communicative boundaries of the personal and public spheres, about the admissibility and inadmissibility

of discussing intimate details in the public space of communities were analyzed. The use of spoken vocabulary, and slang in particular, is seen as a reflection of distance convergence between communicators (Kornilova, Vasilieva 2015; Ermakova 2000). In some communities, the lack of novelty in messages is regarded as a violation of speech etiquette (Osetrova 2015).

Considering the nature of communication links between the participants, researchers raise the question about the transformation of the universal concept “friendship” in the network community (Boyd, d., & Heer J. 2006₂). In particular, it was found that the concepts “friend” and “friendship” in virtual communication acquire a different connotation, serving only to establish communication links between the participants. This meaning is, in fact, synonymous with the term “link”, which is used in network analysis. When a person has hundreds of “friends” on the Internet, the mutual emotional component of the concept is distorted. The concept of “friendship” has little in common with the original meaning of the word; it becomes less significant and more technological (Boyd 2006₁).

Compliance with speech etiquette is one of the most important factors in the successful achievement of communicative goals in online communication. Before taking part in group communication, future participants get acquainted with the general rules of communication in the group and then act according to them. Familiarity with the features of online communication shows that it is more conventional than direct communication, during which communicators always have the opportunity to adjust their behaviour. Conventions within communities are established in accordance with the proclaimed communicative values. Turning to the practice of organizing interaction in groups, we find that the administrator usually outlines and details the rules of speech behavior for group members on the main page of the community. Judging by the results of the analysis, we can speak about the formation of a special type of text — “Warning of the administrator-initiator addressing the community members”, which aims to set out the speech etiquette for the group and at the same time to demonstrate the rules of speech interaction accepted in the community.

The text type tends to include a statement of the rules of communication in the group, including: prohibitions concerning certain forms of verbal behavior and certain actions of speech, restrictions concerning individual speech acts, and the imposition of sanctions for violations of the community speech etiquette. The set of rules makes it clear what communicative values the communication is based on. Familiarity with the rules of group communication set out by community administrators, contributes to the reconstruction of communicative intentions in the user’s speech activity associated with compliance with the speech etiquette rules. The first part of the text type is, as a rule, a thematic group’s presentation: 1) “*Dear friends, members and participants, our Group is created for the thematic friendly communication. Please, observe the rules of network etiquette to avoid misunderstanding!*” (from the rules, “Leonardo, dai vinchik!” — https://vk.com/topic-33158301_27022648). Uniting the participants on the basis of the theme and friendly

participation is declared as the goal of the group, while compliance with the network etiquette rules is a condition of successful existence in it. The examples show that the preservation of thematic unity in the online communities' speech interaction is their communicative value, and a task of all participants is to sustain it. The thematic unity is required in the rules of many groups: (1) *When uploading photos — follow the album's theme* (from the rules, "Leonardo, dai vinchik!"); 2) *it is prohibited to discuss third-party topics or issues not related to the group's topic, other resources, media or events*. Another communicative value is friendliness in communication (in the rules it is stipulated as follows: (2) *Thank you in advance for your understanding and desire to make our group more polite and friendly* (from the rules of the tattoo community).

The requirement is expressed with requests: (1) ... *follow the theme of the album*; 2) *Don't be rude, if criticized*; with warnings: *If you post a photo of your tattoo or its preliminary sketch get ready for criticism*; with prescription of actions: *Queries with questions and requests to rate this tattoo are to be republished on behalf of the group with the mark of the author*; *The requests that have been met, are immediately removed*; with the rationale for the prescription (for example, the promise of "benefit" which the recipient will receive following the norms of communicative behavior, with the construction of the future tense: *so your request will be visible to the majority of participants, you will get more answers or ratings*; or with a subordinate clause of purpose: *not to clog the wall*).

The rules also introduce a ban on certain speech actions: *it is forbidden to post links to groups in comments to photos; spam and flood are prohibited; advertising of any goods and services, appeals to "put heart-emojis", to join in certain communities, to vote for someone in the contests, and other messages which can be generally perceived as "spam" are prohibited*; on certain forms of verbal behavior: *trolling, flame (conflict provoke) and curse words are prohibited; overt and covert brutality, rudeness, insults, personal claims, altercation, discussion of personal qualities of any of the forum participants are prohibited*; on some types of meaningful statements: *It is forbidden to insult others on the basis of ethnicity; Advertising and links to third-party groups is prohibited, advertising can only be placed under the title "Your advertising" https://vk.com/topic-37497136_28208666; racism, religious and political statements, discussion of non-related topics or issues not related to the group's topic, other resources, media or events are prohibited*.

The prohibitions set out in the rules are, among other things, a declaration of the group's values. As we can see from the examples above, administrators announce the unity of the theme, ease of communication, and emotional comfort. The prohibited disorganization of posted messages and spam bring inconvenience. Deviation from the topic announced in the group as the primary rule or diverting the conversation to the political sphere makes it difficult to maintain interest in the conversation. Aggressiveness breaks emotional stability and can potentially provoke speech crimes for which the group will be closed and the administrator will be punished.

To protect values, sanctions are imposed for different types of communication violations: *The site administration reserves the right to delete comments or parts of comments if they do not meet these requirements. If you violate the rules, you may be given a warning. In some cases, you may be banned without warning. You should write to the administrator about lifting bans. Insulting administrators or moderators is also punished with a ban — respect other people's work* (<https://vk.com/pages?oid=17605759&p=%CF%D0%C0%C2%C8%CB%C0+%CE%C1%D9%C5%CD%C8%DF+%C2+%C3%D0%D3%CF%CF%C5>). For the presentation of sanctions, two types of structures are important: 1) those explaining the conditions of their imposition — a prepositional-nominal form (*in violation of the rules*) or a conditional subordinate clause (*if they do not meet these requirements*); 2) those describing the sanctions (*reserves the right to delete comments or part of the comments; a warning can be given; are punished with a ban*). Following the rules helps to prevent speech disorders in advance and to warn against committing speech crimes.

The rules of speech etiquette are necessary for the formation of online communities: they contribute to the internal organization of the community. On the one hand, following the rules provides for the possibility of each community member's active self-presentation; on the other hand, the rules ensure the stability of interpersonal communication links. The participant's situational communicative intentions include: informing (notifying, training, instructing) or phatic (game), supporting communicative connection with other participants by means of comic. The realization of these goals is valuable for communicants.

We can conclude that speech etiquette in online groups is a system of verbal and non-verbal resources, the use of which in dialogical communication allows participants to maintain comfortable involvement in communication as they contribute to the achievement of the following tasks: a) regulation of the participant's inclusion in the communication environment; b) conventionalization of the speech form of the author's self-expression, prohibition of some forms of speech behavior and imposing sanctions for the violations of those prohibitions; c) preservation of the author's high communicative status in different ways and providing each participant admitted to communication with freedom for creative self-expression; d) on the one hand, stimulation of contact establishment with suitable partners according to different criteria; on the other hand, regulation of contact proximity with them according to the wish of its initiator; e) providing an opportunity to give/receive different forms of response to a particular activity of the communication initiator; f) the indication of the behavior deviance, restrictions on deviations from the speech behavior rules existing in the networked society, until the records are removed. Therefore, in order to comply with SE in social networks, it is important to maintain communicative values shared by the whole community during the entire interaction; to detect communication threats in time and neutralize them with condemnation or even imposition of sanctions.

Linguistic analysis of speech etiquette involves the identification of the characteristics of communicative relations between the online communities'

participants and their linguistic indicators established by the rules. To analyze verbal interaction in online groups, we used the metalinguistic axiological method the peculiarities of which are discussed below.

3. Methods of Data Analysis

To characterize the set of communicative rules between group participants and identify their linguistic features, we used the metalinguistic praxeological method which helps to investigate the dynamics of speech activity deployment in different spheres of communication (Duskaeva 2018). The praxeological method includes several research operations: 1) development of functional-semantic typology of statements, 2) disclosure of linguacompositional properties of communicative actions in each type, 3) critical analysis of the selected form while checking whether it complies with the rules of comfortable communication.

The first research operation is the development of functional-semantic typology of statements. It is carried out through a consistent reconstruction of the participants' communicative intentions associated with the compliance with the rules of speech behavior in the network. At this stage, the typical ways of the compositional organization of statements are revealed as social and communicative actions carried out in the sequence of speech. Taking into account the dialogical nature of communication in the group, it was expedient to highlight the sequence of situations in which the group communication plot develops. The first situation is the initiation of two types of contact: a) invitation to participate in the group, b) speech stimulation; the second scenario is the continuation of the contact (speech reactions); the third situation is the presentation of communicative rules; the fourth is the reaction to a communicative provocation or violation of communicative rules.

When inviting individuals to participate in the group, i. e. initiating communication, administrators introduce the rules of speech activity (theme and form of contact). The administrator-initiated warning addressed to the community members is intended to prevent the group members' speech misconduct. As it was determined in the analyses of SE in group communication in nets, such a "warning" sets out prohibitions on certain topics, imposes restrictions on certain speech actions, and informs about sanctions for community speech etiquette violations. Contact is stimulated by giving participants the opportunity to express their communicative interests. In the subsequent speech response, stress relievers are used.

When performing the second research operation, the focus is on the stylistic analysis of statements in order to reveal the means of implementing communicative goals. The analysis of the organization of speech communication reveals the means of contact initiation and response, emotiveness, expression of communication evaluation, identifies violations of the etiquette and use of verbal sanctions. At this stage, the typical ways of compositional organization of statements as social and communicative actions are revealed in the sequence of speech. Attention to the system of separate resources used in the course of interaction to achieve communicative comfort makes it possible to reveal the "anatomy" of the speech activity

harmonization; its main feature is the research interest in the role of individual linguistic and non-linguistic means in their etiquette expression.

It is important to understand that the speech etiquette of online communities includes the rules of using not only verbal means but also non-verbal signs of netiquette: signals, indices and symbols among them. Comfort in online communication is created with signals that are signs of warning, indexes or symbols — signs that do not only indicate an object but also have an additional modal meaning: they express general ideas and concepts related to the interpretation of the object, express the attitude to communication and to the recipient (Brief Encyclopedia of Symbols).

The third research operation is a detailed critical analysis of the SE resources determined on the second research stage. It shows which means make communication comfortable or, conversely, create discomfort. To see the “work” of etiquette resources maintaining the high status of both the communication initiator and the recipient, it is expedient to analyze the use of etiquette tools in the dialogue through a sequence of speech interactions.

This four-part structure of media-linguistic analysis allows us to study the SE inside the speech activity as tools, techniques and ways of harmonization that develop the “plot” of communication, accompany speech interaction, make it comfortable, and relieve stress. The four approaches interact and gradually reveal different sides of speech etiquette in communities.

4. Material Analysis

The major material of our analysis was the speech practice of two network Russian-speaking groups. The first group “*Ask the Experienced Ones*” is localized on the site “*Country of Moms*” (<https://www.stranamam.ru/post/14016040/>); its participants are women who are looking for answers to their family life everyday questions in group communication. The structure of dialogical communication consists of the interaction: “Request for advice — Advice of the experienced users”. The second group is “*Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!*” in the social network V Kontakte (<https://vk.com/dayvinchik>). Its participants, as it can be seen from the name (the wordplay is that *Da Vinci* sounds similar to the phrase ‘give some wine’ in Russian. — Translator’s remark), have fun placing something remarkable for communicants posts, images with inscriptions, quotes of famous people, tips and comments in common chats. The analysis of speech used in the two groups will be supplemented by the material from other communities to demonstrate the overall picture.

Earlier we discussed the compositional and linguistic expressions of warning the participants about the rules of group communication, i. e. presentation of communicative rules. We further, distinguished the means which initiate contact and response, emotiveness, expression of connotations, identified violations of etiquette and the use of verbal sanctions. Below, stage by stage, we show SE resources accompanying intragroup communication in its basic communicative situations:

I. Initiation of contact: a) invitation to the group, b) communication stimulation.

- II. Continuation of contact (speech reaction).
- III. Communication rules' presentation.
- IV. Reactions to communicative provocation or violation of the communication rules.

I. Initiation of contact

a) Invitation to the group. Here are some examples.

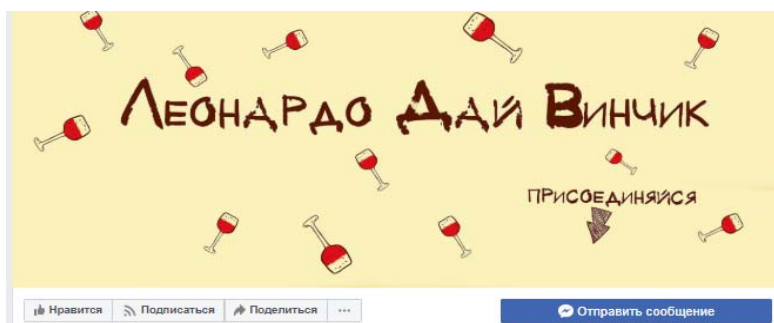
Group “Ask the Experienced Ones”



Picture 1

If you found yourself in a problematic situation and just don't know what to do, ask us, the experienced ones... We will always understand, support, and give a hand. Advice on any life situations concerning our families, husbands, children and ourselves)

Group “Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!”



Picture 2

*Join us at __
Like, Subscribe, Share Send a message*

As we can see, the communicative action of invitation in those communities has three components: first, it defines the rules of the group (in particular, sets out the rules of initiation of communication); second, it advertises communication in the group; and third, the reader is encouraged to get involved in emotional and speech activity. The possible reasons for communication contacts may be information-oriented (“if you are in a problematic situation”) or based on wordplay

(“*Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!*”). In the first fragment, the situation is described directly; the invitation uses a picture of hands placed on one another, which symbolizes the willingness to help members of the group. In the second fragment the situation is described indirectly: with a playful, even dismissive reformulating of the brilliant Renaissance artist’s name, Leonardo da Vinci with funny glasses filled with red wine at the background (wine used as a symbol of happy life filled with joy and pleasure; wine for creators — a source of inspiration (cf.: *Good wine makes thoughts quicker* in a song by Y. Kokhanovkiy or *Wine makes wit wittier* (“Date with a countrywoman” by P. Zbylitovskiy cited by: Brief Encyclopedia of Symbols; internet resource)).

It’s important to note that there are other groups in Runet the names of which are based on word play reformulating famous people’s names: *Grigory Schwepps* (instead of Grigory Leps), *Salvador v Dali* (instead of Salvador Dali), *IPhone* (instead of Anton) *Pavlovich Chekhov*, *Molbert* (instead of Albert) *Einstein*, *Robot* (instead of Robert) *De Niro*, *Sylvester v stolovoy* (in the canteen) (instead of Stallone). The word play is based on “homophone fun” using the names of famous people: artists, actors, singers, writers, and scientists.

The urge for emotional and speech activity is expressed both directly and indirectly. In the first case, directly — with a causative form of the verb *ask us* and indirectly — offer to give *advice on any life situations*; in the second case, directly — with the incentive *join*, and indirectly — by providing opportunities for the addressee to approve something (*Like*) or engage in communication (*Subscribe*, *Share* or *Send a message*), or demonstrating consolidation in the group with clicks. It also sets out the rules of the group organization — everyone can join the group.

In the network invitation there is no traditional Russian address by name because its recipient is not defined — it could be anyone. Politeness is manifested in addressing the recipient (in the plural *you got*, *you do not know*, *ask how*, *join*), in guaranteeing attention to the addressee’s state (*we’ll understand*, *support and gave a hand*), to his attitude to the subject of conversation (*like*, *share*).

Advertising of the group is carried out either directly, by naming its advantages (*experienced*, *advice on any life situations concerning our children, husbands, families and ourselves*), in the identification of themselves with a potential interlocutor (expressed in the use of the pronouns *our* and *us*), in a direct call (*join*) or indirect motivation (created by the image of wine glasses scattered at the background).

b) **Communicative stimulation**. At this stage, the author expresses his/her communicative interests.

In “Ask the Experienced Ones” group, initiation is transmitted with (a) a question or (b) a request for help:

а) Девочки, всем привет! Моя хорошая знакомая ждет малыша. Скоро встанет вопрос о покупке коляски. Живет она в квартире на 2 этаже. Нужна будет коляска, которая сможет «шагать» по ступенькам, т.к. лифта нет, а внизу коляску оставлять нет возможности. А еще знакомой предстоит пкс, значит тяжелое нельзя поднимать. Подскажите,

пожалуйста, какие колеса у коляски должны быть, чтобы ее можно было спустить/поднять по лестнице: 1) большие, как здесь: (фото) 2. Или средние, как здесь: (фото). Источник: Страна мам. — <https://www.stranamam.ru/post/14032800/>

Which wheels can “step” on the stairs?

Girls, hi everyone! A good friend of mine is expecting a baby. Naturally, she’s going to buy a pram. She lives in a flat on the second floor. She’ll need a pram which can “step” on the stairs as there is neither a lift nor a possibility to leave the pram downstairs. She’s going to undergo a Caesarian and won’t be able to lift heavy weights. Please advise what kind of wheels the pram should have so that it could be driven up and down the stairs:

1. Big ones, like here:

2. Or medium size, like here:

Поймать воришку



s evgeniya

Добрый день! Нужна помощь в выборе камеры видео наблюдения или датчиках движения. Завелся у нас воришка, предполагаю кто, но поймать не могу. Поэтому есть цель поставить какое-то устройство, для ловли с поличным. В специфике такой техники не разбираюсь, от слова совсем. Стоять будет в деревне на улице. И да я понимаю чем дороже тем лучше и надежнее, но не хотелось бы сильно тратится на это. Может есть что бюджетное? И что стоит у вас и ваших друзей, знакомых?

To catch a thief

b) Hello! *I need help with choosing a CCTV camera or motion sensors. We’ve got a thief, I suspect who it is but I can’t catch him. Therefore, there is a plan to install some device to catch him red-handed. I do not understand the specifics of such equipment, no idea at all. It’s going to be placed in the village outside. And yes, I do understand, the more expensive a device, the better and more reliable it is. But I would not like to spend a lot of money on it. Is there anything inexpensive? Something you and your friends have dealt with?*

It is important for the author to specify the "subject" in a special window, to simplify the communication, the purpose for seeking advice, for example, (a) in the form of a question (*Which wheels can “step” on the stairs?*) or (b) as a “task” (*To catch a thief*). Both in examples (a) and (b), the initiators use nicknames (*MarM, s evgeniya*), which is allowed by the group rules. Then, greeting all those who are willing to respond, they encourage them to take part in the discussion: in (a) by means of using an intimate address (the diminutive (*Girls*) and the (*Hi*)). In (b) the appeal to the generalized addressee with a neutral greeting (*Hello!*) doesn’t create this communicants-uniting effect. The invitation form already sets the distance between the participants. In the first case it is “shorter”.

The reason of initiation comes next — a problem situation in which the author of the post appears and the question is formulated in (a) fragment, with the demonstration of photos (big and average wheels of a baby pram) expressing a request for advice, in (b) fragment — a need for advice (*I need help*) is stated.

The politeness of the communicative situation initiator is expressed in the greeting of the addressee, in the manifestation of interest for another person: the speech appeals to him/her, in the justification of the request, in an effort to prevent possible questions:

I do not understand the specifics of such equipment, no idea at all. It's going to be placed in the village outside. And yes, I do understand, the more expensive a device, the better and more reliable it is. But I would not like to spend a lot of money on it.

Initiation of conversation in “Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!” group VKontakte is a post that sets the topic that subscribers are invited to discuss. This creates “live” communication, which involves a great number of participants. It is important to choose a topic to arouse the interest of many people. Particularly active chats happen before weekends when followers have more free time. Most often posts include a “picture” — a photo or a hand-drawn image with a signature, for example:



Picture 4. In the US people gave shelter to two homeless puppies. The older one was hugging and protecting the younger one all the time. A post of mercy



Picture 5. Well...It's time to do some exercise. A healthy body makes a healthy spirit, things like that. I'd rather start with a "baby" position...ZZZZZ

To maintain long-term communication, it is important to choose a topic that will interest many people: “touching”, funny, making them smile or laugh — this is what can attract a large number of participants. On the one hand, initiation of communication without the ability to attract others’ attention is doomed to failure. On the other hand, the fact that initiators sometimes pass all boundaries of what is permitted and lose their independence in the pursuit of likes cannot be approved.

In the examples above, the basis of initiation is the image. In the first case, the photo is touching and has an emotional effect on the audience: it is about the kindness of the animal which manifested the ability to take care of the younger and defenseless one. It goes without saying the post awakens “good feelings” — mercy towards the weak and defenseless. The photo shows a small dog hugging a younger one, covering it with a paw. The audience perceives this older’s embracing gesture as patronizing and protective. This is confirmed by the text accompanying the photo signature: ... *people gave shelter to two homeless puppies. The older was hugging and protecting the younger one all the time.* The inscription merely comments on the photo stating the place of the event (the US) where the abandoned puppies found owners. The post gathered over 35 thousand likes and 236 comments, which is a lot for the group.

The second image is a set of successive cartoons — a female with rounded forms wearing sports clothes on a sports mat. In the first picture it is ready to start exercising, in the second — inclined to the floor, and in the third — asleep. The artist makes a joke of common situation where the intention to carry out the doctors’ instructions to exercise “falls asleep” before we even start doing it. This post also caused an active communicative response.

It turns out that witty posts that cause good feelings and pleasure are the most approved ones.

II. *Speech response*. In the course of response, different participants formulate tips, hints, and humorous comments as a response to the tips themselves:

1) in the group “Ask the Experienced Ones”

(a) reaction to the question about a pram:

— *The larger the wheels are, the easier it is to drive it down/up the stairs. Inflatable wheels are better than cast ones. Well, that's my personal experience.*

— *Thank you!*

— *With a seam I would walk the baby on the balcony only.*

— *Of course, if the baby doesn't mind. There are babies who sleep only while outside.*

— *You're right here—my daughter slept only in movement—a stop—here you are—eyes open. It was a challenge for the dad — with our first baby he used to sit on the bench with a magazine.*

— *Yes, I heard such stories from other moms. You're lucky with your dad*

— *Our dad got into good hands. We made him a responsible dad and discovered many other useful talents in him.*

— *Until lifting weight is allowed again, any “wheels” are out of the question. Dragging the pram up and down the stairs is going to be a burden on the stomach. She’ll need help with this anyway. If alone, outside sessions should really be limited to the balcony.*

b) situation with catching a thief:

— *Look at Ezviz. The camera also needs to be electrified and to be recording information. Outside means where exactly? It will get wet under the cover anyway.*

— *Thanks, I will look at this brand. It will be hanging under the awning. What electricity do you mean? It’s available. It can use the battery from a tractor, too.*

— *You need a special power supply, I’m not sure about the tractor battery...we use small ones. I can write to you tomorrow personally describing the system in detail, my husband knows about them but it’s not a cheap variant anyway...There are also cameras you can talk to your thief through...if there is an internet connection.*

— *I only need to catch him at the place. The police will talk to him later. Please, write to me personally if you can.*

As is seen from above, the politeness of the speech initiator is manifested in the expression of gratitude for the initiator's response to his request and in signs of attention to the tips acquired from others.

Courtesy of the authors of the responses (advice) is manifested in the attention to the questions. Giving advice, they act prudently and seek to ensure that their advice is appropriate. Since they take into account the conditions in which the conversation initiator appeared, their answers contain repetitions of words and combinations containing the description of the problematic situation: (the first participant) *With a seam I would walk the baby on the balcony only Of course, **if the baby doesn’t mind.** There are babies who sleep only while outside. **Until lifting weight is allowed again,** any “wheels” are out of the question.*

However, deviations from the topic are also possible and quite acceptable here, since communication takes place outside the zone of interlocutors’ visibility, i. e. indirectly. In the course of responding to requests, participants of group communication can make extra humorous comments sharing their life experiences. The humorous tone is characterized by the use of special markers — a variety of emoticons that complement the picture of the author’s emotional dynamics. It seems that, giving comments, the author is having fun him/herself and entertaining the audience.

III. Reaction to a communicative provocation or violation of the rules of communication

Either the administrator or the communication participants apply sanctions in a group conversation. As we have already noted, the rules of communication in the group are formulated on the main page of the community, as it is necessary for the group organization. The formulation of such rules is dictated by the need to comply with Russian legislation which prohibits propaganda of nationalism, xenophobia

and extremism in the networks. Acute public criticism of the speech quality of Runet content forces community organizers to impose speech sanctions for malicious violators of public speech behavior rules. To eliminate or neutralize aggression in communication, different ways are used.

Communication participants often diagnose the quality of other people's speech activity pointing to the violations of the rules. Computer jargon formed a whole lexical and semantic field, the components of which mark speech disorders: *flood, ban, trolling, bashing, flame, spam*. The initiators of such behavior are called by means of words with the same-roots: *flooder, troll, hyperi, bot, bayan, flamer, spammer*, etc. Here are examples of some of these words: *Elya, first, in the post above we wrote about the prohibition of 'sofa' expertise and other **bashing**, which gives nothing useful in search of the girl. Second, if you do not know what to do in such situations, ask the police or **Lisa Alert** for instructions* (Jubileyniy district and Shuvalovskiy — an example of Y. M. Konyaeva); from the communication in other groups: *Mais, nobody is giving likes... you wanted to **hypenate** right? If you wanted to **hypenate** on the famous group then congratulations, you got it, but in **what a nasty way**!!!! Alice, we're sick and tired of **bots** in the comments, ... now I only see downs who **write** ... **off-topic**. Stupid **bots**, die; Sergey, **ban*** ('Leonardo, Dai Vinchik'). Using these comments, communicants themselves manage the interaction seeking to exclude verbal actions that violate the etiquette. The same effect is achieved by negative responses to stimulating remarks or, for example: Gerechterweise: *it is a pity we can't express dislike* (Leonardo, Dai Vinchik). *Rinat Lyubovny* has been repeatedly complaining from 13-02 to 15-40 to the members of the group on the low quality posts: *Why me? Where are those **shameful** posts from?.. God, why did I even watch this **stupid** post!.. Guys, tell **moders**, to give us normal posts, not "this"* (Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!) This opinion collected a large number of likes. Such language means "bring together" certain people and alienate "strangers".

The use of occasionalisms, specialized jargon words or abbreviations usually known to frequent visitors of the communities allows some members of the group to adjust the degree of the set contact closeness with others: *to rofl, rofls* (abbreviation from the English "Rolling on the floor laughing"), *moders* (a shortening of *moderator*), *dislike, muzlo* (a rude shortening of *music*), *chicksa* (a *girl*), *BDSM, ls* (*personal messages*), etc., for example: *rofls at teachers, the best muslo is here, a wow chicksa* (Leonardo, Dai Vinchik). In this group, constructions characteristic of spontaneous, unprepared speech are often used in the comments (which is discontinuous, without a stable chain of connection, as well as much obscene vocabulary).

The group members are sanctioned for the use of individual speech actions that seem unacceptable to the administrator. In case the rules are violated, the group administrator intervenes: he/she removes statements containing obscene expressions or inappropriate ridicule. In "Leonardo, Dai Vinchik!" group you can find an inscription in the comments, which indicates that the administrator monitors compliance with the group rules, in one way or another: "The comment was deleted by the user or the page administrator." Different speech actions, such as advertising,

are subject to regulation. According to the rules of “*Our home — Nevsky district*” communication group (example by K. Pusurmanova): *Advertising and links to third-party groups are prohibited; advertising can only be placed in the subject “Your advertisements”* https://vk.com/topic-37497136_28208666. *If you want your advertising on the wall, please, contact the administrator, Anastasia* <https://vk.com/id3974480>.

In groups that are organized out of the leisure sphere, there are stricter rules for the organization of communication. For example, in the “*Friends banks.ru*” group there is a special function of the site as a form of sanction, which is imposed on those who give inaccurate information in the reviews: *In ignore* and further for statistics *you are ignored*. In case of incorrect placement of the participant's comments, he/she receives warnings:

Picture 6.

Administrator HP

ADMINISTRATOR

08.03.2019 11:59 #

To the author: according to p. 3 of Rating Rules, reviews are combined. Please, post situational events as part of a single review without creating additional reviews. Separate posts-comments will be deleted as those violating our rules. Thanks.

[https://www.banki.ru/fo-](https://www.banki.ru/forum/?PAGE_NAME=read&FID=13&TID=294053&PAGEN_1=245)

[rum/?PAGE_NAME=read&FID=13&TID=294053&PAGEN_1=245](https://www.banki.ru/forum/?PAGE_NAME=read&FID=13&TID=294053&PAGEN_1=245)

As you can see, in groups whose goal is to get reliable information about someone's activities in the financial sphere, the correct placement of one's comments is a condition of communication politeness.

5. Discussion of the results of speech material analysis

Speech etiquette in Internet communities is a set of speech norms, rules and principles that determine the selection and use of speech and non-language techniques and tools in the dialogue. They contribute to the preservation of effective successful interaction. Communication in the network community is governed by the SE rules, which guarantee the participant's inclusion into the communication environment; speech form of author's self-expression, prohibitions on certain forms of speech behavior and the imposition of sanctions for violations of these prohibitions. This policy is to ensure that everyone admitted to the communication are free to express themselves creatively, stimulate, on the one hand, the establishment of contacts with a partner suitable according to some parameters, regulate the degree of communication convergence in accordance with its initiator's wish, provide opportunities in different forms to leave/get a response to a particular activity of the communication initiator, as well as to prevent deviations from the existing rules of speech behavior in the network community. Compliance with these rules ensures comfortable communication in the community.

Different speech means can be used to achieve compliance with these rules. The etiquette speech means, stereotypical for the network community and developed in its collective communicative practice, support and further develop it. Metalinguistic analysis aimed at the study of the range of various semiotic tools that contribute to the achievement of media speech communicative settings, and allows to identify these diverse means.

SE partly includes not only traditional means inherent in real communication, but also new ones, introduced into media:

— among traditional forms of etiquette there are customary etiquette words and formulas (pronominal-verbal forms of the 2nd person, words of speech assessment, vocabulary of etiquette);

— among the new ones there are unconventional forms of address in the form of indeclinable nicks, separate types of texts (e.g., Posts “Request for advice”, “Stimulation of emotional reactions”, “Administrator’s warning addressing the community”), speech reflexives. All these interacting means and methods allow to realize SE ideas in media-speech.

The “extension” of the dialogue structure to the media conditions is manifested in the change of the “grammar” of the design of the initiating replica that stimulates the movement of communication:

The “extension” of the dialogue structure to the media conditions is manifested in the change of the “grammar” of the initiating remark that stimulates the movement of communication:

1) the remark is unfolded gradually, in accordance with technical capabilities: in a special window, one specifies the topic, then the participant introduces himself~herself (the nick appears immediately after clicking on the Comments button), next the special “fill in” box is filled with the initiating text;

2) acquaintance with communication participants, as a rule, has a formula representation “avatar + nick (nickname) + time and date of placement”, where both the avatar and the nick are individualized;

3) a replica can be a “live” monologue or a “post”, including a quote, or an image with a quote, or just an image;

4) posts can be different in purpose and style of expression: informative (for example, in professional or specialized communities), involving into discussion (in specialized communities), entertaining (in leisure communities);

5) in order to involve participants into communication, a special ethics and aesthetics of combining verbal and non-verbal is formed in initiating: welcome aphoristic nature, high emotiveness, polemics are praised;

6) iconic signs are widely used: emoticon consisting of icons, images “supporting” modality necessary for group communication — stimulating the speech activity — comments that demonstrate friendliness and fun;

7) among the socially approved forms of speech behavior in the community, participants mention wit, so comic expressing means are active, however, the use of this resource is not always successful;

8) the youth audience of the community is characterized by shocking dismissive attitude to all norms: linguistic, communicative, ethical, aesthetic (so-called *trash*).

Verbal response situations often demonstrate the following courtesy means:

1) a response nature of the statement, addressing the initiator; when calling the initiator with the nick, the latter is not inclined,

2) the formula for the respondent's presentation is the same as the initiator's: "avatar+nickname+time and date of placement";

3) "connection" to the initiating replica, performed by repeating key words or combinations from the initiating replica,

4) deviation from the topic set by the initiator, because the communication is not face to face.

To improve the quality of communication, for the propaedeutics of aggressiveness in communication, different ways are used:

1) the administrator sets out communication rules in a special type of text where he/she warns of prohibitions concerning certain topics, restrictions on certain speech actions, and sanctions for violations of speech etiquette of the community;

2) the administrator sends a warning to individual "guilty" communicants;

3) participants maintain a distance in communication, using conventional abbreviations, highly specialized jargon, allowing to narrow the audience of communication, mark "their" people, distance "strangers" gently;

4) members of the group give an assessment of someone else's speech using special words that express a negative attitude to someone's statements: flood, ban, trolling, hyp, calling their authors — flooders, trolls, hypers, etc.

5) technical sanctions are imposed on violators of the rules: sending messages into ignore category, removing excessively rude comments.

6. Conclusion

Speech etiquette in the community is a resource that helps to create comfort in communication: to provide "communicative conveniences" to express the semantic position of each participant, to pay attention to each other, to preserve emotional comfort, to show courtesy, to neutralize aggression, and to prevent speech crimes. In each group there are internal rules of its existence helping to maintain harmonious interaction of Internet communities' members. In this kind of quasi-communication, a situation of contact initiation, maintaining, and reaction to a communicative provocation can be considered etiquette.

For the comfortable interaction, its own rules for the use of resources that support communication are established. These resources are diverse: standard constructions, organized by the combination of multilevel linguistic means, separate remarks inside the dialogic interaction, texts of a model structure, and meta-text containing an assessment of the communicants' verbal behavior. The combination of traditional and new tools forms a specific system — SE in virtual communities, which includes a variety of speech resources. The study showed the effectiveness

of meta-linguistic analysis of online communication speech organization, which helps to identify not just individual tools and techniques of communication harmonization, but also their place in speech interaction.

One of the heuristic scientific approaches related to the study of audience behavior in Internet communication is the consideration of how speech etiquette varies in online communities. Its meta-linguistic analysis allows to establish the etiquette of the situation, use of verbal and non-verbal means and methods of their explication. The analysis reveals new forms and ways of organizing communities in the network. Such analysis should be supplemented with sociolinguistic research to see and explain the correlation between the social characteristics of the community members and the variability of the speech etiquette rules established within the communities. In general, the interdisciplinary linguistic analysis introduces social and cultural processes related to the mediatization of public consciousness into the field of public visibility. Summing up, we will highlight the most important issues for discussion aimed at clarifying the rules of communicative behavior that guide users of different social networks: 1. What are the communicative values as understood by social media participants? 2. What are the communicative risks and threats to communicative security from the point of view of the researcher and from the point of view of the interaction participants? 3. What speech protection measures against communication threats are taken by participants in different networks? 4. What social characteristics of online communities audience can influence the formation of speech etiquette?

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Research Article

Translation and Paratexts: A Study of *Animal Farm* in Persian

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Abstract

Translators' ideology permeates all non-technical translations, and the need to study the extent to which ideology plays a vital role in the manipulation of literary texts with a political edge is undoubtedly important. As of Iran, the state ideology has been changed from secular to religious (Islamic) after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. This shift of ideology has influenced society in many facets, including language use. Therefore, individuals were encouraged to produce religious discourse to appear popular and this encouragement includes translation too (Amirdabbaghian 2019). This study aims to describe the ideological impact of the social situation (Islamic Revolution) in Iran on the translation of George Orwell's well-known political novel, *Animal Farm* (1945) into the Persian language. The research will apply van Dijk's (1998) theory of ideology and Lefevere's (1992) theory of translation, rewriting and manipulation of literary fame, to discuss the paratextual differences in both the source and target texts. The target text which has been chosen for the current research is Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh's (2003) version published by the Doostan publication in Tehran, Iran. Using the paratext of *Animal Farm* translated into Persian, this article makes an effort to prove that the translators' ideology influenced by their life experience, social status, and occupation as well as the situation and environment in the target language country may be revealed in the set of tactics used in translating the literary work, in the use of language and in the interpretation of the source text author's ideas expressed in the text.

Keywords: *paratext, translation, Ideology, Persian, Animal Farm*

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Перевод и паратексты: на материале перевода повести-притчи *Animal Farm* на персидский язык

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Аннотация

Идеологические взгляды переводчика оказывают на все виды перевода, кроме технического. В связи с этим необходимо исследовать воздействие идеологии на манипуляции, которым подвергаются в процессе перевода литературные тексты с острой политической направленностью. После Исламской революции 1979 года иранская государственная идеология сменилась со светской на религиозную (исламскую), что оказало воздействие на разные стороны общественной жизни, включая использование языка. Применение религиозного дискурса стало средством повышения популярности индивидуума, что также сказалось на переводах. Цель настоящего исследования — описать идеологическое влияние социальной ситуации (Исламской революции) в Иране на перевод знаменитой повести-притчи Дж. Оруелла *Animal Farm* («Скотный двор») (1945) на персидский язык. Исследование опирается на теорию идеологии Т.А. ван Дейка (van Dijk 1998) и теорию перевода, переложения и манипуляции литературной славой А.А. Лефевра (Lefevre 1992). Оно направлено на обсуждение паратекстуальных различий в исходном тексте и переводе. В качестве материала настоящего исследования выступает перевод паратекста произведения *Animal Farm* (пер. Hosseini, Nabi Zadeh 2003), опубликованный издательством “Doostan” в Тегеране (Иран). В статье сделана попытка доказать, что идеологическая позиция переводчиков, сформированная под влиянием жизненного опыта, социального статуса и профессиональной деятельности, а также ситуация и окружение в стране, для которой предназначен перевод, может быть выявлена с помощью анализа тактик, используемых в процессе перевода литературного произведения, языка и интерпретации содержащихся в тексте идей автора.

Ключевые слова: паратекст, перевод, идеология, персидский язык, *Animal Farm* («Скотный двор»).

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1. Introduction

Translators frequently influence the evolution of the poetics of their time by means of their translations. Lefevre (1992: 25) believes that every translator is a prophet in his/her own language community and confirms it with a verse from the Quran where it is stated:

We sent not an apostle except [to teach] in the language of his [own] people, in order to make [things] clear to them (The Quran 14: 4; translated by Yusuf Ali 2001).

Ideology and its impact on translation is a growing area of interest in the field of Translation Studies. The translators' personal ideology and the dominant social ideology of their environment can have a major influence on the final work. The translators can also be subjected to patronage, politics, and economic instigations or even limitations which can all affect their translations. André Lefevere (1992: 14) states that "ideology is often imposed by the patrons, the people or institutions who command or publish translations".

Animal Farm (1945) is one of the most popular works written by George Orwell and reveals his political viewpoints. The novel has been translated into Persian several times. There are plenty of studies investigating the ideological errors of Persian translations of this novel (Amirdabbaghian & Solimany 2013; Khorsand & Salmani 2014; Zareh-Behtash & Chalabi 2016; Faghih & Moghiti 2017). Almost all of those studies dealt with the errors only at a textual level. The present research, however, will explore the ideological issues in the Persian translation of *Animal Farm* (1945—2003) at a paratextual level. This highlights the fact that there is a scarcity of studies on the ideological impact of English novels translated into Persian.

2. Power, Ideology, and Translation

Ideology is a systemic body of concepts particularly concerning human life or culture and can be defined as a way and/or the content of thought characteristic of an individual, group, or culture, or a cohesive contention, theories and purposes that establish a socio-political program.

Van Dijk (1998) believes in a positive interpretation of ideology, but at present ideology has become an unclear concept, mainly referring to the politics and beliefs of a specific group of people. Van Dijk believes that Marxist and non-Marxist schools of thought are influencing factors in politicizing the approaches towards ideology.

On the other hand, Fairclough (1992: 90) believes that ideologies are naturalized and automatized conventions, and people may not recognize the influence of ideologies on their personality since "it is something inherited in the unconscious part of one's personality, so person reacts to responses in an automated way".

Based on the definitions above, it can be concluded that ideology is a systemic and organized set of opinions or concepts which are based upon individuals' social lives and cultures. In other words, it is a way of thinking that is distinguished between different social groups.

Ideology has been an important and increasing concern for translation scholars in recent decades. Hatim and Mason (1997: 161) state that "behind the systemic linguistic choices" made by a translator, there is "inevitably a prior classification of

reality in ideological terms”. This means that ideology affects languages at both lexical-semantic and syntactic levels. In other words, the ideology of a translator influences both lexical choices and grammatical structures. Hatim and Mason also believe that certain strategies applied in certain social and cultural circumstances to have ideological implications. Hatim and Mason (1997: 121) perceive the translator as a part of the social context and state: “it is in this sense that translating is, in itself, an ideological activity”.

Lefevere (the 1980s to early 1990s) explains translation with relation to ideology and explores it as a kind of rewriting with essential manipulation depending on the professionals in the system, together with publishers, editors, revisers and the translators themselves; the patronage of literary systems among powerful institutions as well as individuals, which comprises ideological, economic and also critical elements which tend to limit translators’ poetological space; and the dominant poetics, frequently appointed by the professionals, who can dictate which works are to be translated and the style adopted (Lefevere 1985 and 1992; Bassnett and Lefevere 1990).

Furthermore, Munday (2008: 44) argues that a translator operates in a social setting and interacts with ‘publishers, editors, and agents’ who generally have more power. Munday states that the translator who is appointed and remunerated by the target text publisher works on the discourse of the source text author. This discourse, which expresses the source text author’s ideology, manifests itself in the author’s “cognitive processes and linguistic choices” (Munday 2008: 44). In Munday’s view, the translators also bring their own cognitive processes to the translation of the source text author’s discourse.

Ideological translations mostly depend on the translators’ identification with their target audience and changing the text accordingly (Al-Mohannadi 2008). Al-Mohannadi (2008) argues that if translator[s] know [their] target audience [they] may possibly be lured to modify the source text, even adding to or omitting from the original, to befit the standpoint of [their] readership. In Al-Mohannadi’s (2008: 533) opinion, this is especially true with the translation of sensitive texts like religious ones or those expressing Marxist ideas, which “set out to advocate a particular way of life”.

3. Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (1945)

Animal Farm was published on the “heels of World War II” in Britain (Amirdabbaghian and Solimany 2013: 282). Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* as a commentary on the former Soviet Union situation. The exploitation of animals by human beings is similar to the exploitation of the proletariat by the rich, and Orwell incorporated Marx’s theory from the animals’ point of view. Orwell also included the Tehran Conference¹ (1943) as an important incident in *Animal Farm*. Hosseini

¹ Tehran (or Teheran) Conference, was held during the World War II, from November 28 to December 1, 1943, in Tehran, Iran (Gellately 2013). It was a strategic meeting between the Big Three Allied Leaders, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin D.

(2003: 158) noted that Orwell ended *Animal Farm* on a “loud note of discord” due to the Cold War as a result of the Tehran Conference between the USSR and the West.

Amirdabbaghian and Solimany (2013: 282) describe the novel as a fairytale where Orwell employs animal characters in order to “draw the reader away from the world of current events into a fantasy space where the reader can grasp ideas and principles more crisply”. *Animal Farm* is Orwell’s most significant investigation of political structures as Williams (1971: 70) states:

[It] is exclusive in his writing by the lack of his character. In this sense, it is a more comprehensive forecast of Orwell’s method of observing the universe than whatsoever else he wrote.

Animal Farm (1945) differs from Orwell’s previous novels both in its dissimilar prospect on ideology and the fictitious personality written in the third person narrative. This made it possible for Orwell to take his ideology a step forward and discover the influences and threats of dictatorial systems.

4. Paratextual Materials

Kovala (1996) states that paratext includes any meta-comment by the author, the translator, the editor, the illustrator, the publisher or a scholar. Genette (1997: 1) considers “author’s name, a title, a preface, and illustrations” as a specific set of “verbal or other productions” which she calls paratext. For Genette (1997: xviii) paratexts are divided into two categories: (1) peritexts and (2) epitexts. Peritexts are physical supplemental materials surrounding the book. It can be either publisher’s peritexts or introductions and/or prefaces of “the author, or the translator in the case of a translation, or [...] someone appropriate to present the text” (Neveu 2017: 28). Publisher’s peritexts can include “front and back covers, spins, inside flaps, list of other works by the author or the translator, the title page, blurbs” (Genette 1997: xviii), etc. On the other hand, epitexts are external writings that are about the book, such as interviews and book reviews.

In order to create an impact on the reader, paratexts have provisional, spatial, pragmatic, functional and fundamental characteristics. The four basic functions that Genette (1997: 93) lists for paratexts are designating or identifying; description of the work (content and genre); connotative value; and temptation. Genette points out that “the meaning and function of paratexts are determined by the author and his/her allies, and that paratexts operate as a way of establishing and securing authorial intention” (Smith and Wilson 2011: 7-8). While Genette (1997) considers paratextual materials as additional elements to the body text, Gray (2015) states that paratext is a central, integral, important and constitutive part of the text. Therefore,

Roosevelt and the USSR Premier Joseph Stalin (Gellately 2013). The main discussion was about the opening of the second front in Western Europe, specifically — Nazi Germany (Gellately 2013). The failure of these Allies in making an agreement in the Tehran Conference was the chief reason for the Cold War (Hosseini 2003).

paratexts principally control the reading experiences of the audience, mainly their interpretations and reactions.

On the other hand, Wolf (2006) categorizes paratexts into authorized: intra-compositional, and unauthorized: extra-compositional. Authorized paratexts are shaping tools of the source text author while unauthorized paratexts are shaping tools added to the shaped source text by others including translator(s) (Wolf 2006). In fact, the study of paratexts in translation may also reveal clues to ideological and political agendas surrounding a published translation, as well as the role of the translator(s), editor(s) and/or publisher(s) in collaborating on these agendas.

Paratexts are more multipurpose and flexible than the main text, and accordingly, they function like “an instrument of adaptation” (Genette 1997: 408). In a translated text, the use of paratext “as a methodological tool has been supported as a way to define” (Pym 1997: 62-65) or to reflect the concept of the translation published by an agent (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002) and to give information about the phenomena of translation (Kung 2013). Furthermore, Kovala (1996) believes in a wider look at paratexts mostly in relation to sociocultural contexts. The adaptable nature of paratextual materials and their connection to the process of translation encourages studies of different language exchanges. Studies of paratextual analysis include Koş (2009) of French-Turkish translation, Kung (2013) of Taiwan-American exchange, Pellat (2013) of Chinese-English texts, Núñez (2014) of English-Spanish paratext of *La Independencia*, Simón (2015) of Korean-English exchange, Hosseinzadeh (2015) of paratexts of Persian translations of fictions from different languages, Atefmehr (2016) of French/English-Persian paratexts of 19th century Iran, Haslina (2017) of Malay-English renderings, Hijjo and Kaur (2017) of Arabic-English translation and Amirdabbaghian and Shunmugam (2019) of English-Persian paratexts during the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, among others.

These studies are all considering the allographic (translatorial) paratexts while the current research is contrastive in nature and compares an authorial paratext (i.e. Orwell’s Preface to a given edition of *Animal Farm*) with an allographic (translatorial) one (i.e. an Afterword written by a Persian translator of Orwell’s text) in terms of ideology.

5. Background of the Persian translators of *Animal Farm*

Saleh Hosseini, born in 1946, translated *Animal Farm* into Persian in 2003. He graduated from George Washington University, USA, with a Ph.D. degree in English Literature (Islami 2003). He produced the literary translation of Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (2003) while working as a full-time university professor of Languages and Linguistics at Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz, Iran (Islami 2003). He presently serves as a retired professor of Linguistics at the same university. Hosseini was lauded as the leading critic and translator of the year, and the principal servant of publication in 1997 and 2003 by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (see the portal of Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz 2018).

Hosseini does not profess allegiance to any specific political group or ideology, but he expresses the fact that Orwell fought politics with a touch of bitter sarcasm, and he believes that an important act in translation is to protect the language and especially literature against political destruction (Islami 2003; Seyyedi 2013).

Masoumeh Nabi Zadeh, whose name is mentioned on the book cover of the Persian translation of *Animal Farm*, is known to have “contributed in a few translations as an editor” in Doostan publication (Khorsand and Salmani 2014: 231). There was nothing else that could be found about her. As such, for this study, only Saleh Hosseini’s beliefs are attributed to the ‘Persian translation of *Animal Farm*’.

6. Discussion of Paratexts of *Animal Farm*

An *afterword* of a Persian translation of *Animal Farm* by Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh (2003) is analyzed here in comparison with the preface² for Orwell’s original text which was published by *Prometej* in Ukraine in 1947. There is no information about the original English preface by Orwell. According to Penguin’s Appendix II on *Animal Farm*, the version which is known as Orwell’s introduction for the Ukrainian translation of *Animal Farm* is a recasting back into English of the Ukrainian version.

In his preface, Orwell talks about his life first, to justify his political ideologies to his readers as he states that he would like to say something about himself and the experiences which had influenced his political position. Orwell was employed in the Burma Police, which was a most unsuited place for him as he had neither nationalistic sentiments for Burma nor supported the unjust imperialist activities of the British government which caused much suffering amongst the working class; the unsavory experience in the Burma Police made Orwell an anti-imperialist. This relates to van Dijk’s (1998) belief that a profession one does can be one of the influencing factors in constructing a person’s ideological knowledge. Orwell’s deep concern for the plight of the working class made him a socialist. Orwell justifies his socialist ideas in the following words:

I became pro-Socialist more out of disgust with the way the poorer section of the industrial workers were oppressed and neglected than out of any theoretical admiration for a planned society (1947: Preface).

² This translation was intended for those Ukrainians in Germany who were living in the camps for displaced persons which were administrated by British and Americans after World War II. Ihor Szewczenko — [Igor Shevchenko], the person who was in charge of translation and distribution of *Animal Farm* among those Ukrainians and asked Orwell to write a specific preface for them, describes those people as supporters and defenders of the October Revolution who had turned against “the counterrevolutionary Bonapartism of Stalin” and the “Russian nationalistic exploitation of the Ukrainian people”. They were common people, peasants, and laborers, few some-educated, but all were eager to read. Orwell insisted that he received no royalties for this edition, nor for other translations intended for those too poor to buy them, i.e. editions in Persian and Telugu. Orwell himself paid the production costs of a Russian-language edition printed on thin paper, which was intended for soldiers and others behind the Iron Curtain (This information is extracted from APPENDIX II of a version of *Animal Fam* which was published by Penguin in 2000).

The false interpretation of the USSR socialist opinions in the European democratic countries made Orwell explore the mystery behind totalitarian propaganda by analyzing Marx's theory from the animals' view.

Hosseini (2003) in his *Reflection on Animal Farm*, called the novel an allegorical story. Like Orwell, Hosseini (2003) believes that *Animal Farm* aims to reveal the true face of the USSR. Hosseini (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 147) highlights “the unification of power and ideology and to eschew despotism” as the fundamental quests of a revolution in Orwell's point of view. Hosseini (2003: 146) also states that Orwell's intention in writing *Animal Farm* had deep implications; the translators cite a quote from Orwell about history as evidence that Orwell had wider targets and major themes such as the “incompatibility of justice and power, abuse of language, hence distortion of language directed on maintaining domination, extinction of history and the real world” (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 146):

Source Text:

تاریخ مشتمل است بر یک سلسله شیبادی، که توده‌های مردم را ابتدا به دام می‌کشند و با وعده‌ی ناکجا آباد به عصیان و ادارشان می‌کنند و پس از آن که توده‌ها وظیفه‌ی خویش را انجام دادند، از نو باز بندی اربابان جدید می‌شوند (حسینی و نبی زاده 1382، 146).

Back Translation:

history consists of a series of tricks that first, trap the masses and force them into a rebellion with the promise of a utopia, and once the masses did their duty, they would rebuild the new lords (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 146).

This interpretation of Orwell's intention by Hosseini (2003) reveals that language use is an important factor in influencing ideology.

As a sign of distortion of language, Hosseini (2003) includes an excerpt from Orwell's (1945) text, that is, “[A]fter the revolution, the cat joins the Re-education Committee and immediately learns to use the language in his own favor” (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 147). The excerpt describes the behavior of the cat, after the Rebellion, in this way:

Source Text:

روزی از روزها او را می‌بینند که بر بام نشسته و با چند گنجشک حرف می‌زند و به آنها می‌گوید که حالا دیگر همه‌ی حیوانات رفیق‌اند و هر گنجشکی که دلش بخواهد می‌تواند بیاید روی پنجولش بنشیند (حسینی و نبی زاده 1382: 148).

Back Translation:

She was seen a day sitting on a roof and talking to some sparrows who were just out of her reach. She was telling them that all animals were now comrades and that any sparrow who chose could come and perch on her paw (Orwell 1945: 14; Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 148).

Language ideologies are defined as “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those

understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 402). Irvine (1989: 249) describes linguistic ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”. Likewise, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 57) state that language ideologies are not essentially about language; rather “they are in the service of other, more basic, ideological systems — concerning race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, nationality, and other aspects of the social world — which they cloak in linguistic terms”. Balockaite (2014: 42) indicates that “language is controlled through a variety of unstated rules and regulations” in a society that both “originate from social relations and also reflect them”. Moreover, Balockaite (2014) believes in power relations between the speakers of different social groups as well as the state exposed to language ideologies.

Hosseini (2003: 147) also writes about the unification of power and ideology and eschews despotism as the fundamental quests of a revolution in Orwell’s point of view. Hosseini (2003) tries to demonstrate Orwell’s quest in his translation. In Persian translation of the song which Old Major [the old pig] taught others to sing, Hosseini (2003) manipulates the source text to show his hatred toward despotism.

Source Text:

Soon or late the day is coming, (Orwell 1945: 4)

Target Text:

ز طاغوت انسانها رها شويد (حسينی و نبي زاده 1382: 15)

Back Translation:

Get rid of the idolatrous humans! (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 15)

Here, the utterance ends in anger as there is an addition of “رها شويد [ræhɒ:ʃævi:d] (get rid)” as a verb at the end with the word “طاغوت [tɒ:yu:t] (idolatrous)” in the beginning. The whole sentence was changed as none of the words appear in the source text. This manipulation intensifies Orwell’s message in the target language. While the source text sounds hopeful for the arrival of a day of freedom, Hosseini and Nabizadeh’s (2003) translation is modulated to express a hostile feeling towards those who are curbing the freedom. It is noteworthy that the word “طاغوت [tɒ:yu:t] (idolatrous)” became prevalent in the course of the Islamic Revolution and was mostly used to talk about the former monarchy regime (Yazdanimogaddam and Fakher 2011). As it is seen, *idolatrous* is associated with *despotism* as Hosseini believes that it has to be eschewed to fulfill the quests of a revolution and also confirms the aforementioned Munday’s (2008) statement that the translators interpret the source author’s discourse by their own cognition. Furthermore, Hosseini in this excerpt attempts to manipulate the original with addition and substitution to cater to the emotions of his readers as it is quoted earlier from Al-Mohannadi (2008).

Hosseini (2003) sees the manipulation of the rules of the rebellion in *Animal Farm* as a distortion of language use and linguistic ideology which becomes one of the reasons for the animals' social corruptions and failed rebellion.

Source Text:

فساد مستتر در انقلاب بدانگاه عیان می‌شود که تک تک فرامین تحریف می‌شود و کار به جایی می‌رسد که دیگر نشانی از آرمانگرایی انقلابی برجای نمی‌ماند. خوکان مطابق خواسته و نیاز فرامین را تغییر می‌دهند. زیرا واقعیت را نمی‌توان با پیشگویی و صدور اعلامیه زیر نگین آورد (حسینی و نبی زاده 1382: 147).

Back Translation:

[...] ulterior corruption in the revolution arises from the fact that every single decree is distorted and it goes so far that there is no trace of revolutionary idealism. The pigs change the orders for their own wills because they can't master the Reality by means of prediction and manifesto (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 147).

According to van Dijk (1998), ideology is defined as “the shared frameworks of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members” (van Dijk 1998: 8). Therefore, Hosseini (2003) sees that the state of “being deprived of the power of understanding and judgment” (as is the case of most of the animals at Manor Farm) serves as an advantage to the pigs to maintain power over the ‘lesser’ animals (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 148). But, the root of evil on the farm, in Hosseini’s (2003: 148) opinion, is nothing but the disability of its inhabitants in determining the truth, and this point is depicted in the theme of language distortion. Hosseini (2003) proves the validity of his statement by citing examples from the text. First, the manipulation of the 6th commandment is a reason to confuse the animals about the truth. Hosseini (2003) states that manipulating the 6th commandment from “No animal shall kill any other animal” (Orwell 1945: 10) into “No animal shall kill any other animal without cause” (Orwell 1945: 37; Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 148) shows the “transient nature of history” which is “one of the fears that the animals endure” (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 148).

The second example is the complicated financial and economic relationship of Napoleon with Frederick and Pilkington which “is fed to the animals through statistics, gross domestic product value, and the distribution of food” (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 149). Actually, it shows the use of language for a specific purpose. The third example which the translators provide for distortion of language is the manipulation of the sheep’s slogan which changes from “Four legs good, two legs bad!” (Orwell 1945: 14) to “Four legs good, two legs *better!*” (Orwell 1945: 52; Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 149). Hosseini (2003: 149) believes that “in the politically motivated world, the slogan is the impetus of history, and the slogan is a strategy”.

The next example is the manipulation of all the seven commandments by summarizing them into one commandment that is, “All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others” (Orwell 1945: 52-53; Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 149) which shows the ongoing “abuse of language and the distortion of society” (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 149). The animals get confused and cannot judge between true and false because, on the one hand, they see the rules (i.e., the shared frameworks of social beliefs) as the pillars of their rebellion but then, on the other hand, and they also witness the manipulation of these ‘sacred’ rules and the pigs’ convenient breaking of the rules for their own advantage (i.e. social interpretation and practice of beliefs of group members). This also, in Hosseini’s (2003) opinion, leads to an oligarchy system of government in the *Animal Farm* society (Hosseini and Nabi Zadeh 2003: 150).

Lefevere (1992) refers to ideology as a translator’s worldview and defines it as “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach text” (as cited in Hermans 2014: 127). Therefore, it is noteworthy to highlight here that ideology in translation work is also tightly linked with politics and power dominance since Lefevere (1992) describes it as “the dominant concept of what society should be or can be allowed to be” (as cited in Shuping 2013: 57). Lefevere (1992) believes that translation is “productive for cultural studies and deserves to occupy a more central position in cultural history” (as cited in Shuping 2013: 59).

Hosseini’s interpretation of Orwell’s (1945) novel is thus, the translators’ worldview in Iranian Post-Revolution society. The issues in *Animal Farm* are ideologically reflective of the Iranian political state under the Shah’s rule that led to the Islamic Revolution. The rules and slogans of the 1979 Revolution are comparable to the seven commandments in the *Animal Farm*; the slogans during the Iranian Revolution which were concerned about social and welfare reformation (Panahi 2003) do not match the governors’ actions since after the Revolution there have been several economic embezzlements in the 40 years of the Iranian Islamic Republic (Qasemi 2016) and Iranians social welfare has decreased in these three decades (Harris 2017).

7. Conclusions

The main purpose of this study is to prove that in literary translations, especially the Persian translation of *Animal Farm*, which in some cases may lead to transculturation, the role of the translator as the messenger in this crucial process can be leastwise as important as the message embedded in the literary work itself. Moreover, the dominant ideology in the target culture or the translator’s own system of thought and philosophy can steer his pen on the paper and determine what to transmit from source culture to target culture and how to transmit it.

In this paper, the authorial paratext (the preface to Ukrainian translation of *Animal Farm* (1947) written by George Orwell) is contrasted to an allographic paratext (the Persian Afterword, i.e. *Reflections on Animal Farm*). The comparative

analysis of the paratexts showed that Orwell and the Persian translator were of the same mind with regard to the false interpretation of the Soviet Union by the world at that time and this appears to be the main reason that had initiated their writing/translation of the novels. It is overlapped with Genette's (1997) proposed designating and identifying the function of the paratexts. The translators were acutely aware that the events in the fictional stories were, in fact, happening around them, which is what Genette (1997) regards as the connotative value in the paratexts functions. Lefevere (1992) believes in one's occupation as an aspect of patronage and one of the influencing factors in the translator's ideology. It, therefore, can be said that Hosseini (2003) as the post-Revolution Persian translator of *Animal Farm*, as well as a leading critic nominated by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance for a couple of years, was very likely influenced by his occupation as a critic to write a foreword to his translation which highlights language distortion in the animals' commandments and likewise in the promises made in the slogans chanted during the Islamic Revolution that insidiously led to a failed rebellion/revolution.

By comparing the novel's incidents with the real world, that is, by mentioning the misuse of language by the new leaders of the farm and the way they manipulate the slogans of the rebellion, it appears that Hosseini (2003) aims to criticize his own society after the Revolution since Iran, too, after nearly half a century, did not stand up to what was depicted in its Revolution slogans. To elaborate more on language misuse, Hosseini quotes some excerpts to justify what he believes and tries to evoke the readers' desire to go into the main text. This is compatible with the temptation function of paratexts expressed by Genette (1997).

In a broader context, Hosseini (2003) stresses avoiding despotism and he even demonstrates it in his translation to consider a revolution successful (as in the example quoted earlier). By comparing the novel's incidents with the real world, that is, by mentioning the misuse of language by the new leaders of the farm and how they manipulate the slogans of the rebellion, Hosseini (2003) may desire to criticize his own society after the Islamic Revolution since Iran, too, stood some distance from what had been illustrated in the revolutionary slogans and what it is now after nearly half a century. To conclude this article, it is noteworthy to say that "socially shared representations, as well as personal models, may influence the structures of discourse" (van Dijk 1998: 87) as it becomes obvious in this study.

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Research Article

English and Russian Genitive Alternations: A Study in Construction Typology

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Abstract

There is little doubt that one of the most important areas of future research within the framework of Construction Grammar will be the comparative study of constructions in different languages of the world. One significant gain that modern Construction Grammar can make thanks to the cross-linguistic perspective is finding a clue to some contradictory cases of construction alternation. The aim of the present paper is to communicate the results of a case study of two pairs of alternating constructions in English and Russian: *s-genitive* (SG) and *of-genitive* (OG) in English and *noun + noun in genitive case* (NNG) and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* (ANG) in Russian. It is evident that the long years of elaborate scientific analysis have not yielded any universally accepted view on the problem of English genitive alternation. There are at least five different accounts of this problem: the hypotheses of the animacy hierarchy, given-new hierarchy, topic-focus hierarchy, end-weight principle, and two semantically distinct constructions. We hypothesised that in this case the comparison of the distribution of two English and two Russian genitives could be insightful. The analysis presupposed two consecutive steps. First, we established an inter-language comparability of two pairs of constructions in English and Russian. Second, we tested the similarity of intra-language distribution of each pair of constructions from the perspective of the animacy hierarchy. For these two purposes, two types of corpora were used: (1) a translation corpus consisting of original texts in one language and their translations into one or more languages; and (2) national corpora consisting of original texts in two respective languages. It was established that in both languages, the choice between members of an alternating pair is governed by the rules of animacy hierarchisation. Additionally, it was possible to disprove the idea that the animacy hierarchy is necessarily based on the linearisation hierarchy. Two Russian constructions are typologically aligned with their English counterparts, not on the grounds of the linear order of head and modifier but on the grounds of structural similarity. The English SG and Russian NNG construction are diametrically opposed in terms of word order. However, they reveal the same underlying structure of the inflectional genitive as contrasted with the analytical genitive of the Russian ANG and the English OG. These findings speak strongly in favour of the animacy hierarchy account of English genitive alternation.

Keywords: *construction grammar, genitive alternation, contrastive linguistics, s-genitive, of-genitive, construction typology, corpus linguistics*

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Генитивные обороты в английском и русском языках: опыт типологии конструкций

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Аннотация

Нет сомнений в том, что одним из важнейших направлений будущих исследований в рамках грамматики конструкций станет сравнительное изучение конструкций в разных языках мира. Существенным вкладом в лингвистику, который грамматика конструкций может сделать в рамках типологических исследований, является разрешение некоторых противоречивых случаев чередования конструкций. Цель настоящей работы заключается в представлении результатов исследования дистрибуции и функционирования двух пар конструкций в английском и русском языках: *s-genitive* (SG) и *of-genitive* (OG) в английском языке и *существительное + существительное в родительном падеже* (NNG) и *относительное прилагательное, производное от существительного + существительное* (ANG) в русском языке. К сожалению, долгие годы научных поисков не сформировали единого общепринятого взгляда на проблему чередования двух генитивных оборотов английского языка. Существует как минимум пять различных гипотез на этот счет, каждая из которых принимает в расчет один из следующих признаков: одушевленность, информационная структура, актуальное членение, синтаксическое устройство и семантические различия. Мы предположили, что в этом сложном случае сравнение двух английских и двух русских генитивных оборотов поможет найти решающие доводы в пользу одной из этих гипотез. Анализ предполагал два последовательных этапа. Во-первых, мы установили правомерность межязыкового сравнения этих парных конструкций в английском и русском языках; во-вторых, проанализировали внутриязыковое распределение каждой пары конструкций с точки зрения иерархии одушевленности. Для этих двух целей были использованы два типа корпусов: (1) переводческий корпус, состоящий из оригинальных текстов на одном языке и их переводов на один или несколько языков; и (2) национальные корпуса, состоящие из оригинальных текстов на двух соответствующих языках. Мы установили, что в обоих языках выбор между членами чередующейся пары конструкций регулируется правилами иерархии одушевленности. Кроме того, нам удалось опровергнуть идею о том, что иерархия одушевленности обязательно основана на иерархии линеаризации. Две русские конструкции типологически подобны своим английским аналогам не на основании сходства линейного порядка определения и определяемого слова, а на основании структурного сходства. Английская конструкция SG и русская конструкция NNG диаметрально противоположны по порядку слов, однако они выявляют одну и ту же глубинную структуру флективного генитива, противоположного аналитическому генитиву русской ANG и английской OG. Эти данные убедительно свидетельствуют в пользу иерархии одушевленности как основного фактора чередования двух генитивных оборотов английского языка.

Ключевые слова: *грамматика конструкций, генитивное чередование, s-genitive, of-genitive, типология конструкций, корпусная лингвистика*

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1. Introduction

Construction Grammar is the study of symbolic pairings of form and meaning that are characterised by structural or semantic and pragmatic idiosyncrasies as well as a high level of entrenchment in language [Croft 2001; Goldberg 2006; Langacker 2009]. Recently, Construction Grammar has become one of the most prominent frameworks in linguistics research. The theory's emergence was foreshadowed in the 1980s, when Pawley and Syder proposed 'lexicalized sentence stems', an analogous term that has not become popular [Pawley and Syder 1983], and Fillmore et al. described 'minor constructions' or 'familiar pieces unfamiliarly arranged' [Fillmore et al. 1988]. Since 1995, when Goldberg's seminal book outlined the theoretical underpinnings of Construction Grammar, linguists have performed extensive research. They first compiled an inventory of the possible types of constructions and then charted an entire network of constructions that is arguably capable of embracing the entire language domain and explaining every phenomenon within it, from morpheme to discourse, i.e. from more substantive constructions to more schematic ones [see Hilpert 2014 and Diessel 2019 for review]. The so-called 'dictionaries of constructions' or 'constructicons' are currently being developed for several languages, e.g. German, Swedish, Russian and English (cf. Lyngfelt et al. 2018).

There is little doubt that one of the most important areas of future research within the framework of Construction Grammar will be the comparative study of constructions in different languages of the world. By that we do not mean some kind of item-specific corpus-based contrastive analysis that is enjoying considerable popularity right now [Gast 2015], but rather a whole new area of study that can be called Construction Typology. Linguistic typology examines the worldwide variations of linguistic structures, classifies them into types, and tries to make generalisations about which types are universally preferred and why. Similarly, Construction Typology will explore global variations in types of constructions and associate them with certain construction universals. In other words, the language-specific constructions will be analysed and compared to gain insights into Universal Construction Grammar.

One significant gain that modern Construction Grammar can make thanks to the cross-linguistic perspective is finding a clue to some contradictory cases of construction alternation. In such cases, competing motivations sometimes make it impossible to explain which factors trigger the alternation or, even worse, determine whether it is an alternation or the coexistence of two largely independent constructions. A theory of alternation that can account for the distribution of a pair of competing constructions in one language and of a pair of related constructions that did not result from a loan translation in other language should be regarded as more insightful because it provides typological evidence.

To the best of our knowledge, little research has been conducted in this area. The aim of the present paper is to communicate the results of a case study of two pairs of alternating constructions in English and in Russian.

2. English genitive alternation

The English genitive alternation has been studied extensively. It is one of the most famous alternating pairs in English and is on par with dative alternation, active and passive alternation, verb-particle constructions alternation, *will* versus *going to* alternation, and some others.

Researchers have focused on the distribution or partial paraphrase relationship [Goldberg 2002] of the *s*-genitive (or Saxon genitive) and the *of*-genitive (or *of*-construction):

(1) [NP_{modifier} 's N_{head}]
heart's heart

(2) [N_{head} of NP_{modifier}]
heart of heart

The investigation of the semantics and the distribution of two constructions has resulted in the five most prominent hypotheses [see Stefanowitsch 1998 for review]:

(a) The hypothesis of the animacy hierarchy predicts that the *s*-genitive is used where the referent of the modifier is higher up in the hierarchy than the head. In contrast, the *of*-genitive is used where the referent of the head is higher up in the hierarchy than the modifier [Jespersen 1949, Hawkins 1981, Deane 1992].

(b) The hypothesis of the given-new hierarchy predicts that the *s*-genitive is used where the referent of the modifier is given and the referent of the head is in focus. On the other hand, the *of*-genitive is used where the referent of the head is given and that of the modifier is new [Altenberg 1980, Standwell 1982].

(c) The hypothesis of the topic-focus hierarchy predicts that the *s*-genitive is used where the modifier is more topical and the head is in focus. In contrast, the *of*-genitive is used where the head is more topical and the modifier is in focus [Osselton 1988, Jørgensen 1984].

(d) The hypothesis of the end-weight principle predicts that *s*-genitive is used where the modifier is shorter than the head. On the other hand, the *of*-genitive is used where the head is shorter than the modifier [Altenberg 1980, Hawkins 1994].

The aforementioned approaches are all based on the notion of a linearisation hierarchy [Siewierska 1988] and presuppose that semantical relations encoded by both constructions can be treated as identical. Stefanowitsch [1998] provides the fifth semantic-based account of the problem:

e) The *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive are two semantically distinct constructions. The former encodes kinship and social relations as well as possession while the latter encodes taxonomic and meronymic relations [see also Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004, Stefanowitsch 2003].

It is evident that the long years of elaborate scientific analysis have not yielded any universally accepted view of the problem of English genitive alternation. Many competing motivations are at work at the same time, and this situation makes any

predictions about the actual choice between the two constructions troublesome. As Swan explains, '[u]nfortunately the exact differences between the three structures [the third one is *noun + noun*—S.M.] are complicated and difficult to analyse—this is one of the most difficult areas of English grammar. <...> In order to be certain which structure is used to express a particular idea, it is necessary to consult a good dictionary' [Swan 1995: 379].

3. Russian genitive alternation

No mention of this topic was found in literature, but in the Russian language a pair of constructions exists that is very similar to English genitive alternation in terms of function, structure, and semantics. These constructions are *noun + noun in genitive case* and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun*:

(3) *ruk-a* *mam-y*
hand-NOM mother-GEN
'mother's hand' / 'hand of mother'

(4) *mam-in-a* *ruk-a*
mother-ADJ-NOM hand-NOM
'mother's hand' / 'hand of mother'

To the best of our knowledge, the distribution of this pair has not been studied previously. The present paper attempts to support two following hypotheses:

(a) The higher up the referent of the modifier is in the animacy hierarchy, the more likely it is that the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction will be used.

(b) The lower down the referent of the modifier is in the animacy hierarchy, the more likely it is that the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction will be used.

In other words, the paper attempts to support the animacy hierarchy account for both the English and Russian languages.

4. Data and methodology

The present analysis presupposes two consecutive steps. First, we want to establish an inter-language comparability of two pairs of constructions in English and in Russian. Second, we will test the similarity of intra-language distribution of each pair of constructions from the perspective of the animacy hierarchy.

For these two purposes, two types of corpora are needed:

(a) A translation corpus consisting of original texts in one language and their translations into one or more languages [see Granger et al. 2003]; and

(b) A national corpora consisting of original texts in two respective languages.

Contrastive linguists generally deal with comparable corpora, that is, corpora consisting of original texts, matched by criteria such as the time of composition, text category, and intended audience [Johansson and Hasselgård 1999, Granger et al. 2003], but since we are in search of typological evidence, there is no need to use comparable corpora for our purposes.

For a translation corpus, the current study used the OpenSubtitles2016 containing 2.8 million subtitle files in 60 languages for a total of over 17 billion tokens in 2.6 billion sentences [Lison and Tiedemann 2016]. For two national corpora, British National Corpus and Russian National Corpus were used for English and Russian respectively.

5. Comparability of constructions

Theoretically speaking, only three variants of association can exist between English and Russian genitive alternations (see Table 1):

Table 1

Three variants of association between English and Russian genitive alternations

	English	Russian
A	<i>S</i> -genitive	<i>Noun + noun in genitive case</i>
	<i>Of</i> -genitive	<i>Relative adjective derived from noun + noun</i>
B	<i>S</i> -genitive	<i>Relative adjective derived from noun + noun</i>
	<i>Of</i> -genitive	<i>Noun + noun in genitive case</i>
C	No association	

(a) This variant predicts that English *s*-genitives will be translated into Russian mostly by means of the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction while *of*-genitives will be translated mostly with the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction.

(b) This variant foreshadows the reverse situation, predicting that English *s*-genitives will be translated into Russian mostly by means of the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction while *of*-genitives will be translated mostly with the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction.

(c) This variant predicts that no association will be found between the English *s*-genitives and *of*-genitives and the Russian *noun + noun in genitive case* and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* constructions (null hypothesis).

To test these hypotheses, two English words were chosen that Gries and Stefanowitsch list among the most distinctive collexemes of two constructions (the present study is concerned only with modifiers, not heads): *women* for *s*-genitive (distinctiveness score = 0.0003) and *life* for *of*-genitive (distinctiveness score = 1.58E-21) [Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004: 116]. The first 100 unique *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive examples that included these words were then extracted from the OpenSubtitles2016 corpus, and their Russian translations were analysed. Each Russian sentence was coded as a *noun + noun in genitive case* construction, *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction, or paraphrase (that is, translated sentence in which neither of the aforementioned constructions is used). The summary is presented in Table 2.

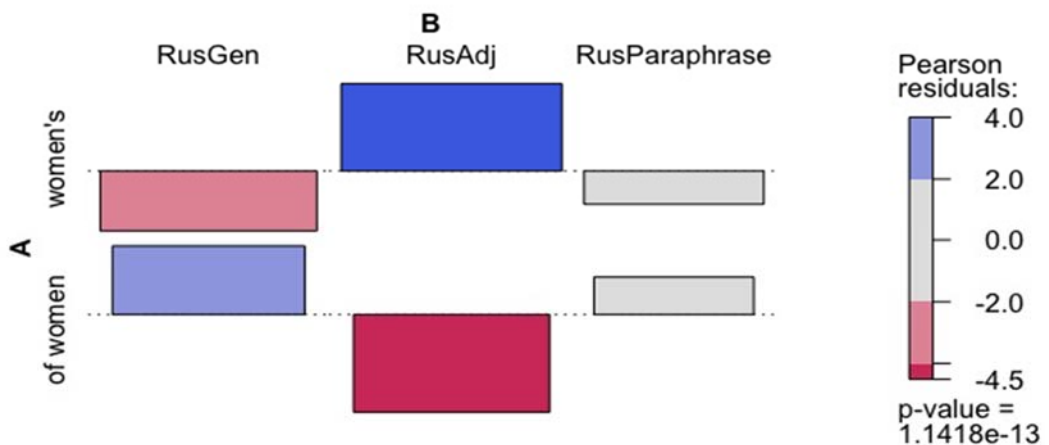
English genitive constructions and their Russian translations

	Noun + noun in genitive case	Relative adjective derived from noun + noun	Paraphrase
<i>Women's</i> + noun	39	95	32
Noun + of + <i>women</i>	70	18	43
<i>Life's</i> + noun	72	33	97
Noun + of + <i>life</i>	125	5	83

Separate Pearson's Chi-squared tests were conducted for the constructions with *women* and *life*.¹ These tests yielded the following results: $\chi^2 = 459.602$, $df = 2$, $p = 1.142e-13$ and $\chi^2 = 35.713$, $df = 2$, $p = 1.758e-08$ respectively. The p-value is highly significant in both cases; the null hypothesis of no association between the English *s*-genitives and *of*-genitives on the one hand and the Russian *noun + noun in genitive case* and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* constructions on the other hand can be rejected.

Although the effect size of the second test is weaker than that of the first one (Cramer's *V* of 0.293 compared to Cramer's *V* of 0.448 respectively), standardised Pearson's residuals obtained for each cell in the data frame indicate that the same individual deviations are statistically significant in both cases. *S*-genitives are commonly translated into Russian by means of the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction, while *of*-genitives are associated with the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction.

To visualise the results, the *assoc* function from the *vcd* library in R Studio [R Core Team 2013] was used. In Figures 1 and 2, pink shading indicates that individual residuals are significantly underrepresented; blue shading indicates that individual residuals are significantly overrepresented; and grey shading indicates that individual residuals do not differ significantly from their expected values.

Figure 1. Association plot for the constructions with *women*

¹ All data frames and R script are downloadable from: <https://www.dropbox.com/sh/27gx13tiow5ljiq/AADMIL-6jJnbe9A9dVRYXJeya?dl=0>.

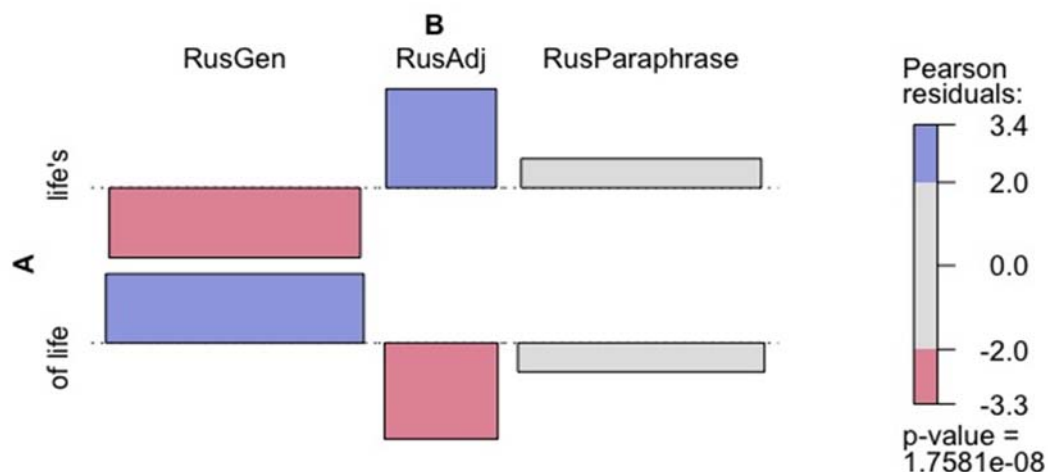


Figure 2. Association plot for the constructions with *life*

Considering these results, hypothesis (b) appears to be true. In a sense, this finding is counterintuitive. Instead, it would be expected that the English *s*-genitive would be more similar to the Russian true genitive (*noun + noun in genitive case*) because this construction is the authentic genitive from a historical perspective. However, the word order, namely the linear precedence of a modifier or head in respective constructions, appears to be a powerful factor. The alignment of English and Russian phrases that the present case study has revealed is likely explained by translators' desire to preserve the initial order of constituents (see Table 3).

Table 3

Alignment of English and Russian genitive constructions

	Modifier + head	Head + modifier
English	<i>S</i> -genitive	<i>Of</i> -genitive
Russian	<i>Relative adjective derived from noun + noun</i>	<i>Noun + noun in genitive case</i>

Overall, the most important finding is the comparability of English and Russian pairs of alternating constructions. This discovery made it possible to proceed with the comparative analysis of their intra-language distribution from the perspective of the animacy hierarchy.

6. Distribution of constructions

The animacy hierarchy [Comrie 1981] is 'a scalar representation of types of referents or referring expressions that are ranked according to their deictic, semantic, and/or discourse-pragmatic properties' [Haude and Witzlack-Makarevich 2016: 433]. It is also referred to in the literature as the referential hierarchy [Haude and Witzlack-Makarevich 2016], empathy hierarchy [Kuno and Kaburaki 1977],

nominal hierarchy [Dixon 1979], indexability hierarchy [Bickel and Nichols 2007], and ‘hierarchy of inherent lexical content’ [Silverstein 1976].

This hierarchy can be presented in different ways, but the present paper adopted (with the exclusion of all pronouns) the following version provided in [Dixon 1979]:

(5) Proper nouns > human common nouns > animate common nouns > inanimate common nouns

The hypothesis is that both in English and Russian, the closer a modifier is to the left extremity of the scale (5), the more likely it is to be used with the *s*-genitive and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* constructions respectively. In contrast, the closer a modifier is to the right extremity of the scale (5), the more likely it is to be used with the *of*-genitive and *noun + noun in genitive case* constructions respectively.

To test this hypothesis, four groups of English words were chosen: proper nouns, human common nouns, animate common nouns, and inanimate common nouns. Each group comprised ten different lexemes that are most frequently used as modifiers in *s*-genitive construction, according to the British National Corpus. These lexemes had to satisfy certain criteria in addition to frequency of use:

(a) They had to be used at least once within the English *of*-genitive construction.

(b) For the group of inanimate common nouns, only concrete nouns were qualified.

(c) Their Russian counterparts had to be used at least once within both the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* and *noun + noun in genitive case* constructions. The only exception to this rule was proper nouns that were chosen for each language separately due to reasons of cultural specificity.

(d) The adjectives derived from their Russian counterparts had to retain their literal meaning as the main one. All English candidates leading to metaphorical Russian adjectives and adjectives that are part of terminologised lexical units were excluded.

After that, the raw frequencies of each word were calculated within four respective constructions in the British National Corpus and Russian National Corpus.² The entire dataset is presented in appendices 1 and 2; the summary is provided in Table 4.

Separate Pearson’s Chi-squared tests were conducted for all consecutive pairings of groups of nouns in English and Russian moving from the left extremity of the scale (5) to the right. The standardised Pearson’s residuals for each cell are presented in Tables 5 to 7.

² Since we are not making any intra-corpus comparisons, there is no need to use normalised frequencies.

Table 4

Raw frequencies of English and Russian genitive constructions

	English		Russian	
	S-genitive	Of-genitive	Noun + noun in genitive case	Relative adjective derived from noun + noun
Proper nouns	1,084	262	23,031	8,576
Human common nouns	3,615	1,128	44,774	19,756
Animate common nouns	1,369	1,056	25,674	12,870
Inanimate common nouns	773	2,002	52,887	55,151

Table 5

Proper nouns and human common nouns in genitive alternation

	English		Russian	
	S-genitive	Of-genitive	Noun + noun in genitive case	Relative adjective derived from noun + noun
Proper nouns	3.33064	-3.33064	11.12437	-11.12437
Human common nouns	-3.33064	3.33064	-11.12437	11.12437
<i>Pearson's Chi-squared test</i>	$\chi^2 = 10.849, df = 1, p = < 0.001$		$\chi^2 = 123.58, df = 1, p = < 2.2e-16$	

Table 6

Human common nouns and animate common nouns in genitive alternation

	English		Russian	
	S-genitive	Of-genitive	Noun + noun in genitive case	Relative adjective derived from noun + noun
Human common nouns	17.20047	-17.20047	9.268528	-9.268528
Animate common nouns	-17.20047	17.20047	-9.268528	9.268528
<i>Pearson's Chi-squared test</i>	$\chi^2 = 294.92, df = 1, p = < 2.2e-16$		$\chi^2 = 85.777, df = 1, p = < 2.2e-16$	

Table 7

Animate common nouns and inanimate common nouns in genitive alternation

	English		Russian	
	S-genitive	Of-genitive	Noun + noun in genitive case	Relative adjective derived from noun + noun
Animate common nouns	20.90222	-20.90222	59.67713	-59.67713
Inanimate common nouns	-20.90222	20.90222	-59.67713	59.67713
<i>Pearson's Chi-squared test</i>	$\chi^2 = 435.72, df = 1, p = < 2.2e-16$		$\chi^2 = 3560.7, df = 1, p = < 2.2e-16$	

The same picture is evident across Tables 5 to 7: the first lines indicate overrepresentation of *s*-genitives in English and *noun + noun in genitive case* constructions in Russian (positive values of standardised Pearson's residuals). These lines also indicate the underrepresentation of *of*-genitives in English and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* constructions in Russian (negative values of standardised Pearson's residuals). In the second lines, the picture is reversed: *s*-genitives and *noun + noun in genitive case* constructions are underrepresented in English and Russian respectively. *Of*-genitives and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* constructions are overrepresented in English and Russian respectively.

All results are highly significant, and the English part of the hypothesis can be considered true. The closer a modifier is to the left extremity of the scale (5), the more likely it is to be used with *s*-genitive. On the other hand, the closer a modifier is to the right extremity of the scale (5), the more likely it is to be used with *of*-genitive. This is not surprising; the present analysis has merely replicated the findings of other numerous studies.

It is interesting that in Russian, the same animacy hierarchy governs the distribution of a similar alternating pair of constructions. Surprisingly, the expectations about the alignment of English and Russian pairs were not met. The linear order of modifier and head that we considered a strong predictor was abandoned in favour of the notion of true, or inflectional, 'genitiveness' on the one hand and periphrastic, or analytical, 'genitiveness' on the other. For this reason, it was necessary to rearrange Table 8 as follows:

Table 8

Rearranged alignment of English and Russian genitive constructions

	Inflectional 'genitiveness'	Analytical 'genitiveness'
English	<i>S</i> -genitive	<i>Of</i> -genitive
Russian	<i>Noun + noun in genitive case</i>	<i>Relative adjective derived from noun + noun</i>

7. Animacy continuum

When the significance of the association between the English and Russian pairs of constructions is measured along the whole animacy continuum and not pairwise, it is clear that the two languages, though similar in their general adherence to the hierarchical principle, have different cut-off points on this scale.

The results are visualised in Figures 3 and 4: the pink shading indicates that individual residuals are significantly underrepresented; the blue shading indicates that individual residuals are significantly overrepresented; and the grey shading indicates that individual residuals do not differ significantly from their expected values.

In English (Figure 3), the differential attribute is 'humanness'. The borderline is drawn between groups of proper nouns and human common nouns on the one hand (preferably used with *s*-genitives) and animate common nouns and inanimate

common nouns on the other (preferably used with *of*-genitives). In Russian (Figure 4) the differential attribute is ‘animateness’. The borderline is drawn between groups of proper nouns, human common nouns, and animate common nouns on the one hand (preferably used with the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction), and inanimate common nouns, on the other (preferably used with the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction).

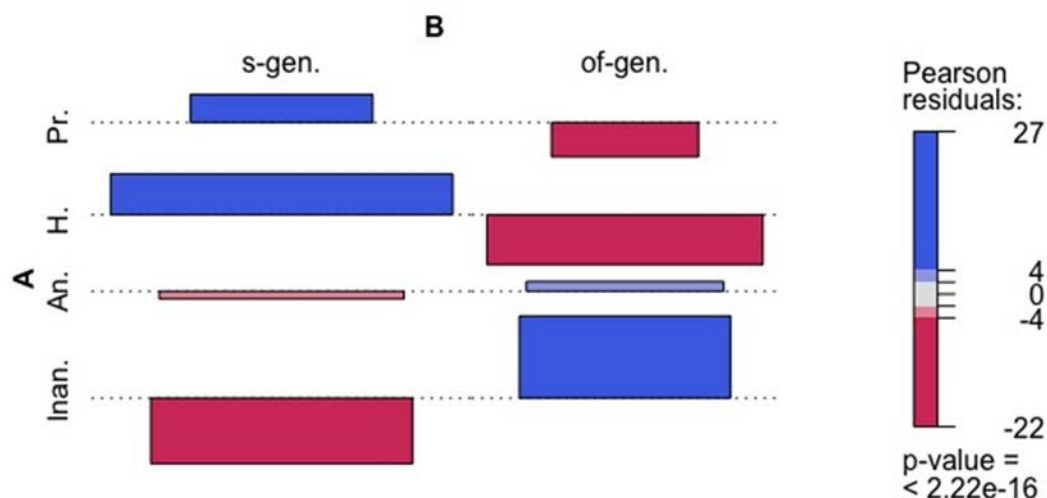


Figure 3. English genitive alternation along the animacy continuum (Cramer's $V = 0.41$)

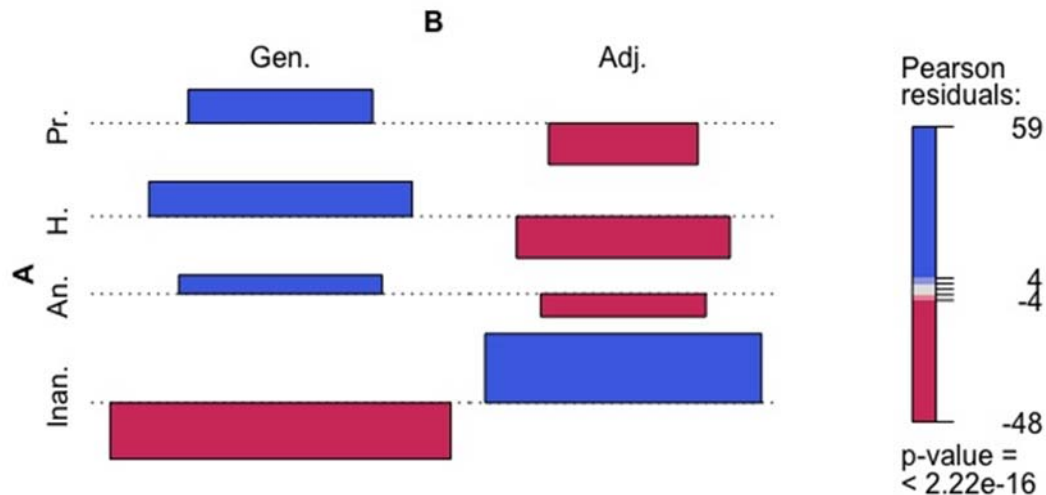


Figure 4. Russian genitive alternation along the animacy continuum (Cramer's $V = 0.21$)

8. Collostructional strength

Since our analysis of English and Russian genitive alternations is essentially an examination of alternating pairs of constructions and relative preferences for words that can occur in them, a collostructional analysis of the data was also con-

ducted. The collocation analysis, also referred to as distinctive-collexeme analysis, is a method proposed in [Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004] for identifying words that appear in particular slots of constructions rather than any words within a given span.

The *coll.analysis* package for R Studio was used to calculate the collocation strengths of 40 English and 40 Russian words in the data [Gries 2007]; the log-likelihood ratio was chosen as an index of association strength (other measures accessible in the *coll.analysis* package yield comparable results). The output for the English data is presented in Figure 5 and the output for the Russian data is displayed in Figure 6. In both cases, the lines for each construction are sorted from the highest index of collocation strengths to the lowest. The higher index, the stronger preference a given lexeme reveals for a particular construction. The red lines in both figures divide the output into four equal parts consisting of 10 lines each.

	words	obs. freq.1	obs. freq.2	exp. freq.1	exp. freq.2	pref. occur	delta.p.constr.to.word	delta.p.word.to.constr	coll.strength
30	fish	86	662	453.279121	294.720879	OF. GENITIVE	-0.1362596737	-0.52585778	839.7431043
36	grass	1	361	219.367703	142.632297	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0810138945	-0.62320993	678.0646337
38	computer	133	570	426.009655	276.990345	OF. GENITIVE	-0.1087058799	-0.44447792	547.2987481
31	stone	74	393	282.996457	184.003543	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0775371845	-0.46684207	414.9432904
40	cigarette	1	57	35.147312	22.852688	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0126685707	-0.59178720	97.5101351
35	apple	5	58	38.177252	24.822748	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0123086810	-0.52957844	78.5301760
39	tree	28	88	70.294623	45.705377	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0156912038	-0.36839425	64.4250906
33	car	251	279	321.173709	208.826291	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0260342778	-0.13892555	39.8206666
12	president	570	531	667.192931	433.807069	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0360583445	-0.09781690	39.1058925
34	pin	6	21	16.361680	10.638320	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0038441583	-0.38468596	16.5642604
37	book	191	173	220.579679	143.420321	OF. GENITIVE	-0.0109739901	-0.08397038	10.2123513
11	driver	435	25	278.754540	181.245460	S. GENITIVE	0.0579666913	0.35409247	297.5167810
15	reader	335	23	216.943751	141.056249	S. GENITIVE	0.0437985856	0.34056619	213.0048427
13	doctor	623	124	452.673133	294.326867	S. GENITIVE	0.0631908594	0.24417153	195.0423541
17	manager	428	65	298.752148	194.247852	S. GENITIVE	0.0479506433	0.27413786	171.8807539
14	farmer	238	11	150.891044	98.108956	S. GENITIVE	0.0323172138	0.35772547	171.6512286
9	Wordsworth	210	24	141.801222	92.198778	S. GENITIVE	0.0253015830	0.29761681	102.0821780
23	horse	385	107	298.146160	193.853840	S. GENITIVE	0.0322225665	0.18457645	72.6028002
32	doll	83	2	51.508991	33.491009	S. GENITIVE	0.0116830888	0.37329315	68.2938607
19	soldier	109	11	72.718576	47.281424	S. GENITIVE	0.0134603215	0.30559361	56.6479697
1	Shakespeare	374	121	299.964124	195.035876	S. GENITIVE	0.0274671324	0.15642641	51.5969760
21	cow	153	29	110.289840	71.710160	S. GENITIVE	0.0158453671	0.23851655	48.3393408
16	master	325	103	259.362920	168.637080	S. GENITIVE	0.0243511995	0.15940104	46.7342576
3	Tolkien	99	12	67.264682	43.735318	S. GENITIVE	0.0117737268	0.28874285	45.8629922
5	Kipling	51	2	32.117371	20.882629	S. GENITIVE	0.0070054101	0.35795657	37.9174739
28	cat	203	58	158.162902	102.837098	S. GENITIVE	0.0166344559	0.17585540	35.6586822
18	teacher	549	234	474.488706	308.511294	S. GENITIVE	0.0276435116	0.10225356	32.9910048
10	Spenser	53	4	34.541323	22.458677	S. GENITIVE	0.0068481248	0.32547983	31.7062918
25	snail	52	5	34.541323	22.458677	S. GENITIVE	0.0064771272	0.30784694	27.6362952
26	goat	77	14	55.144920	35.855080	S. GENITIVE	0.0081081824	0.24211741	25.2580428
8	Wilde	46	8	32.723359	21.276641	S. GENITIVE	0.0049256020	0.24704544	15.7457999
4	Chaucer	62	14	46.055098	29.944902	S. GENITIVE	0.0059155205	0.21122335	15.6711671
22	spider	67	17	50.903003	33.096997	S. GENITIVE	0.0059719473	0.19306751	14.2642908
29	pig	104	35	84.232350	54.767650	S. GENITIVE	0.0073337507	0.14398619	12.6529517
27	boar	40	8	29.087430	18.912570	S. GENITIVE	0.0040485372	0.22831599	11.7640582
6	Tennyson	38	8	27.875454	18.124546	S. GENITIVE	0.0037561823	0.22099935	10.5007782
7	Byron	44	13	34.541323	22.458677	S. GENITIVE	0.0035091463	0.16678381	7.1173584
2	Milton	107	56	98.776065	64.223935	S. GENITIVE	0.0030510601	0.05119275	1.7930679
24	bird	202	121	195.734166	127.265834	S. GENITIVE	0.0023246094	0.01997025	0.5271517
20	traitor	3	1	2.423953	1.576047	S. GENITIVE	0.0002137122	0.14406292	0.3695598

Figure 5. Distinctive-collexeme analysis of the English data

Though it is necessary to allow for the idiosyncratic behaviour of different words in the two languages, the results of the distinctive-collexeme analysis largely support our previous findings. Inanimate common nouns constitute the majority of words that display the strongest preference for analytical genitives (the *of*-genitive

in English and the *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction in Russian). Human common nouns constitute the majority of words that demonstrate the strongest preference for inflectional genitives (the *s*-genitive in English and the *noun + noun in genitive case* construction in Russian).

There are, however, discrepancies suggesting that at least some levels of the animacy hierarchy form a continuum. Words with referents that are conceived of as more prototypically animate demonstrate a stronger preference for inflectional genitives than words from the same group with referents that are less prototypically animate. This tendency is most observable with animate common nouns that occupy the intermediate position between undoubtedly animate human beings and undoubtedly inanimate physical objects.

	words	obs. freq.1	obs. freq.2	exp. freq.1	exp. freq.2	pref. occur	delta.p.constr.to.word	delta.p.word.to.constr	coll.strength
31	kamen_kamennyj	3903	19431	14071.02140	9262.97860	ADJECTIVE	-0.1749986831	-0.482107738	2.077895e+04
39	derevo_derevannyj	9626	19641	17648.77790	11618.22210	ADJECTIVE	-0.1380775581	-0.311709549	1.022901e+04
28	komputer_kompjuternyj	1306	4033	3219.55872	2119.44128	ADJECTIVE	-0.0329336695	-0.366472611	2.897173e+03
39	svinja_svinnoj	1243	1624	1728.87710	1138.12290	ADJECTIVE	-0.0083622811	-0.171498044	3.385752e+02
20	predatel_predatel'skij	445	750	720.61672	474.38328	ADJECTIVE	-0.0047435545	-0.231782765	2.593912e+02
32	kukla_kukolnyj	741	922	996.80288	656.19712	ADJECTIVE	-0.00545746514	-0.161902904	1.749155e+02
14	fermer_fermerskij	295	499	478.80308	315.19692	ADJECTIVE	-0.0031633781	-0.232249773	1.733279e+02
28	koshka_koshachij	1460	1440	1748.77698	1151.22302	ADJECTIVE	-0.0049700516	-0.100782415	1.190473e+02
34	bulavka_bulavochnyj	172	177	210.45626	138.54374	ADJECTIVE	-0.0006618589	-0.110348536	1.732915e+01
21	korova_korovij	1908	1312	1941.74548	1278.25452	ADJECTIVE	-0.0005807830	-0.010620862	1.492882e+00
33	mashina_mashinnyj	14289	1840	9726.21515	6402.78485	GENITIVE	0.0785286841	0.303029971	6.785843e+03
23	loshad_loshadinnyj	8631	2488	6705.05215	4413.94785	GENITIVE	0.0331468949	0.181528162	1.572695e+03
12	president_presidentskij	11683	4016	9466.91373	6232.08627	GENITIVE	0.0381403779	0.150922617	1.475275e+03
18	uchitel_uchitel'skij	5797	1419	4351.43955	2864.56045	GENITIVE	0.0248790955	0.206465296	1.368965e+03
37	kniga_knizhnyj	17458	7165	14848.32262	9774.67738	GENITIVE	0.0449143532	0.117951082	1.332588e+03
13	doktor_doktorskij	5237	1402	4003.49323	2635.50677	GENITIVE	0.0212295049	0.191022825	1.070190e+03
15	chitatel_chitatel'skij	4298	1118	3265.99177	2150.00823	GENITIVE	0.0177615757	0.194896954	9.168812e+02
6	Lomonosov_lomonosovskij	1591	169	1061.32672	698.67328	GENITIVE	0.0091160436	0.303148916	8.133530e+02
8	Chehov_chehovskij	4605	1550	3711.62839	2443.37161	GENITIVE	0.0153755436	0.148922120	5.895329e+02
7	Pasternak_pasterankovskij	1275	162	866.54915	570.45085	GENITIVE	0.0078292718	0.285931427	5.797916e+02
36	trava_travanoj	2620	788	2055.11447	1352.88553	GENITIVE	0.0097220709	0.168113264	4.262393e+02
17	menedzher_menedzherskij	703	72	467.34557	307.65443	GENITIVE	0.0040557757	0.305044233	3.658786e+02
40	sigareta_sigaretnyj	1475	357	1104.74463	727.25537	GENITIVE	0.0063723511	0.203641509	3.470145e+02
3	Bulgakov_bulgakovskij	1119	220	807.45254	531.54746	GENITIVE	0.0053619473	0.233962430	3.438004e+02
2	Nekrasov_nekrasovskij	1169	245	852.67953	561.32047	GENITIVE	0.0054440941	0.225017002	3.331911e+02
10	Gogol_gogolevskij	3801	1520	3208.70425	2112.29575	GENITIVE	0.0101938197	0.113807813	2.935669e+02
9	Turgenev_turgenevskij	1569	523	1261.53153	830.46847	GENITIVE	0.0052917450	0.148251235	2.023967e+02
30	ryba_rybij	4035	1834	3539.16279	2329.83721	GENITIVE	0.0085337014	0.086577569	1.846917e+02
5	Derzhavin_derzhavinskij	577	121	420.91253	277.08747	GENITIVE	0.0026863734	0.224265953	1.639046e+02
26	kozel_kozlinyj	1361	483	1111.98095	732.01905	GENITIVE	0.0042857901	0.136076679	1.494747e+02
25	ulitka_ulitkin	157	1	95.27819	62.72181	GENITIVE	0.0010622750	0.390898800	1.486139e+02
24	ptica_ptichij	6202	3363	5767.94890	3797.05110	GENITIVE	0.0074703197	0.047240750	8.687149e+01
4	Pelevin_pelevinskij	79	1	48.24212	31.75788	GENITIVE	0.0005293643	0.384600219	7.102802e+01
1	Pushkin_pushkinskij	7246	4065	6820.83325	4490.16675	GENITIVE	0.0073174139	0.039426089	7.082236e+01
22	pauk_pauchij	373	159	320.81012	211.18988	GENITIVE	0.0008982239	0.098316769	2.222542e+01
11	voditel_voditel'skij	1295	754	1235.60139	813.39861	GENITIVE	0.0010222912	0.029235877	7.319209e+00
27	kaban_kabanij	304	166	283.42248	186.57752	GENITIVE	0.0003541534	0.043866909	3.824253e+00
35	jabloko_jablochnyj	1307	797	1268.76785	835.23215	GENITIVE	0.0006580017	0.018330067	2.943415e+00
19	soldat_soldatskij	10495	6799	10428.74107	6865.25893	GENITIVE	0.0011403620	0.004125254	1.142990e+00
16	master_masterskij	4526	2927	4494.35684	2958.64316	GENITIVE	0.0005446007	0.004380194	5.796869e-01

Figure 6. Distinctive-collexeme analysis of the Russian data

Table 9 illustrates that as a result of conceptual ‘deanimisation’ an animate common noun can even cross the threshold between two constructions and start displaying a preference for the analytical genitive. Importantly, the data suggest that this continuum is charted in varying ways in the two languages. It seems that in English, less prototypically animate animals are those that humans normally use for food (*pig, boar, bird, fish*). In Russian, less prototypically animate animals are those that were historically omnipresent in peasant households (*korova* ‘cow’, *koshka* ‘cat’, *svinja* ‘pig’).

Table 9

Prototypical animacy in English and Russian

	English	Russian
More prototypical	Horse	<i>Loshad</i> 'horse'
	Cow	<i>Ryba</i> 'fish'
	Cat	<i>Kozel</i> 'goat'
	Snail	<i>Ulitka</i> 'snail'
	Goat	<i>Ptica</i> 'bird'
	Spider	<i>Pauk</i> 'spider'
	Pig	<i>Kaban</i> 'boar'
Less prototypical	Boar	<i>Korova</i> 'cow'
	Bird	<i>Koshka</i> 'cat'
	Fish	<i>Svinja</i> 'pig'

To test this hypothesis, two more pairings of English and Russian animate common nouns were selected: *dog* (*sobaka/sobachij*) and *rabbit* (*krolik/krolichij*). They met all the requirements specified above and could be expected to display distinctively different preferences for genitive constructions.

Dog (*sobaka*) denotes an animal that is uneatable and highly important for a country life. As a result, this word is likely to be conceptualised as more prototypical in English and less prototypical in Russian. In contrast, *rabbit* (*krolik*) denotes an animal that is universally used for food and exotic to the traditional Russian peasantry. It is likely to be conceptualised as less prototypical in English and more prototypical in Russian.

As before, the collostructional strengths of two new sets of English and Russian animate common nouns were calculated using the *coll.analysis* package for R Studio; the log-likelihood ratio was again chosen as an index of association strength. The output for the English data is presented in Figure 7, and the output for Russian data is included in Figure 8.

words	obs.freq.1	obs.freq.2	exp.freq.1	exp.freq.2	pref.occure	delta.p.constr.to.word	delta.p.word.to.constr	coll.strength
10 fish	86	662	436.62915	311.37085	OF.GENITIVE	-0.48914602	-0.62798768	962.695100
12 rabbit	39	52	53.11932	37.88068	OF.GENITIVE	-0.01969719	-0.16009594	9.134390
3 horse	385	107	287.19458	204.80542	S.GENITIVE	0.13644369	0.23858216	102.627201
1 cow	153	29	106.23864	75.76136	S.GENITIVE	0.06523454	0.27382408	59.155645
8 cat	203	58	152.35322	108.64678	S.GENITIVE	0.07065491	0.21288377	47.625150
11 dog	314	120	253.33831	180.66169	S.GENITIVE	0.08462624	0.16388386	42.607127
5 snail	52	5	33.27254	23.72746	S.GENITIVE	0.02612578	0.33502526	31.363400
6 goat	77	14	53.11932	37.88068	S.GENITIVE	0.03331480	0.27077784	30.123384
2 spider	67	17	49.03322	34.96678	S.GENITIVE	0.02506460	0.22015917	17.776656
9 pig	104	35	81.13831	57.86169	S.GENITIVE	0.03189326	0.17260557	17.207302
7 boar	40	8	28.01898	19.98102	S.GENITIVE	0.01671415	0.25373306	14.037693
4 bird	202	121	188.54441	134.45559	S.GENITIVE	0.01877126	0.04678022	2.615386

Figure 7. Distinctive-collexeme analysis of the English data (animate common nouns)

Our prediction is borne out. The English *dog* and Russian *krolik* display a strong preference for the *s*-genitive and *noun + noun in genitive case* construction respectively, which means that these words are located high on the animacy hierarchies. At the same time, the English *rabbit* and Russian *sobaka* show strong preference for *of*-genitive and *relative adjective derived from noun + noun* construction

respectively, which means that the positions of these words on the animacy hierarchies are relatively low.

	words	obs. freq.1	obs. freq.2	exp. freq.1	exp. freq.2	pref. occur	delta.p.constr.to.word	delta.p.word.to.constr	coll. strength
11	sobaka_sobachij	5315	4801	6458.0861	3657.9139	ADJECTIVE	-0.0999910436	-0.142005756	685.7859783
9	svinja_svinoj	1243	1624	1830.3018	1036.6982	ADJECTIVE	-0.0513740113	-0.217437081	528.0962263
8	koshka_koshachij	1460	1440	1851.3691	1048.6309	ADJECTIVE	-0.0342348695	-0.143349373	234.2269580
1	korova_korovij	1908	1312	2055.6581	1164.3419	ADJECTIVE	-0.0129163382	-0.049045572	30.8928548
3	loshad_loshadinyj	8631	2488	7098.4044	4020.5956	GENITIVE	0.1340632419	0.177743961	1247.4333171
5	ulitka_ulitkin	157	1	100.8677	57.1323	GENITIVE	0.0049101531	0.356404862	131.1105698
6	kozel_kozlinyj	1361	483	1177.2154	666.7846	GENITIVE	0.0160764933	0.103520985	86.4519667
10	ryba_rybij	4035	1834	3746.7880	2122.2120	GENITIVE	0.0252112411	0.055709857	70.8884087
12	krolik_krollichij	626	236	550.3035	311.6965	GENITIVE	0.0066215238	0.089370584	30.5585544
2	pauk_pauchij	373	159	339.6305	192.3695	GENITIVE	0.0029189878	0.063405835	9.4303034
4	ptica_ptichij	6202	3363	6106.3260	3458.6740	GENITIVE	0.0083690506	0.012396936	5.1539703
7	kaban_kabanij	304	166	300.0495	169.9505	GENITIVE	0.0003455709	0.008485914	0.1457156

Figure 8. Distinctive-collexeme analysis of the Russian data (animate common nouns)

9. Conclusion

This paper began with a presentation of five different accounts of genitive alternation in English: the hypotheses of the animacy hierarchy, given-new hierarchy, topic-focus hierarchy, end-weight principle, and two semantically distinct constructions.

Stefanowitsch, who is the proponent of the last and most recent new account³ [Stefanowitsch 2003], argues that all other explanations fail because they rely heavily on the linearisation hierarchy. In the case of the *s*-genitive, the hypotheses make correct predictions (modifier = the first word). However, in the case of the *of*-genitive, the hypotheses are refuted because of the conflict that exists between the linear order and the syntactic structure of the phrase (modifier \neq the first word).

However, Stefanowitsch's own alternative hypothesis, when tested, did not cross the threshold of statistical significance [Stefanowitsch 1998: 25]. Many findings, including those of the present study, indicate that the distribution of the two English genitives does not depend on any semantic relationships encoded by these constructions. Even indiscriminate, coarse-grained approaches such as the one in the present study reveal the absolutely distinct patterns of the partial paraphrase relationship between *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive.

The comparison of the distribution of the two English and two Russian genitives was insightful. It was established that in both languages the choice between members of an alternating pair is governed by the rules of animacy hierarchisation. Additionally, it was possible to disprove the idea that the animacy hierarchy is necessarily based on the linearisation hierarchy. The two Russian constructions are typologically aligned with their English counterparts, not on the grounds of the linear order of head and modifier but on the grounds of structural similarity. The English *s*-genitive and Russian *noun + noun in genitive case* construction are diametrically opposed in terms of word order. However, they reveal the same underlying structure of the inflectional genitive as contrasted with the analytical genitive of the Russian

³ Other more recent studies in this field, to the best of our knowledge, can be subsumed under one of the abovementioned accounts.

relative adjective derived from noun + noun construction and the English *of*-genitive.

This study is just a preliminary one, very selective (also with regard to the source of the research material) and can only be regarded as the first step to undertake a more comprehensive research on genitive alternation in English and Russian (explored through translational and non-translational data).

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Appendix 1

	noun	<i>s</i> -genitive	<i>of</i> -genitive
Proper nouns	Shakespeare	374	121
	Milton	107	56
	Tolkien	99	12
	Chaucer	62	14
	Kipling	51	2
	Tennyson	38	8
	Byron	44	13
	Wilde	46	8
	Wordsworth	210	24
	Spenser	53	4
	TOTAL	1084	262
Human common nouns	driver	435	25
	president	570	531
	doctor	623	124
	farmer	238	11
	reader	335	23
	master	325	103
	manager	428	65
	teacher	549	234
	soldier	109	11
	traitor	3	1
	TOTAL	3615	1128
Animate common nouns	cow	153	29
	spider	67	17
	horse	385	107
	bird	202	121
	snail	52	5
	goat	77	14
	boar	40	8
	cat	203	58
	pig	104	35
	fish	86	662
		TOTAL	1369
Inanimate common nouns	stone	74	393
	doll	83	2
	car	251	279
	pin	6	21
	apple	5	58
	grass	1	361
	book	191	173

	noun	s-genitive	of-genitive
	computer	133	570
	tree	28	88
	cigarette	1	57
	TOTAL	773	2002

Appendix 2

	noun / adjective	noun + noun in genitive case	relative adjective derived from noun + noun
Proper nouns	Pushkin / pushkinskij	7246	4065
	Nekrasov / nekrasovskij	1169	245
	Bulgakov / bulgakovskij	1119	220
	Pelevin / pelevinskij	79	1
	Derzhavin / derzhavinskij	577	121
	Lomonosov / lomonosovskij	1591	169
	Pasternak / pasterankovskij	1275	162
	Chehov / chehovskij	4605	1550
	Turgenev / turgenevskij	1569	523
	Gogol' / gogolevskij	3801	1520
	TOTAL	23031	8576
Human common nouns	voditel' / voditel'skij	1295	754
	president / presidentskij	11683	4016
	doktor / doktorskij	5237	1402
	fermer / fermerskij	295	499
	chitatel' / chitatel'skij	4298	1118
	master / masterskij	4526	2927
	menedzher / menedzherskij	703	72
	uchitel' / uchitel'skij	5797	1419
	soldat / soldatskij	10495	6799
	predatel' / predateľ'skij	445	750
TOTAL	44774	19756	
Animate common nouns	korova / korovij	1908	1312
	pauk / pauchij	373	159
	loshad' / loshadinyj	8631	2488
	ptica / ptichij	6202	3363
	ulitka / ulitkin	157	1
	kozel / kozlinyj	1361	483
	kaban / kabanij	304	166
	koshka / koshachij	1460	1440
	svinja / svinoj	1243	1624
	ryba / rybij	4035	1834
TOTAL	25674	12870	
Inanimate common nouns	kamen' / kamennyj	3903	19431
	kukla / kukol'nyj	731	922
	mashina / mashinnyj	14289	1840
	bulavka / bulavochnyj	172	177
	jabloko / jablochnyj	1307	797
	trava / trav'anoj	2620	788
	kniga / knizhnyj	17458	7165

	noun / adjective	noun + noun in genitive case	relative adjective derived from noun + noun
	kompjuter / kompjuternyj	1306	4033
	derevo / derev'annyj	9626	19641
	sigareta / sigaretnyj	1475	357
	TOTAL	52887	55151

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Research Article

Metasemiotic Projects and Lifestyle Media: Formulating Commodities as Resources for Identity Enactment

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Abstract

There has recently been a notable increase in the amount and perceived significance of new lifestyle media. Besides the instructive and entertaining function, these media arguably play a more fundamental sociocultural role of constructing identities. In consumer societies, these identities are to a great extent enacted through the acquisition of commodities and engagement in commodified practices, which thereby become semiotic resources of identity stylization. The purpose of this article is to explore the discursive mechanisms underpinning the process of formulating commodities and practices as such semiotic resources. To this end, several discourses from new online men's magazines have been analyzed drawing on a model of discourse analysis that sees discourse as one of the "moments" of the social practice it is embedded in. The results indicate that the mechanism behind the processes in question can be described as a metasemiotic project. As such a project unfolds in discourse, various commodities and practices are being typified by a metasemiotic term. One of the most frequent prototypical metasemiotic terms in these resources is *stylish man*. The term is instantiated in texts by several lexemes, including the lexeme *style* and its derivatives, as well as lexemes naming various "masculine personas" such as *man*, *guy*, *kid*, *gentleman*, *bad ass*. It has been shown that an increasing number of commodities and practices are being "theorized" by the discourse of new online men's magazines and typified by this term. One important feature behind the workings of the metasemiotic project is intertextuality. Specific texts are always dialogically linked to other texts of lifestyle discourse, while object-signs are reformulated and imbued with different social values. These results contribute to the exploration of contemporary lifestyle media and discursive mechanisms of identity construction used by them, and, in a more general sense, to recent discussions of operationalizing wider sociocultural context in textually oriented discourse analysis.

Keywords: *lifestyle media, identity construction, metasemiotic project, consumerism, masculinity, discourse analysis, intertextuality, the language of appraisal*

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Метасемиотические проекты и лайфстайл-медиа: дискурсивные механизмы превращения предметов потребления в ресурсы выражения идентичности

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Аннотация

В последние несколько лет наблюдается рост количества и значимости новых лайфстайл-медиа. Помимо чисто инструктирующей и развлекательной функции, такие медиа выполняют и важную социокультурную функцию конструирования идентичностей. В условиях общества потребления идентичности формулируются как выражаемые путем использования товаров и реализации коммерциализированных практик. Целью настоящего исследования является описание дискурсивных механизмов, лежащих в основе превращения предметов потребления и практик в семиотические ресурсы выражения идентичности. Исследование проводится в соответствии с моделью дискурс-анализа, предполагающей рассмотрение дискурса в его связи с широким экстралингвистическим контекстом. Материалом исследования послужили дискурсы новых онлайн-ресурсов для мужчин, являющиеся одним из ключевых типов современных лайфстайл-медиа. Основным результатом исследования является описание упомянутого выше дискурсивного механизма как метасемиотического проекта. В процессе реализации такого проекта разнородные объекты-знаки — товары и практики — типизируются при помощи метасемиотического термина. Для рассматриваемых ресурсов таким термином является инвариантное выражение «стильный мужчина», выражающее популярную форму идентичности. К основным вариантам текстовой актуализации данного термина следует отнести словоформы с корневой морфемой *style*, а также лексемы, называющие различные «ипостаси» современного мужчины, вроде *man*, *guy*, *kid*, *gentleman* и *bad ass*. Анализ демонстрирует, что с течением времени все большее количество товаров и практик охватывается изучаемым видом дискурса и, соответственно, подводится под указанный типизирующий термин. Ключевая роль в реализации метасемиотического проекта отводится интертекстуальности: конкретные тексты всегда перекликаются с другими текстами лайфстайл-дискурса; объекты-знаки подвергаются в этом процессе бесконечному переформулированию и наполняются новым содержанием. Полученные результаты вносят вклад в изучение современных лайфстайл-медиа, используемых в них механизмов дискурсивного конструирования идентичностей, а также в дальнейшее осмысление процесса изучения дискурса в его связи с социокультурным контекстом.

Ключевые слова: *лайфстайл-медиа, конструирование идентичности, метасемиотический проект, консьюмеризм, маскулинность, анализ дискурса, интертекстуальность, языковая оценка*

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1. Введение

Одним из *основных трендов* развития медиаиндустрии последних нескольких лет следует считать беспрецедентный рост *лайфстайл-сегмента* (Raisborough 2011: 5—6; Talbot 2007: 107). Данный сегмент представлен медиа, ориентированными на обсуждение повседневных практик индивидов, таких как мода и стиль, уход за собой, обустройство жилища, организация досуга, приготовление еды, путешествия и отношения с противоположным полом (Bell & Hollows 2005b, 2006a). Как известно, лайфстайл-медиа и социальная форма «стиль жизни» (Chaney 2002) начали свою историю достаточно давно (Agha 2007: 215—219; Bell & Hollows 2006b; Machin & van Leeuwen 2007: 14). Тем не менее, то, что происходит в последние 8—10 лет, интуитивно воспринимается как нечто совершенно новое: количество лайфстайл-медиа в сети Интернет, продуцирующих лайфстайл-дискурс «культурных посредников» (Featherstone 1987: 66) и размер аудитории растут в геометрической прогрессии.

Такая ситуация может рассматриваться как один из основных факторов, обуславливающих *актуальность* обращения к лайфстайл-медиа как к объекту исследования. Еще в 2005 году редакторы двух монографий, посвященных изучению лайфстайл-медиа, подчеркивали важность данной задачи и наличие малого количества работ, ее решающих (Bell & Hollows 2005a). При этом помимо простого роста объема сегмента наблюдаются и специфические трансформации форматов и жанров, используемых данными медиа. Такие трансформации могут быть, в частности, обусловлены перемещением лайфстайл-медиа в Интернет (Lüders, Prøitz, & Rasmussen 2010) и также требуют изучения.

Имеющиеся работы, далее, преимущественно выполняются в рамках социологических, культурологических и медиаисследовательских подходов. В области же дискурс-анализа, как представляется, *лакуна* еще более очевидна. При этом мы полагаем, что изучение «каждодневных» дискурсов лайфстайл-сегмента является не менее значимой задачей, чем обращение к традиционным объектам дискурс-анализа, наподобие политического дискурса, ввиду важной социокультурной роли этих «каждодневных» дискурсов.

В чем же проявляется эта социокультурная роль? Помимо реализации структурирующей функции, лайфстайл-дискурс является одной из движущих сил формирования идентичностей (Raisborough 2011). Как известно, современные концепции идентичности подчеркивают агентивность индивида в ее выборе, конструировании и выражении. Думается, что лайфстайл-дискурс — один из основных типов дискурса, выполняющих функцию *информирования* субъектов о существующих стилях жизни и *регламентации правил* реализации этих стилей жизни. Следовательно, такой дискурс должен быть востребован на всех трех указанных стадиях.

В первом приближении регламентирующую «работу» лайфстайл-дискурса можно представить в виде двух взаимосвязанных процессов — процесса превращения предметов потребления в семиотические ресурсы выражения идентичности и процесса агрегации этих ресурсов в готовые лайфстайл-проекты (Agha 2011). Определение того, какие конкретно *дискурсивные механизмы* эксплуатируются в этих процессах, — одна из потенциально *актуальных* задач дискурс-аналитического проекта.

Реализация же такого проекта сопряжена как минимум с двумя *сложностями*. Во-первых, мы утверждаем, что изучение дискурса с целью решения обозначенной задачи предполагает анализ речевого произведения в его обусловленности *экстралингвистическими факторами*. Думается, что непросто сколько-либо убедительно продемонстрировать роль дискурса в семиотицизирующих и инструктирующих процессах, не сформулировав при этом подходящую теорию идентичности, предмета потребления и их взаимосвязи, а также не описав социокультурный контекст возникновения и существования интересующих нас типов медиа¹. Во-вторых, мы полагаем, что одной из сложностей является выбор модели и *метаязыка* описания *самого дискурса* как речевого произведения. То, какие конкретно компоненты содержания, композиции, текстовые стратегии и языковые средства должны стать объектом анализа, чтобы стала возможна демонстрация той самой «погруженности» речевого произведения «в жизнь», также является вопросом, не имеющим, как нам кажется, однозначного ответа.

Из сказанного выше вытекает *цель* данной работы. Эта цель заключается в описании дискурсивных механизмов, участвующих в превращении предметов потребления в семиотические ресурсы выражения идентичности как *одной из ключевых функций* современных лайфстайл-медиа. Решение такой комплексной задачи требует предварительного формулирования адекватной теоретической рамки и метаязыка анализа дискурса в его взаимодействии с социокультурным контекстом. Материалом анализа послужили новые интернет-ресурсы для мужчин, являющиеся популярным и — интуитивно — одним из самых влиятельных подвидов современных лайфстайл-медиа².

2. Стили жизни и дискурс

Лайфстайл-дискурсом будем называть речевое (мультимодальное) наполнение лайфстайл-медиа. Что же в таком случае следует относить к лайфстайл-медиа? В первой из двух монографий, посвященных изучению

¹ Все это, конечно же, имеет непосредственное отношение к теоретическим дискуссиям на предмет операционализации контекста в дискурсивном исследовании (Blommaert 2005: 37, 39—67; Widdowson 2004; Дементьев 2010: 103—123; Чернявская 2018), взаимодействия дискурса с другими элементами («моментами») социальной практики и интегрирования социальной теории в дискурсивное исследование вообще (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 1992; Scollon & Scollon 2004; Чернявская 2016).

² Наряду с аналогичными ресурсами для женщин — «женскими журналами».

этого феномена, указывается, что к таковым относятся любые медиа в любых форматах, в которых обсуждается следующий *открытый список* тем: приготовление и употребление еды и напитков; мода, стиль и уход за собой; обустройство дома, сада, внутреннего и внешнего интерьера; саморазвитие; путешествия; шопинг и потребление материальных и нематериальных благ (Bell & Hollows 2005a: 9—10). Одним из *ключевых форматов* лайфстайл-медиа следует считать гендерно-специфицированные лайфстайл-журналы (Corrigan 1997).

2.1. Идентичность, социальная типизация и предмет потребления

Рост количества и популярности лайфстайл-дискурсов, их языковые особенности и их потенциальная роль в конструировании идентичностей предопределяются рядом сдвигов социокультурного характера.

Один из таких сдвигов обсуждается в рамках постмодернистских концепций идентичности. Лейтмотивом этих дискуссий является представление о том, что общество позднего модерна характеризуется появлением новой — «рефлексивной» — модели формирования идентичности. Рефлексивность понимается как возможность постоянного анализа и *пересмотра* социальных практик в свете новой теоретической *информации об этих практиках* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Giddens 1991). Такому рефлексивному пересмотру подвергается в том числе и представление индивида о себе. Традиции и социальная структура, ранее предопределявшие эти представления, утрачивают приоритетные позиции в данном процессе; формирование идентичности становится «рефлексивным проектом» индивида (Giddens 1991). Иными словами, меняется способ формирования идентичности: идентичность перестает быть «задаваемой» и потенциально становится *целенаправленно формируемой или стилизуемой*.

Однако каким бы ни был способ формирования идентичности — целенаправленным или каким-либо еще — ее социальная значимость, равно как и возможность ее изучения, базируется на еще одном важном ее качестве — способности быть *выраженной* в конкретных ситуациях социального взаимодействия. Акцент на перформативном характере идентичности и ее понимании как конструируемой в актах коммуникации является определяющим при изучении идентичности в социолингвистике и лингвистической антропологии (Auer 2007; Blommaert 2005; Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Coupland 2007; Eckert 2008). Базовая идея таких исследований — представление о том, что идентичность должна иметь *материальную форму выражения* и благодаря этому быть доступна для считывания окружающими (Agha 2007: 233—234; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Частью такой материальной формы может быть любой *доступный для восприятия и интерпретации* объект (Spitzmüller 2015: 128). В социолингвистике *семиотическим ресурсом* стилизации предсказуемо являются языковые формы. Однако набор ресурсов проекции идентичности, конечно же, не сводится только к языковым.

Какую же информацию, релевантную для «считывания» идентичности, передает объект, используемый как знак? Такой *объект-знак* транслирует информацию о некоторой *социальной типизации*, в которую включен индивид или на которую он «претендует», используя данный знак. Примером такой типизации могут быть как относительно устойчивые и традиционные категории идентичности, такие как гендер и социоэкономический класс, так и любые другие группы, категории и роли с которыми идентифицируется индивид (Burke & Reitzes 1981; Jenkins 2004; Stryker & Burke 2000; Tajfel 1974). К подобным типизациям следует отнести и лингвокультурные типажи (Карасик 2009). В условиях современного (западного) общества потребления, как известно, одним из важных семиотических ресурсов проекции идентичности являются промышленные товары.

То, что потребление связано с выражением определенной социальной типизации, известно давно. Традиционной категорией, выражаемой путем приобретения товаров и участия в коммерциализированных практиках, является социоэкономический класс (Bell & Hollows 2006b: 9; Corrigan 1997: 162). Такая ситуация в целом может характеризовать и современные паттерны потребления (Rössel & Pape 2016). С другой стороны, все чаще наблюдается и ситуация, когда потребление опосредовано менее масштабными и менее устойчивыми типизациями (Berger & Heath 2007; Kleine, Kleine, & Kernan 1993), в том числе и стилями жизни (Rössel & Pape 2016).

Стили жизни, как и любые другие шаблоны потребления (например классовые), являются организованными множествами товаров и практик, присваиваемых индивидом, с целью проецирования определенной формы идентичности. Однако, в отличие от классовых предпочтений, стили жизни считаются более-менее *свободно и сознательно выбираемыми* индивидом (Featherstone 1987). Процесс *выбора и воплощения* стиля жизни должен характеризоваться большей рефлексивностью, реализовываться в более позднем хронотопе социализации, и требовать специальных информационных ресурсов, регламентирующих нужные лайфстайл-модели. Следовательно, в реализации лайфстайл-проектов одну из ведущих ролей должен играть *дискурс*. Дискурс же играет одну из ключевых ролей и в превращении товаров в ресурсы стилизации (Agha 2011).

2.2. Дискурс, лайфстайл-модели и объекты-знаки

Не сложно заметить, что перечисленные ранее лайфстайл-жанры — уход за собой, кулинарные шоу, шоу по садоводству, обустройству дома и другие — по сути являются инструкциями, призванными проинформировать индивида о надлежащем способе реализации этих практик и использовании соответствующих товаров (Bell & Hollows 2005a; Talbot 2007: 107). Иными словами, одной из основных функций лайфстайл-дискурса следует считать *инструктирующую*. Это инструктивность в узком смысле, подчеркивающая аспект

“how-to” подобных текстов и сближающая их с другими — более традиционными — типами инструкций.

Как было отмечено выше, лайфстайл-дискурс играет важную роль и в еще одном процессе — в наполнении объекта-знака соответствующим социальным смыслом. Естественно, в течение «жизненного цикла» товара хронологически одним из первых дискурсов, решающих задачу такого формулирования, является реклама. В семиотических терминах цель рекламы — создание из товара *привлекательного знака* для преодоления товаром фазы товарно-денежного обмена (Agha 2011).

Хотя мы не относим рекламу к лайфстайл-дискурсу в обсуждаемом в статье смысле, нельзя отрицать, что современная реклама включает в себя элементы лайфстайл-проектов. Большая часть такой рекламы вместе с рекламируемым предметом потребления также интегрирует в дискурс некоторую совокупность прочих знаков. Это позволяет (1) *наполнять содержанием* рекламируемый объект-знак в терминах какого-то стиля жизни, а также (2) предлагать «импрессионистский» *набросок этого стиля жизни* для реализации индивидом в фазе владения товаром. Второй аспект позволяет также приписывать рекламе элемент инструктивности, но уже в чуть более широком смысле. Такая инструктивность выражается в информационной и «обучающей» направленности рекламы, то есть в ее функции формулирования более-менее целостных *моделей лайфстайл-проектов*. Первый же аспект позволяет говорить о *метасемиотической* функции этих дискурсов. Как в рекламе, так и лайфстайл-дискурсе уподобляются друг другу (типизируются) *разнородные объекты-знаки* в их функции выражения определенного социального смысла. Для обозначения такого социального смысла и используется *метасемиотический термин*, выступающий гиперонимом по отношению к этим объектам-знакам (например для рекламы: «шик», «элегантность» и т. п., см.: Agha 2007: 22, 76, 179, 2011). В нашем случае такой социальный смысл подразумевает реальную или заявляемую принадлежность субъекта к определенному стилю жизни/социотипу.

Однако сегодня реклама вряд ли может считаться *оптимальным источником* лайфстайл-моделей и метасемиотических проектов. Это объясняется рядом причин. Во-первых, рекламный дискурс ограничен во времени и пространстве. Традиционные рекламные ролики, как правило, не длятся больше нескольких секунд. В еще большей мере это применимо к печатной рекламе в форме изображения (например, на страницах журнала). Такая ограниченность препятствует «детализации» лайфстайл-проекта, сужает его *семиотический диапазон*, а также практически исключает инструктивность в узком смысле (то есть аспект *how-to*). Во-вторых, если допустить, что основными каналами распространения такой рекламы являются телевидение и печатные журналы, то скорее всего следует допустить и то, что *контакт целевой аудитории* с такими медиа в настоящее время ограничен ввиду снижения популярности

обоих указанных видов СМИ, особенно среди молодой аудитории³. И самое главное — сложно представить, что кто-либо рассматривает рекламу как дискурс, с которым целенаправленно «ищут встречи»: реклама преимущественно воспринимается как нечто назойливое и как нечто, взаимодействия с чем по возможности избегают (Cook 2001: 203).

В случае собственно лайфстайл-ресурсов все названные ограничения снимаются. Лайфстайл-порталы и каналы YouTube содержат сотни и тысячи статей и видео, имеющих гораздо большую временную и пространственную протяженность. Благодаря этому в *метасемиотический диапазон* может включаться практически бесконечное количество различных объектов-знаков. При этом эти ресурсы, в отличие от рекламы, являются дискурсами, к которым реципиент *обращается «по собственной воле»*. При этом есть основания полагать, что пропорция населения, рутинно обращающегося к таким дискурсам, растет (см. ниже).

Понятно, что набор стилей жизни и *связанных с ними социотипов и форм идентичности* потенциально безграничен. В данной работе мы хотели бы остановиться лишь на одном, но достаточно популярном, виде интернет-медиа — новых онлайн-ресурсах для мужчин (НОРМ)⁴ и конструируемым ими набором форм идентичности. Данные ресурсы, по нашим наблюдениям, существуют в трех основных форматах: порталы (то есть сайты, содержащие большое количество дискурсов, создаваемых авторским коллективом), блоги (как правило, принадлежащие одному автору) и каналы YouTube (как правило, принадлежащие одному автору). Хотя инструктивная *how-to* составляющая будет очевидна во всех приводимых примерах, мы далее акцентируем только метасемиотическую функцию, которая и является *предметом изучения*.

3. Новые онлайн-ресурсы для мужчин

3.1. Материал и метод

Материалом основного анализа послужили дискурсы порталов “Primer” и “Askmen”⁵. Для иллюстрации отдельных утверждений на ступени контент-анализа и при демонстрации интертекстуальных связей дополнительно используются примеры, взятые с нескольких каналов YouTube⁶.

³ См.: The State of Traditional TV: Updated With Q2 2017 Data-Marketing Charts. (2017). Retrieved October 24, 2018, from <https://www.marketingcharts.com/featured-24817>.

⁴ Такие ресурсы являются наследниками печатных мужских журналов, однако *не являются* их аналогами. Поэтому для их обозначения мы предлагаем использовать отличный термин. См. также ниже.

⁵ Primer: <https://www.primermagazine.com/>; Askmen: <https://uk.askmen.com/>.

⁶ К основным из них относятся: alpha m. (<https://www.youtube.com/user/AlphaMconsulting/featured>), Real Men Real Style (<https://www.youtube.com/user/RealMenRealStyle>), Teachingmensfashion (<https://www.youtube.com/user/Teachingmensfashion>).

Анализ проводится в соответствии с адаптированной моделью дискурс-анализа, предлагаемой дискурс-аналитиками Н. Фэрклафом и Л. Чулиараки (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 60—66). Модель предполагает следующие стадии в реализации исследования.

(1) Идентификация проблемы. Исследование начинается с фокусирования на социальной проблеме, по крайней мере часть «проблемности» которой связана с ее дискурсивным выражением.

(2) Исследование дискурса в его экстралингвистической обусловленности. Данная фаза предполагает описание контекста дискурса, отношения дискурса (речевой составляющей) к другим «моментам» социальной практики и другим социальным практикам, а также собственно анализ речевых произведений/текстов. Анализ речевых произведений включает такие шаги, как анализ контента, интертекстуальных связей и анализ лексико-грамматической реализации.

(3) Интерпретация результатов анализа. Интерпретация полученных данных в свете заданных теоретических положений.

3.2. Контекст

Новые интернет-ресурсы для мужчин можно рассматривать как наследников традиционных печатных мужских глянцевого журналов (Benwell 2002; Edwards 2003; Jackson Brooks, & Stevenson 1999; Jancovich 2006; Stevenson, Jackson, & Brooks 2000). При этом данные виды медиа отнюдь не являются их цифровыми аналогами. Так, например, о различиях НОРМ и традиционных мужских журналов говорит основатель одного из каналов YouTube⁷ данного типа Арон Марино:

...this was back in 2007, and I started looking to see what resources were out there for everyday regular guys like me, like my dad, like my friends, just to get simple, basic style advice and I found that there really wasn't anything. I wanted to help my buddies, and so, I realized that there really wasn't anything out there except at the time, like GQ and Esquire but that wasn't my reality. I didn't understand that level of dress; I didn't understand high fashion and so I decided to create a resource and a solution, and that's how my image consulting business got started. (AlphaM Interview with Aaron Marino 2016)

В 2008 году А. Марино создает свой лайфстайл-канал “alpha m.”: “*I made my first one [первое видео для канала. — Е. М.], it was like 2 minutes long, the resolution was like 180 p and the rest is history*” (Ibid.). На момент написания статьи данный канал является одним из самых популярных и востребованных НОРМ на YouTube; количество подписчиков канала составляет более четырех с половиной миллионов человек, а за первую неделю с момента публикации типичный видеоролик набирает примерно 200 тысяч просмотров.

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/user/AlphaMconsulting/featured>

Похожую историю создания ресурса рассказывает и основатель и редактор одного из популярных НОРМ — журнала “Primer”, указывая на свою неудовлетворенность существовавшими на тот момент (2008 г.) традиционными лайфстайл-журналами:

When I began, I was recently out of college, trying to get my feet on the ground, but felt like there wasn't anyone talking specifically to me. I was left with tons of scattered media that I had to piece together in what I believe is a very common place in life: that important time after graduation where you'll be making some of the most significant decisions of your life. <...> And surprisingly, I couldn't find help anywhere. I was going through my own quarter-life crisis that is all too common among folks that are 23—30”. (Snively 2018)

Как и канал “alpha m.”, “Primer” был создан в 2008 году. С момента основания его популярность значительно выросла; количество посетителей портала в настоящий момент составляет 600 тысяч человек в месяц⁸.

Обе приведенные цитаты являются *метапрагматическими текстами*, то есть текстами, содержащими информацию о прагматике других коммуникативных событий (Spitzmüller 2015). В данном случае такие коммуникативные события включают весь дискурс созданных ими впоследствии НОРМ. Оба автора отмечают предназначенность своих дискурсов для заполнения лакун особого рода — компенсации *отсутствия нужных инструктирующих дискурсов* (ср. there really wasn't **anything**; couldn't find **help** anywhere) и релевантных *формулировок лайфстайл-моделей* (basic **style advice**; couldn't find **help** anywhere; there wasn't **anyone talking specifically to me**), в которых бы фигурировали релевантные же товары/знаки (that wasn't **my reality**; I didn't understand **that level of dress**; I didn't understand **high fashion**; there wasn't anyone talking **specifically to me**).

Эти же цитаты позволяют идентифицировать и ключевой для НОРМ метасемантический термин. На роль такого термина должны претендовать формулировки, выражающие семы «маскулинность», «стильный» и «простой/обычный» (ср.: **regular guys like me**, **basic style advice**). Обращение к актуальному контенту НОРМ подтверждает данное предположение. К примеру, метапрагматический текст в заголовке домашней страницы на сайте “Primer” гласит:

A GUY'S GUIDE TO GROWING UP. Affordable style, self-development, how-tos, and apartment DIY for the aspiring gentleman⁹.

⁸ Snively, A. (2018). Win 1 of 3 Pairs of Wolverine 1,000 Mile Boots: Primer Wants to Thank You For 10 Amazing Years. Primer. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from <https://www.primermagazine.com/2018/spend/wolverine-1000-mile-giveaway>

⁹ <https://www.primermagazine.com/>. Здесь и далее в примерах прописные буквы как в оригинале.

Помимо акцентирования адресованности *простому стильному мужчине* (guy's guide, affordable style) и *инструктирующей функции* (guide; how-tos, DIY, то есть "do it yourself"), приведенный текст интересен еще и тем, что подчеркивает процесс трансформации идентичности от «незрелого» к «зрелому» (a guy's guide to **growing up**) и от более «грубого» к «более утонченному» (**aspiring gentleman**).

Из приведенного примера также очевидно, что лексема *gentleman* может претендовать на роль одного из ключевых метасемиотических терминов. Действительно, даже поверхностный взгляд на современный контент аналогичных ресурсов подтверждает его популярность. Это утверждение иллюстрируется названиями некоторых каналов данного типа, например *Gent's Lounge*, *Gentlemen's Gazette*, *The Effortless Gent*. Дальнейший обзор названий конкретных дискурсов НОРМ показывает, что в роли метасемиотических терминов фигурируют и другие ярлыки. Все они, однако, выражают разные «ипостаси» маскулинности, противопоставляемые по нескольким векторам:

(а) по линии «зрелость/незрелость»: kid/child vs. man/grown up, ср.: *Clothes That Make Men Look Like Boys (Real Men Real Style)*; *10 Back to School Style Essentials Every Student NEEDS* (Teachingmensfashion);

(б) по линии «утонченность/изысканность»: man/guy vs. gentleman (см. выше);

(в) по линии «крутость/уверенность/агрессивность»: man/guy vs. bad boy/bad ass ср.: *Bad Boy Summer Style: How to Look Like A Bad Boy* (alpha m.).

Как и в случае с женскими журналами (Corrigan 1997: 84), одной из основных характеристик традиционных мужских журналов и НОРМ является то, что со временем все большее количество практик «охватывается» дискурсами, регламентирующими надлежащий образ реализации этих практик¹⁰. Так, еще в 2003 году Т. Эдвардз, исследовавший традиционные мужские журналы в Британии, отмечал, что открытое обсуждение таких вопросов, как, например, уход за кожей, сохранение ее молодости и увеличение мужской привлекательности вообще, было практически невозможно, а (метасемиотические) термины «стиль» или «мода» употреблялись с большой осторожностью (Edwards 2003). Сегодня же таким темам посвящена значительная часть публикуемых в НОРМ материалов. Например, на канале "alpha m." данным темам посвящен отдельный плейлист *Grooming Tips & Hacks*. В плейлист включены видео с такими названиями, как *5 Grooming Secrets ONLY Handsome Men Know*, *5 Surprising Things that Will PERMANENTLY Make You LESS Attractive*; *Should Guys Shave or Trim Their Legs?* А видео *How to look more attractive in 30 days* за шесть дней с момента публикации набрало 276 тысяч просмотров.

Насколько «далеко может заходить» дискурс в регламентации практик и включении объектов-знаков в метасемиотический диапазон, можно также

¹⁰ Такие дискурсы являются *рефлексивными* и отражают общую тенденцию рефлексивности позднего модерна, обсуждавшуюся выше (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

проиллюстрировать следующим списком возможных *how-to*: *Hold Your Phone Like A Bad-Ass* (Real Men Real Style); *How To Be A Gentleman: Public Cell Phone Etiquette* (alpha m.); *How To Eat An Ice Cream Cone Like A Gentleman!* (alpha m.); *How to walk like a BADASS!* (alpha m.). То есть в охват метасемиотического термина (*bad-ass*, *gentleman*) включаются такие практики, как обращение с телефоном (*hold your phone*; *public cell phone etiquette*), употребление мороженого (*eat an ice cream cone like a gentleman*) и походка (*how to walk*).

3.3. (Интер)дискурс

Анализируемый далее текст (Guzan 2018) взят с портала “Primer” и является примером «переформулирующего» поджанра. Тексты такого поджанра посвящены обсуждению ошибок стиля: отдельные предметы или их комбинации *признаются нестильными* или же наоборот — нестильным предметам и их комбинациям *возвращается статус стилильных*. Рассматриваемый текст относится ко второму типу.

В тексте обсуждается девять *мифов* о нестильных вещах и их комбинациях. Рассматриваемый экземпляр имеет типичную для текстов НОРМ структуру. Такая структура в данном случае характеризуется наличием вступления и девяти микротекстов. Каждый микротекст освещает один из аспектов макротемы — один из мифов. Микротексты также снабжены названиями/подзаголовками, называющими конкретный миф. Во вступлении ожидается вводиться ключевой метасемиотический термин, реализуемый здесь лексемой *style* и лексемой *men*, ср.:

Thus, it’s important to explore and reevaluate these *style norms* and bust some of the stuffer rules that have no business informing *men’s style in 2018*. (Guzan 2018)

Непосредственный анализ текста подтверждает сформулированный в предыдущем разделе тезис: для определенных форм идентичности в дискурсе формулируется диапазон ресурсов, при помощи которого эти формы могут быть выражены. Рассмотрим непосредственную динамику этого процесса на примере одного из девяти микротекстов:

[Myth: You should not wear jeans with a tie]. Busted: If you’re not in a professional business environment, there’s no reason not to explore with balancing class and comfort for a first date, coffee with an old friend, or a spruced-up approach to casual Friday in your creative office. The trick to not looking like you stepped off the set of a 90s sitcom is to incorporate elements that work together, dressing down the tie with casual knit neckwear and dressing up the jeans by wearing a slim, dark pair. (Guzan 2018)

В приведенном фрагменте обсуждается правомерность применения метасемиотического термина к комбинации объектов-знаков «галстук в сочетании с джинсами» (*jeans with a tie*). Соотнесение комбинации с термином не

является прямым: чтобы комбинация считалась стильной, должны выполняться как минимум два вида условий. Так, комбинация рассматривается как уместная в следующих ситуациях: «первое свидание» (a first date), «кофе со старым приятелем» (coffee with an old friend) или так называемая «неформальная пятница» (casual Friday) в «креативном офисе» (creative office). Аналогичным образом налагаются ограничения и на качественные характеристики товаров: наиболее удачным является сочетание вязанного галстука и темных узких джинсов (knit neckwear; a slim, dark pair).

Приведенный пример акцентирует внимание на важной особенности таких (пере)формулирующих дискурсов — роли *интертекстуальности* в реализации метасемиотического проекта. Ясно, что каждый из микротекстов не является замкнутым, но перекликается с множеством других «голосов» — огромным миром лайфстайл-дискурса в НОРМ и, возможно, традиционных мужских журналах. Как минимум каждый из микротекстов в рассматриваемом примере переформулирует правило, *предположительно* сформулированное «где-то еще», даже если интертекстуальность никак не маркирована в поверхностной структуре¹¹. Явной, но тем не менее генерализованной, ссылкой к такому «где-то еще» служит слово *myth*, неоднократно используемое в тексте.

С другой стороны, особенностью формата НОРМ является и *маркирование* интертекстуальных связей. Механизм такого маркирования — использование гиперссылок. Так, например, микротекст *Myth: Tie width should be relative to a man's frame* сопровождается гиперссылкой на текст *11 Out-of-Style Trends You Should Phase Out of Your Wardrobe* и *The 8 essential ties for any (and all) occasions*. Маркированная гиперссылкой интертекстуальность может даже являться необходимым условием для интерпретации микротекста. Так, например, содержание последнего из девяти микротекстов (Myth: You really don't need to own a black suit) сводится к трем пропозициям: *Bust... actually, never mind, we're still pretty sure about this rule*. Фрагмент *we're still pretty sure* отправляет к отдельной статье, где подробно обсуждаются правила выбора цвета костюма.

Такая особенность наилучшим образом иллюстрирует динамический характер дискурсивной «работы»: один и тот же элемент и их комбинации впадают в бесконечную цепочку дискурсов, потенциально способных каждый раз наполнять их новым социальным смыслом.

¹¹ Интересным вопросом является то, был ли такой миф *на самом деле* сформулирован в интердискурсе. В случае с комбинацией «джинсы-галстук» найденные нами дискурсы формулируют ее как стильную примерно с такими же параметрами, как в приведенном здесь примере (см., например <https://cladwell.com/blog/wearing-a-tie-with-jeans-can-you-pull-it-off-2>). Один из наиболее «старых» дискурсов (2003 г.) формулирует данную комбинацию как ограниченно допустимую, но тем не менее допустимую (см. <https://www.gq.com/story/tie-jeans>).

3.4. Языковые средства

Рассматриваемый далее текст (Fox n.d.) также относится к поджанру переформулирующих и иллюстрирует его первую вариацию — *выведение объектов-знаков из-под термина «стильный»*. В тексте обсуждается ряд ошибок (things you can't wear), совершаемых мужчинами в возрасте от 30 до 40 лет (in your thirties). Текст воспроизводит типичную жанровую структуру НОРМ: каждый из 10 советов оформлен в отдельный микротекст, снабженный названием/подзаголовком, а сами микротексты предваряются общим вступлением. Анализу ниже подверглись два из десяти микротекстов, однако выдвигаемые положения применимы ко всему тексту.

Предлагаемый анализ иллюстрирует то, как в реализации метасемантического проекта участвует одна из систем семантики текста — система оценки. Как известно, оценка может быть выражена при помощи комбинации языковых средств, семантическая структура которых, по крайней мере отчасти, определяется собственно оценочным (эмотивным) компонентом. Однако такая ситуация наблюдается не всегда. Часто оценка актуализируется в тексте комбинацией средств с дескриптивной семантикой (Martin & White 2005: 61—68). Способы реализации оценки в НОРМ в первом приближении обнаруживают две (взаимозависимых) особенности. Во-первых, оценка играет в НОРМ одну из главных ролей при «наполнении» товаров-знаков нужным содержанием и социальным смыслом. Во-вторых, часто полноценная интерпретация оценки возможна только в том случае, если фреймом интерпретации считать проект «знак-идентичность». Рассмотрим следующий микротекст в составе анализируемого текста:

[Cheap suits] So the *inexpensive, off-the-rack* suit you had *nipped* and *tucked* at the tailor in your 20s ain't gonna cut it anymore. In this round of life, you'll need to pay attention to the *richness* of the fabric (it should probably *come from Italy*) and the construction of the garment (full canvas *is king*). (Fox n.d.)

Единственные *явные маркеры* оценки в представленном фрагменте — номинализация признака *richness*, используемая для передачи позитивной оценки ткани (fabric), а также выражение *is king* для оценки покроя костюма (the construction of the garment). Имплицитная оценка усматривается в сочетании дескриптивных языковых средств *inexpensive* и *off-the-rack* (негативная оценка по основанию «качество»), а также идиомы *nipped and tucked* как действий, по всей видимости, применимых к дешевым костюмам¹². Аналогичным образом положительная оценка прочитывается в сочетании *it should*

¹² Обыгрывается идиома nip and tuck — разговорное обозначение пластической хирургической операции (ср.: a cosmetic surgical procedure in which skin and usually fat are removed and muscle is sometimes tightened to create a slimmer or more youthful appearance).

probably come from Italy, являющемся отсылкой к дискурсам, формулирующим итальянское происхождение товара как знак качества и изысканности¹³.

С одной стороны, параметр качества одежды может быть ценностью сам по себе. С другой — в данном контексте оценка товаров наполняется смыслом, только если принять в расчет суть метасемиотического проекта «знак-идентичность»: в конечном счете все товары оцениваются исходя из того, насколько успешно они как объекты-знаки могут стать материалом для воплощения правильной идентичности *зрелого* стильного мужчины.

Ср., также следующий отрывок:

[Anything Graphic or Novelty] Still sporting *graphic tees* with allegedly *ironic phrases or novelty ties* with *cartoon characters*? Life's a bit more serious these days. Grow up and go for *solids* or *subtle patterns* on your T-shirts and similarly *sophisticated ties* in *cotton, wool* or *knitted silk*. (Fox n.d.)

В приведенном примере оценка выражается имплицитно через *преимущественно* дескриптивную лексику (*graphic tees, ironic phrases, cartoon characters, solids, subtle patterns, sophisticated ties, cotton, wool, knitted silk*) и также подлежит интерпретации в рамках метасемиотического проекта «знак-идентичность»: футболки с принтом и/или надписями юмористического содержания оцениваются негативно, поскольку не являются знаками, способными проецировать нужную форму идентичности стильного зрелого мужчины.

4. Результаты и обсуждение

Рассмотрение контекста возникновения и существования НОРМ, связи их дискурса с другими моментами социальной практики и анализ самого дискурса позволили сформулировать ряд наблюдений.

Одним из моментов социальной практики являются *индивиды* как носители определенных *ценностей и убеждений* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). В рассмотренных метапрагматических текстах подчеркивается, что НОРМ возникли как реакция новых культурных посредников на отсутствие ресурсов, формулирующих релевантные метасемиотические проекты.

Лайфстайл-дискурс, и НОРМ в частности, являются *рефлексивными дискурсивными практиками*, то есть практиками, теоретизирующими другие практики, как дискурсивные, так и недискурсивные (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). Современные НОРМ теоретизируют достаточно *широкий диапазон со-*

¹³ Например: The phrase 'Italians do it better' has never been truer than when it comes to contemporary menswear. The *Milanese tailors of the world have always been ahead of the crowd* thanks to a *sharp eye for detail, luxury craftsmanship* and a sound understanding of how the male body works (<https://www.fashionbeans.com/2014/5-mens-italian-clothing-brands-you-should-know>).

циальных практик, включая и такие, которые интуитивно такого теоретизирования не требуют. Такая ситуация свидетельствует о расширении рефлексивного охвата дискурсов НОРМ по сравнению с аналогичными ресурсами, существовавшими 15—20 лет назад (Edwards 2003; Stevenson et al. 2000) и, скорее всего, по сравнению с теми, что существовали еще раньше.

Один из вариантов исследования *собственно дискурса* НОРМ — его анализ в рамках метасемиотического подхода (Agha 2007). В терминах данного подхода одной из функций лайфстайл-дискурса является формулирование *метасемиотических проектов «знак-идентичность»*. В таких проектах предметы потребления и реализуемые с их помощью практики формулируются как семиотические ресурсы выражения форм идентичности. При этом суть метасемиотической «дискурсивной работы» может быть определена как типизация, то есть уподобление разнородных объектов-знаков и «прикрепление» их к определенному метасемиотическому термину. Наиболее вероятным кандидатом на роль такого термина является инвариантное «стильный мужчина». Данный термин может быть выражен в тексте открытым списком языковых средств, включая словоформы с корневой морфемой *style*, а также лексемы, называющие различные «ипостаси» современного мужчины — *man, guy, kid, gentleman* и *bad ass*.

Ключевую роль в реализации метасемиотических проектов играет *интертекстуальность*. Рассмотренные микротексты в составе текстов являются акцентированно открытыми, поскольку всегда перекликаются с формулировками метасемиотических проектов «где-то еще», в интердискурсе, подтверждая их, слегка преобразуя или же полностью оспаривая. Тексты также изобилуют маркированными интертекстуальными отсылками, оформленными в виде гиперссылок.

Описанные формы интертекстуальности являются ключевым компонентом реализации метасемиотического проекта: интертекстуальные связи выстраивают дискурсивные цепочки, в которых объекты-знаки и их комбинации подвергаются бесконечному переформулированию. При этом даже немаркированные интертекстуальные связи поддаются отслеживанию при условии знакомства с большим массивом НОРМ. Такое положение дел позволяет позиционировать заявленную выше принципиальную открытость как свойство дискурса, потенциально поддающееся эмпирическому исследованию и описанию, не приравнивая ее к абстрактной «бесконечности безграничного текста».

Анализ метасемиотической «дискурсивной работы» может быть осуществлен и на уровне конкретных лексико-грамматических средств. Примером может служить демонстрация того, как метасемиотический проект «знак-идентичность» является релевантным фреймом интерпретации лексико-грамматических средств, выражающих оценку. Такой фрейм — необходимое условие реконструкции оценочной позиции текста/фрагмента и, в частности,

объяснения того, как преимущественно дескриптивные средства приобретают интратекстовые оценочные свойства.

Проект «знак-идентичность», в котором знаками являются предметы потребления, можно рассматривать как *содержательную основу и внутренний механизм* так называемого дискурса консюмеризма или — точнее — дискурса «коммодифицированных идентичностей» (Benwell & Stokoe 2006)¹⁴. Такой дискурс — один из основных дискурсов, актуализируемых в НОРМ и лайфстайл-медиа. Следовательно, предложенные в статье анализ и интерпретация вносят вклад в изучение как лайфстайл-медиа, так и в изучение самого дискурса «коммодифицированных идентичностей», а следовательно, консюмеризма и общества потребления вообще. Очевидно, однако, что лайфстайл-дискурс апеллирует и к другим дискурсам, связанным с другими практиками, идеологиями и группами субъектов. Этот факт определяет одно из ограничений предложенного исследования, а также формулирует потенциальные задачи для последующих исследовательских проектов.

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¹⁴ Под дискурсом здесь понимается способ семиотического *отражения мира* с точки зрения определенных групп субъектов. Такое понимание дискурса является одним из основных в критическом дискурс-анализе и, как правило, подчеркивает природу дискурса как *идеологически ненейтрального* феномена. Это употребление термина «дискурс» следует отличать от его использования в остальном тексте данной работы, где термин «дискурс» понимается в широком смысле как речевой коррелят социальной практики и/или как «текст, погруженный в жизнь» (Арутюнова 1990).

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Research Article

Addressing a Judge in National Varieties of English

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Abstract

Despite the fact that legal discourse is intended to be clear, precise and unambiguous, in legal terminology there are obvious signs of cultural variability that can be observed not only in different languages, but also in varieties of the same language. Ignorance of cultural differences in legal terminology and legal discourse can lead to serious complications in an intercultural context. This study is limited to terms of reference and forms of address to judges of different levels in the British, Irish, American, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand varieties of English in a courtroom setting. The goal of the study is to analyze the terms of references and forms of address to judges in these varieties of English, identify their similarities and culture specific features and try to find the reasons for the differences. The data were obtained from various sources: dictionaries, legal documents, newspapers, as well as some secondary sources (Brown & Rice 2007, Hickey 2008, McPeake 2010) and Internet resources. They were analysed drawing on studies of pluricentric languages (Clyne 1992, Kloss 1967, Leitner 1992, Muhr & Marley 2015), World Englishes Paradigm (Bolton 2006, 2017; Crystal 2003, Domashnev 2000, Kachru 1985, 1986, 1988, 2008; Low & Pakir 2017, Proshina 2012, 2017, 2019); implementing comparative, semantic, pragmatic, discursive and cultural analysis. To explain some of the results, the legal and political systems of the countries that speak the national varieties of English were analysed. Preliminary results of the study revealed both similarities and differences in the terms of reference and forms of address to judges of various ranks, caused by a nexus of historical, political and social reasons that require further study. Among these, one can note the degree of openness of society to the democratization of its legal system, the country's desire to either follow the traditions established in British judicial discourse, or to demonstrate their uniqueness and independence from the former colonial power. Despite its limited nature, the study provides some new data showing that the lexical and discursive variability observed in the legal sphere contributes to the formation of varieties of pluricentric languages. The results can contribute to the study of pluricentric languages, find application in lexicographic practice, as well as in the teaching of legal English to law students.

Keywords: *court discourse, judge, terms of reference, forms of address, varieties of English*

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Формы обращения к судье в национальных вариантах английского языка

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Аннотация

Несмотря на то что юридический дискурс призван быть ясным, точным и недвусмысленным, в юридической терминологии имеются явные признаки культурной вариативности, которые можно наблюдать не только в разных языках, но и в вариантах одного и того же языка. Незнание культурных различий в юридической терминологии и юридическом дискурсе может привести к серьезным осложнениям в межкультурном контексте. Данное исследование ограничено терминами, обозначающими судей разного уровня и формами обращений к ним в британском, ирландском, американском, канадском, австралийском и новозеландском вариантах английского языка в ситуации судебного заседания. Цель исследования — проанализировать термины референций и формы обращений к судьям в данных вариантах английского языка, выявить их сходства и культурно-специфичные особенности и попытаться найти причины существующих различий. Материал был собран из различных источников: словарей, юридических документов, газет, а также некоторых вторичных источников — учебников, книг по этикету (Brown & Rice 2007, Hickey 2008, McPeake 2010), в том числе и интернет-ресурсов. Данные были проанализированы с опорой на исследования плюрицентричных языков (Clyne 1992, Kloss 1967, Leitner 1992, Muhr & Marley 2015), контактной вариантологии английского языка (Bolton 2006, 2017; Crystal 2003, Kachru 1985, 1986, 1988, 2008; Low & Pakir 2017, Proshina 2019, Домашнев 2000, Прошина 2012, 2017 и др.) с применением сравнительного, семантического, прагматического, дискурсивного и культурологического анализа. Для объяснения некоторых результатов были проанализированы правовые и политические системы стран, говорящих на основных вариантах английского языка. Предварительные результаты исследования выявили как сходства, так и различия, которые наблюдаются в наименованиях судей различного ранга и в формах обращения к ним, обусловленные комплексом исторических, политических и социальных причин, которые требуют специального дальнейшего изучения. Среди них можно отметить степень открытости общества к демократизации его правовой системы, стремление страны либо следовать традициям, установленным в британском судебном дискурсе, либо демонстрировать свою уникальность и независимость от бывшей метрополии. Несмотря на ограниченный характер, исследование дает новые данные, иллюстрирующие, что лексическая и дискурсивная вариативность, наблюдаемая в юридической сфере, способствует формированию вариантов плюрицентричных языков и может рассматриваться как формирующий их компонент. Результаты могут способствовать изучению плюрицентричных языков, найти применение в лексикографической практике, а также в преподавании юридического английского.

Ключевые слова: *судебный дискурс, судья, термины референции, формы обращения, варианты английского языка*

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Введение

Формы обращения наглядно демонстрируют то, как социальные отношения и культурные ценности отражаются в социальных категориях, в лексической системе языка и дискурсивных практиках. Кроме того, они являются маркером происходящих в обществе социальных процессов, отражающихся как в самих терминах, так и их функционировании.

Как показали многочисленные исследования, в каждой культуре есть своя система форм обращений и правил их использования, которые отражают социокультурные особенности того или иного лингвокультурного сообщества (Afful 2006; Aliakbari, Arman 2008; Chesnokova 1996; Clyne 2009; Clyne et al. 2009; Khalil et al. 2018; Larina & Khalil 2018; Rhee 2019, Wierzbicka 2013, Которова 2018 и др.). Исследования форм обращений в различных вариантах одного и того же языка дают особенно интересные результаты, свидетельствующие о влиянии социокультурных факторов на набор форм обращений и их функционирование, что было показано в ряде работ (Hughson 2009; Larina & Suryanarayan 2013, Wong 2006, Ларина, Сурьянараян, Юрьева 2019 и др.).

Выбор правильной формы обращения является важным условием успешной и эффективной коммуникации в любой ситуации общения и в любом типе дискурса. Для нашего исследования был выбран судебный дискурс. Несмотря на то что юридический дискурс в целом призван быть ясным, точным и недвусмысленным, в юридической терминологии имеются явные признаки культурной вариативности, которые можно наблюдать не только в разных языках, но и в вариантах одного и того же языка (см. например, Озюменко, Чилингарян 2015, Озюменко 2016, Chilingaryan et al. 2016a, 2016b и др.). Незнание культурных различий в юридической терминологии и юридическом дискурсе может привести к сложностям в контексте межкультурного общения.

Судебный дискурс характеризуется высоким уровнем формальности, что в значительной степени проявляется и в формах обращения. Использование неправильной формы обращения воспринимается как знак неуважения к судье. Инструкции по соблюдению судебного этикета предупреждают, что игнорирование правил этикета может негативным образом повлиять на исход дела (McPeake 2010) или привести к санкциям, начиная от строгого предупреждения до отмены слушания¹.

Однако следовать правилам этикета не так легко. Как показывают наблюдения, наименования судей в различных культурах и юрисдикциях отличаются разнообразием. Кроме того, то, как обратиться к судье, зависит и от суда, в котором проходит слушание. Чем сложнее судебная система, тем сложнее и формы обращения, что наглядно видно на примере английских судов. Иллюстрацией может послужить история молодого английского адвоката, в которой он размышляет над проблемой обращения к судье и приводит целый список

¹<https://www.wikihow.com/Address-a-Female-Attorney>

возможных обращений, выбор которых в значительной степени предопределяется иерархией как судов, так и судей:

В Англии и Уэльсе при обращении к судье легко ошибиться. К судьям местных судов и непрофессиональным мировым судьям принято обращаться *Sir* или *Madam*. К судьям уголовного суда — *Your Honour* (Ваша честь), а если они заседают в Центральном уголовном суде Лондона (*the Old Bailey*) или являются почетными судьями (рекордерами), то к ним следует обращаться *My Lord* или *My Lady*. Только не перепутайте с обычными рекордерами, к которым следует обращаться *Your Honour*. А если судья уголовного суда заседает в Апелляционном Суде, то в тот день к нему следует обращаться *My Lord*. Традиционное обращение к судьям апелляционного суда — *My Lord* или *My Lady*. К судьям Верховного Суда также принято обращаться *My Lord* или *My Lady*, но только потому, что все они (за исключением одного) имеют титулы лорда или леди. Не могу себе представить, как мы будем обращаться к ним, когда назначат еще несколько судей, не имеющих титула пэра² (Перевод наш. — В.О.)

Он заканчивает свой рассказ коммуникативной неудачей, связанной с неверным выбором формулы обращения к судье, которая показывает, к каким последствиям может привести подобная ошибка:

Однажды после слушания дела об убийстве в Центральном уголовном суде Лондона (где принято обращение *My Lord*) я участвовал в заседании магистратского суда в Хайбери и по привычке обратился к мировому судье *My Lord*. Ему это понравилось, и он вынес очень мягкий приговор. Но все присутствующие, очевидно, подумали, что я придурок (Там же).

В данной статье мы рассматриваем не только вариативность наименований судей и форм обращений к ним в британском английском, но и в других вариантах английского языка, что в еще большей степени усложняет задачу правильного выбора формы обращения.

1. Вариативность английского языка

Английский язык, как известно, является плюрицентричным³ и существует во множестве вариантов, в каждом из которых отражена культура и менталитет его носителей. Теория вариантов английского языка, или в английской терминологии *World Englishes Paradigm*, в первую очередь связана с именем Б. Качру и его моделью трех концентрических кругов (Kachru 1985, 1988). Согласно этой теории все варианты английского языка образуют три круга: внутренний (*Inner Circle*), внешний (*Outer circle*) и расширяющийся (*Expanding*

² *The Circuit Brief* <http://thecircuitbrief.blogspot.com/2011/02/addressing-judge-in-court.html>

³ Используется также термин *полицентричный* (*policentric*) (Scherrer, Samardžić, Glaser 2019).

Circle). Во внутренний круг входят страны, где английский язык исторически является официальным языком страны и родным для его носителей. Во внешний — страны, относящиеся к бывшим колониям, где английский язык имеет статус второго официального языка, наряду с родными языками (Индия, Пакистан, ЮАР, Нигерия и др.). Расширяющийся круг включает все остальные страны, где признается значимость английского языка и он используется в качестве языка-посредника для межкультурного общения (Китай, Япония, Греция, Польша, Россия и др.).

Теория трех кругов Б. Качру позволила разделить варианты английского языка на три основных типа: национальные, региональные и локальные (Прошина 2017: 40). Национальный вариант, в отличие от национально-гомогенного языка, свойствен и многоэтническому сообществу, в котором он выполняет роль кодифицированного, нормированного языка этнического большинства, выполняет официальную, регуляторную и другие функции и имеет высокий социальный престиж (Прошина 2017: 41).

Имея несколько центров, английский язык по праву считается плюрицентричным. Он соответствует всем основным критериям плюрицентричности, среди которых ученые (Clyne 1992: 1, Muhr 2012: 30) выделяют следующие:

1) язык встречается как минимум в двух странах, которые функционируют как «взаимодействующие центры» (Clyne 1992: 1);

2) должен иметь достаточно лингвистических (и/или прагматических) характеристик, которые отличают его от других и тем самым могут служить средством выражения идентичности и социальной уникальности;

3) язык должен иметь официальный статус государственного языка как минимум в двух странах (например, немецкий язык в Австрии и Германии); или, по крайней мере, регионального языка (например, немецкий язык в Италии или каталанский во Франции);

4) языковое сообщество должно признавать статус своего языка как плюрицентрической разновидности и рассматривать его как часть своей социальной / национальной идентичности.

Кроме того, язык должен быть кодифицированным, обладать стандартом, преподаваться в школах, продвигаться и распространяться (Clyne 1992: 1, Muhr 2012: 30).

Плюрицентричные языки, по справедливому замечанию М. Клайна, как объединяют, так и разъединяют людей (Clyne 1992: 1). Объединяют через использование языка, а разъединяют через развитие национальных норм и языковых особенностей, с которыми идентифицируют себя носители того или иного варианта (Там же).

В данном исследовании мы ограничились вариантами английского языка внутреннего круга (Inner Circle), куда исследователи включают 6 вариантов — американский, британский, ирландский, канадский, австралийский и новозеландский (Crystal 2003: 60). Мы попытаемся выявить этнокультурные особен-

ности обращений, употребляемых в судебном дискурсе, которые наряду с другими культурно-специфичными особенностями и делают данные варианты отличающимися друг от друга, то есть способствуют формированию и обоснованию их вариативности.

2. Материал и методология исследования

Материал для исследования был собран из различных источников с применением комплексной методологии сбора данных. Были использованы как первичные источники (словари, газетные статьи, юридические документы), так и вторичные источники — учебники, книги по этикету (Brown & Rice, Hickey 2008, McPeake 2010 и др.), в том числе и интернет-ресурсы. Данные были проанализированы с опорой на исследования плюрицентричных языков (Clyne 1992, Kloss 1967, Leitner 1992, Muhr & Marley 2015), контактной вариатологии английского языка (Bolton 2006, 2017; Crystal 2003, Kachru 1986, 1986, 1988, 2008; Low & Pakir 2017, Proshina 2019, Домашнев 2000, Прошина 2012, 2017 и др.) с применением сравнительного, семантического, прагматического, дискурсивного и культурологического анализа. В центре внимания были как термины, обозначающие судей различного ранга и статуса, так и формы обращений к ним в различных национальных юрисдикциях. Мы ограничились формами обращения, используемыми в устной речи и главным образом в ситуации судебного заседания. Обращения вне суда, а также в письменном дискурсе остались вне нашего внимания. В ходе сопоставительного анализа мы обращали внимание как на сходства, так и различия. Особый акцент был сделан на поиск объяснений выявленных различий, для чего были проанализированы правовые и политические системы стран, говорящих на национальных вариантах английского языка и практикующих Common law (Общее право), которое зародилось в Англии.

В данной статье мы рассматриваем как вокативные (vocative) обращения (1—2), так и аккузативные (accusative) (3—4) (McPeake 2010), которые будем называть прямыми и косвенными соответственно:

(1) *Your Honour, there are three affidavits in this case.* — Ваша честь, в этом деле имеется три письменных показания под присягой.

(2) *My Lord, the third defendant has taken no part in these proceedings.* — Ваша светлость, третий обвиняемый не принимал участия в судебном процессе.

(3) *Does Your Honour have a copy of the defendant's antecedents?* — Имеет ли Ваша честь экземпляр прошлой версии обвиняемого?

(4) *Does Your Lordship have the claimant's affidavit sworn on the 13th March 2010?* — Имеется ли у Вашей светлости письменное показание, данное под присягой 13 марта 2010 года?

Также в данном исследовании мы различаем формы обращения (5) и термины референции лица (6) (Dickey 1997), которые могут как совпадать, так и не совпадать:

(5) *Your Honour*, there are two witnesses to give testimony. — Ваша честь, два свидетеля готовы дать показания.

(6) *Tell Her Honour what you saw when you entered the room*. — Расскажите ее чести, что Вы увидели, когда вошли в комнату.

3. Результаты анализа

Несмотря на то что Соединенное Королевство состоит из четырех частей, его юридическая система представлена тремя различными юрисдикциями: (1) Англия и Уэльс, (2) Шотландия, (3) Северная Ирландия. Хотя все они основаны на общем праве (Common law), в каждой из них есть собственная иерархия судов, свои юридические правила и юридические должности. Этим фактом и обусловлена структура нашего исследования. При этом юридическая система Шотландии является наиболее независимой от центральных властей, что находит отражение и в языке, в том числе и в формах обращения.

3.1. Обращение к судье в Великобритании

3.1.1. Англия и Уэльс

Юрисдикция Англии и Уэльса характеризуется сложной системой судов, которые различаются по территориальному признаку, типу и тяжести дел. Это может быть Верховный суд, Высокий суд, Апелляционный суд, суды специальной юрисдикции, суды графств, уголовные суды (или суд Короны), магистратские суды и др. Титул судьи зависит от уровня суда, в котором заседает судья, и его позиции. Поскольку формы обращения демонстрируют строгое соотношение с уровнем суда и должностью судьи, то их список весьма представительен (см. Таблицу 1).

Обращения представлены главным образом тремя основными формами: *My Lord/My Lady*, которые используются в адрес судей вышестоящих судов — Верховного суда, Апелляционного суда и Высокого суда, *Your Honour* — к судьям округа или графства и *Sir/Madam* — к судьям местных судов, судов специальной юрисдикции и судьям судов по делам несовершеннолетних. При обращении к коллегии непрофессиональных судей (*A bench of lay magistrates*) используется собирательное обращение *Your worships / your colleagues*. При индивидуальном обращении к непрофессиональным судьям — обращение *Sir/Madam*.

В Таблице 1 приведены наиболее распространенные типы судов, расположенные от вышестоящих судов к судам более низкого уровня, должности судей и формы обращения к ним. Данная таблица заимствована нами из (McPeake 2010) и несколько адаптирована с учетом задач исследования.

Таблица 1

Типы судов, должности, формы обращения⁴

ТИП СУДА	ДОЛЖНОСТЬ	ФОРМА ОБРАЩЕНИЯ
Верховный суд (Supreme Court)	Судья Верховного суда (Supreme Court Justice)	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
Апелляционный суд (Court of Appeal)	Lord Justice	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
Высокий Суд (High Court)	Судья (Judge)	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
	Любой судья округа в качестве Судьи Высокого суда	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
	Местный судья (District Judge)	<i>Sir/Madam</i>
	Судья-архивариус (Master)	<i>Master</i>
Суд Короны (Уголовный суд) (Crown Court)	Судья Высокого суда (High Court Judge)	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
	Судья округа	<i>Your Honour</i>
	Рекордер или любое лицо — заместитель судьи округа	<i>Your Honour</i>
	Рекордер Манчестера/Ливерпуля	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
Центральный уголовный суд (Old Bailey)	Любое лицо в роли судьи	<i>My Lord/My Lady</i>
Суд графства (County Court)	Судья округа (Circuit Judge)	<i>Your Honour</i>
	Рекордер или любое лицо — заместитель судьи округа	<i>Your Honour</i>
	Местный судья (District Judge)	<i>Sir/Madam</i>
Суд специальной юрисдикции (Tribunal)	Председатель	<i>Sir/Madam</i>
	Члены суда	<i>Your colleagues</i>
Суд по делам несовершеннолетних и магистратский суд (Youth Court and Magistrates' Court)	Судья местного суда (District Judge)	<i>Sir/Madam</i>
	Председатель коллегии непрофессиональных мировых судей (Chairman of Lay Bench)	<i>Sir/Madam</i>
	Члены коллегии	<i>Your colleagues/ Your worships</i>

Однако собранные нами из других источников данные свидетельствуют о том, что реальная картина еще более сложная. На основе обобщения полученных в ходе исследования данных был составлен следующий перечень форм обращений к судье в британском английском (BrE), где, помимо названных выше *My Lord/My Lady*, *Your Honour*, *Sir/Madam*, встречаем *Judge*, *Mr Justice*, *Mrs/Ms Justice*, *Lord Justice /Lady Justice*, *Lord Chief Justice*, *President*, *Chancellor* и др. При этом мы не утверждаем, что составленный нами список обращений является исчерпывающим.

⁴ Таблица заимствована из (McPeake 2010) и адаптирована с учетом задач исследования.

Формы обращения к судьям в ВгЕ и их должности

ФОРМА ОБРАЩЕНИЯ	ДОЛЖНОСТЬ
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Chancellor (Лорд-канцлер, аналог министра юстиции)
<i>Lord Chief Justice</i>	Lord Chief Justice (Председатель Верховного суда)
<i>Master of the Rolls</i>	Master of the Rolls (Председатель Апелляционного суда)
<i>President</i>	President of the Queen's Bench Division (Председатель одного из подразделений Высокого суда)
<i>Chancellor</i>	Chancellor of the High Court (Председатель Высокого суда)
<i>Lord Justice / Lady Justice</i>	Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal (Судья Апелляционного суда)
<i>My Lord / My Lady</i> <i>Mr Justice/ Mrs/Ms Justice</i>	Judge of the High Court (Судья высокого суда)
<i>My Lord / My Lady</i>	Honorary recorder (Почетный рекордер)
<i>Judge</i>	A circuit or district judge (Судья округа или района)
<i>Your Honour</i>	A circuit judge /recorder (Судья округа / рекордер)
<i>Sir / Madam</i>	District judge (Местный судья) или tribunal judge (судья специализированного суда)

Как видим, формы обращения варьируют в зависимости от типа суда и позиции судьи, например, к судье Высокого суда принято обращение *My Lord/My Lady*, в то время как к судье графства — *Your Honour*. Однако возможны и более сложные случаи, когда, например, судья Высокого суда слушает дело, относящееся к суду графства. В этом случае к нему необходимо обращаться *My Lord/My Lady*. Если судья суда графства заседает в качестве судьи в Высоком суде, к нему следует обращаться по правилам Высокого суда и тоже использовать обращение *My Lord/My Lady* (McPeake 2010).

В отношении употребления форм обращений на основе анализа собранного материала были выявлены некоторые интересные особенности.

К судье обращаются, как правило, в косвенной форме (7—8), местоименное обращение *you* не допустимо⁵:

(7) *As your Honour said...* — Как сказала Ваша честь.... (нельзя сказать *As You said ...* — Как Вы сказали...)

(8) *Your Lordship may be minded to...* — Позвольте привлечь внимание Вашей светлости к ...

Хотя прямая форма обращения также возможна (9—10), по нашим наблюдениям, она употребляется в основном к судьям судов низшей инстанции или невысокой должности:

(9) *Sir/Madam, the defendant is content for their matter to be dealt with today.* — Сэр/мадам, ответчик доволен тем, что их дело рассматривается сегодня.

(10) *If you look at the document marked "A", Master, you will see that...* — Если Вы посмотрите на документ, помеченный буквой «А», судья (магистратский судья), то вы увидите, что ...

⁵ Примеры (7 — 13) заимствованы из (McPeake 2010)

При обращении к судьям высшей инстанции прямое обращение часто комбинируется с косвенным. При этом *My Lord* заменяется на *Your Lordship*, а *My Lady* — на *Your Ladyship*:

(11) *My Lady, if I may deal with the points which Your Ladyship has raised...* — Ваша светлость (бук.: Моя Леди), если я могу затронуть вопросы, поднятые Вашей светлостью ...

(12) *I am happy to tell Your Lordship that the parties have reached terms in this matter.* — Я рад сообщить Вашей светлости, что стороны достигли соглашения по этому вопросу.

При обращении к судье в третьем лице, т.е. в референтной функции, употребляются *His Lordship/Her Ladyship* и *His Honour/Her Honour'*. Местоимения третьего лица недопустимы:

(13) *Describe the layout of the room to His Lordship.* — Опишите Его светлости расположение комнаты.

Судьи, в свою очередь, не употребляют личного местоимения первого лица и называют себя *The Court* (суд): *The Court finds ...* (Суд считает...), *The Court orders ...* (Суд постановляет...).

3.1.2. Шотландия

Судебная система Шотландии, по сравнению с системой Англии и Уэльса, намного проще, она насчитывает всего 6 должностных уровней. Высшие судебные должности — Lord President of the Court of Session (Лорд-председатель Сессионного суда), возглавляющий гражданские суды, и Lord Justice General (Председатель Высокого суда юстиции), возглавляющий уголовные суды, с 1836 г. совмещаются. Всем судьям, за исключением мирового судьи, после назначения на должность присваивается титул (см. Таблицу 3).

Таблица 3

Судебные должности, титулы и формы обращения в суде в шотландском английском (ScE)

ДОЛЖНОСТЬ	ТИТУЛ	ФОМА ОБРАЩЕНИЯ В СУДЕ
Lord President of the Court of Session (Лорд-председатель Сессионного суда)	Lord President	<i>My Lord</i>
Lord Justice General of Scotland (Лорд-генеральный судья)	Lord Justice General	<i>My Lord</i>
Lord Justice Clerk (Лорд-клерк юстиции)	Lord Justice General	<i>My Lady / My Lord</i>
Senator of the College of Justice (Сенатор Коллегии правосудия)	Lord/Lady + surname or territorial name	<i>My Lord / My Lady</i>
Sheriff Principal	Sheriff Principal +surname	<i>My Lord / My Lady</i>
Sheriff	Sheriff +surname	<i>My Lord / My Lady</i>
Justice of the Peace (Мировой судья)	-----	<i>Your Honour</i>

Что касается форм обращения, используемых в суде, то, как показывает наш материал, их набор весьма ограничен: к мировому судье используется обращение *Your Honour* (Ваша честь), ко всем остальным, вне зависимости от судебного ранга, — *My Lord / My Lady*. Данный факт, на наш взгляд, свидетельствует о значительной дистанцированности судебной системы Шотландии от системы Англии и Уэльса и ее большей демократичности.

3.2. Республика Ирландия

Тенденция к упрощению форм обращений в суде еще более отчетливо проявляется в ирландском английском (IrE), где наблюдается их периодическое реформирование.

В 2006 году Комитет по правилам Высших судов (*Superior Courts Rules Committee*) принял решение отказаться от британских практик обращения к судье *My Lord* и *Your Lordship* и ввел некоторые ирландские термины⁶.

По его решению в качестве обращений к председателям судов высшего уровня — Верховного суда (*the Supreme Court*) и Высокого суда (*the High Court*) — рекомендованы соответствующие титулы на ирландском или английском языках: *The Honourable Mr/Mrs/Ms/Miss Justice* + фамилия (*An Breitheamh Onórach Uasal* + фамилия). В суде к ним обращаются либо по титулу, либо по формуле обращения *Judge* (судья) или *A Bhreithimh (Ir.)*, которая также используется и в адрес других членов судов высшего уровня. Обращение *Your Lordships*, употреблявшееся к двум и более судьям, было заменено ирландским обращением *An Chúirt* и соответствующим английским *The court* (суд).

К судьям окружного и местного судов, к которым ранее использовалось обращение *Justice*, стало также применяться обращение *Judge*. Заметим, что до 2006 года к судьям округа использовалось обращение *My Lord* или *A thiarna (Ir.)*, а к судьям местных судов до 1991 года обращались *Your Worship* или *d'Onóra (Ir.)*. Интересно отметить, что в третьем лице в качестве референтной формы к ним также используется *Judge*. Однако по отношению к судьям Верховного суда и Высокого суда, называемым в третьем лице как в суде, так и вне суда, сохранились официальные формулы *The Honourable Mr/Miss/Mrs/Ms Justice* + фамилия. Согласно имеющимся источникам употребление обращения *Justice* без формулы почтения и фамилии в данной ситуации считается некорректным⁷.

Таким образом, налицо вытеснение традиционных английских форм обращения и их замена более демократичными формами, как английскими, так и ирландским (см. Таблицу 4), что, по мнению граждан Ирландии, делает их

⁶ Amendment to: Order 119. S.I. No. 196 of 2006: Rules of the Superior Courts (Mode of Address of Judges) 2006 <http://www.courts.ie/rules.nsf/8652fb610b0b37a980256db700399507/6c4049b0653cad3380256d2b0046b3e6?OpenDocument>.

⁷ Coulter. Carol. Manner of addressing judges in court to change. *The Irish Times* (Mon, Apr 10, 2006).

систему обращений более аутентичной, отличающейся от английской, а также сокращает дистанцию между ними и судьями, что делает их более равными⁸.

Таблица 4

Название суда, титулы и формы обращения к судьям в ирландском английском (IrE)

ТИП СУДА	ОФИЦИАЛЬНОЕ ИМЕНОВАНИЕ в 3-ем лице	ФОРМА ОБРАЩЕНИЯ	
		Устаревшая	Современная
Высшие суды (Supreme Court, High Court, Court of Appeal)	<i>The Honourable Mr/ Mrs/Ms/Miss Justice + фамилия</i>	<i>My Lord Your Lordship Our Lordships</i>	<i>The Honourable Mr/ Mrs/Ms/Miss Justice + фамилия / Judge The court / An Chúirt (Ir.)</i>
Суд округа (Circuit court)	<i>His/Her Honour Judge + Surname</i>	<i>Lord (A thiarna)</i>	<i>Judge / A Bhreithimh</i>
Местный суд (District Court)	<i>Judge + фамилия</i>	<i>Your Worship(d'Onóra).</i>	<i>Judge / A Bhreithimh</i>

3.3. Канада

Формы обращения к судье в канадском английском (CanE) сочетают как традиционные формы, так и современные, при этом наблюдается их варьирование по территориальному принципу.

В Канаде тенденция к упрощению обращений нашла поддержку Верховного Суда, который в 2009 году выпустил специальные рекомендации по обращениям в суде⁹. Согласно этим и последующим рекомендациям предлагается воздерживаться от использования в адрес судей традиционных английских обращений *My Lord / My Lady, Your Lordship / Your Ladyship* и заменять их обращениями *Justice* или *Mr Justice / Madam Justice + фамилия*¹⁰. В итоге суды высшего и федерального уровней перешли на обращение к судьям *Mister/Madam (Chief) Justice + фамилия*.

Однако этим рекомендациям не всегда следуют в высших судах провинций и территорий, где формы обращений варьируются в зависимости от административного деления. В некоторых провинциях судьи вышестоящих судов предпочитают обращения *Mister Justice / Madam Justice*, однако в других сохраняются традиционные обращения *My Lord / My Lady*. Так, например, провинция Британская Колумбия не приняла рекомендаций

⁸ The Circuit Brief <http://thecircuitbrief.blogspot.com/2011/02/addressing-judge-in-court.html>

⁹ Notice to the parties and the profession addressing judicial officers in court, September 3, 2009. <http://www.fct-cf.gc.ca/fct-cf/pdf/Notice%20-%20Form%20of%20Address%20ENG%20sept-3-2009.pdf>

¹⁰ Supreme Court of Canada: [https://10. How does one address a judge? // www.scc-csc.ca/contact/faq/qa-qr-eng.aspx](https://10.How%20does%20one%20address%20a%20judge%20%2F%2Fwww.scc-csc.ca/contact/faq/qa-qr-eng.aspx)

Styles of address: The official website of the Government of Canada <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/protocol-guidelines-special-event/styles-address.html>

Верховного суда и в ней по-прежнему к судьям Верховного и Апелляционного судов используются обращения *My Lord / My Lady* и *Your Lordship / Your Ladyship*, а к судьям провинциальных уровней — *Your Honour* и *Your Worship*. Эти правила подтверждаются и инструкцией 2019 года¹¹.

К судьям нижестоящих судов традиционное обращение *Your Honour*, как правило, сохраняется, однако также используется и обращение *Judge + фамилия*. Исключение составляет провинция Онтарио, где к судьям всех уровней используется обращение *Mister Justice / Madam Justice*. Традиционная практика обращения к мировым судьям *Your Worship* постепенно вытесняется обращением *Your Honour*¹². К судьям, именуемым *master*, обращаются *Mr. Master* или просто *Sir*. В Британской Колумбии к ним обращаются *Your Honour* (Ваша Честь).

3.4. Австралия

В австралийском английском (AusE) система обращений к судьям также довольно простая. Она регулируется Федеральным законом о суде¹³. При этом, как показывают специальные инструкции по поведению в суде¹⁴, существует множество нюансов, свидетельствующих о достаточно высоком уровне формальности в судебном дискурсе. В судах высшего федерального уровня, а также в судах штатов к судьям используется обращение *Your Honour* (14). В случае, если заседание суда ведет главный судья (*Chief Justice*), к нему используется форма обращения *Chief Justice* (15).

(14) *Is that a convenient time, your Honour?* — Это удобное время, Ваша честь?

(15) *Yes, Chief Justice.* — Да, главный судья.

Согласно этикету обращение к судье делается исключительно в косвенной форме (16—18):

(16) *Your Honour ordered that...* — Ваша честь постановила, что...¹⁵

(17) *As your Honour said a moment ago ...* — Как Ваша честь сказала минуту назад...

(18) *Might I invite your Honour to turn to document 45 of the bundle of documents and then to page 20 of that document?* — Могу я пригласить

¹¹ Forms of address in Court and in the Courthouse (Last revised August 08, 2019) <https://www.courthouselibrary.ca/how-we-can-help/our-legal-knowledge-base/forms-address>

¹² Notice to the parties and the profession addressing judicial officers in court, September 3, 2009 <http://www.fct-cf.gc.ca/fct-cf/pdf/Notice%20-%20Form%20of%20Address%20ENG%20sept-3-2009.pdf>

¹³ The Federal Court of Australia Act 1976 s6(6) http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/fcoaa1976249/s6.html

¹⁴ Court Etiquette: 50 tips on how to behave in and for the courtroom <http://www.hearsay.org.au/index.php?option>

¹⁵ Примеры (16—20) заимствованы из Court Etiquette: 50 tips on how to behave in and for the courtroom <http://www.hearsay.org.au/index.php?option>

Вашу честь обратиться к документу 45 из пакета документов, а затем к странице 20 этого документа?

Местоименные обращения в форме второго лица (19), как и императивные формы (20), не допускаются:

(19) *As you said a moment ago ...* — Как Вы сказали минуту назад...

(20) *Now just look at document page 20 in document 45.* —
А теперь посмотрите на страницу 20 документа 45.

В качестве референтной формы к судьям употребляются *Chief Justice, Justice, Judge*. При представлении высокопоставленного судьи за пределами суда следует представить его как *Justice* (судья), а далее в разговоре называть его *Judge* (судья)¹⁶.

Ярким примером, свидетельствующим о довольно высокой степени формальности австралийского судебного дискурса, является приветственная фраза, адресованная судьям. Прямое обращение *Good morning Your Honour* (Доброе утро, Ваша честь), считается фамильярным и его рекомендуется избегать.

Адвокату предписывается обращаться к суду следующим образом:

(21) *May it please the court, my name is [surname] initials [say your initials], solicitor of [practice name] and I appear for the [party]*¹⁷. (Букв.: Пусть это доставит удовольствие суду, меня зовут [фамилия], инициалы [ваши инициалы], адвокат [специализация], и я выступаю от имени стороны [назовите сторону])

К магистратским судьям Федерального суда следует обращаться *Your Honour* или *Federal Magistrate*. В отличие от Англии к ним нельзя обращаться *Your Worship*. Вне суда в их адрес допустимы обращения *Mr / Ms, Sir / Madam*. Согласно нашим данным обращение *Your Honour* применимо к судьям всех местных судов, где к некоторым судьям возможны и другие формы обращения, как например, *Sir/Madam* в административном суде штата Виктория.

3.5. Новая Зеландия

В Новой Зеландии система форм обращения к судьям довольно проста. Они изложены в специальной инструкции, регулирующей поведение в суде и содержащей нормы судебного этикета¹⁸, которые предписывают обращаться к судье *Your Honour* или *Sir / Madam*. Обращение *Your Honour* часто

¹⁶ The dummies' guide to addressing judicial officers <https://www.uts.edu.au/about/faculty-law/news/dummies-guide-addressing-judicial-officers>

¹⁷ The dummies' guide to addressing judicial officers <https://www.uts.edu.au/about/faculty-law/news/dummies-guide-addressing-judicial-officers>

¹⁸ Practice briefing: Addressing members of the Judiciary www.lawsociety.org.nz › practice-briefings

употребляется не прямо, а косвенно, как, например, во фразе привлечения внимания (22—23) или при принятии к сведению решения суда.

(22) *If your Honour pleases...* (Букв.: Если Ваша честь пожелает...)

(23) *As the Court / your Honour pleases...* (Букв.: Как угодно Суду / Как пожелает Ваша честь)¹⁹

В качестве референтных форм в отношении судей используются *justice + фамилия* и *judge + фамилия* (добавление имени допустимо только в случаях совпадения фамилий). При этом, как и в австралийском английском, они демонстрируют четкое разграничение по статусу: *Justice + фамилия* употребляется к судьям более высокого уровня, а именно — к судьям Верховного суда, Апелляционного суда и Высокого суда, в то время как *judge + фамилия* — к судьям местных судов. В последнем случае возможно и обращение без фамилии — *Judge*, которое также употребляется в неформальной обстановке и вне суда:

(24) *Pleased to meet you Judge* (Рад с Вами познакомиться, судья).

3.6. США

При достаточно простой системе форм обращения в американском английском (AmE) официальные правила судебного этикета США предписывают соблюдение строгих формальностей в зале суда. Игнорирование этих правил адвокатами может привести к санкциям, начиная от строгого предупреждения до отмены слушания и отстранения от работы из-за неуважения к суду²⁰.

В качестве форм обращения к судьям в американском английском рекомендуются *Your Honor*, *Judge*, *Judge + фамилия*. Во многих штатах к судье обращаются *Your Honor* (Ваша честь) или *Judge* (Судья). Как показывают проанализированные источники, обращение *Judge* более широко используется адвокатами и сотрудниками, в то время как истец или ответчик могут использовать любое из них.

Некоторые суды более формальны, чем другие, и могут иметь свои собственные правила. Например, Верховный Суд округа Лос Анжелес ввел правило, согласно которому к судье следует обращаться в зале суда только как *Your Honor*. Такие обращения, как *Judge* (судья), *Judge + фамилия*, *ma'am /sir*, считаются неуважительными²¹, хотя во многих других штатах они являются приемлемыми и вполне уважительными.

¹⁹ Данная фраза произносится при вставании и даже в тех случаях, когда участники процесса с решением суда не согласны.

²⁰ How to Address a Female Attorney: 7 Steps (with Pictures) www.wikihow.com > ... > Civil Litigation

²¹ http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/ca_code_judicial_ethics.pdf

Согласно некоторым источникам²², использование терминов, указывающих на гендерные различия (*Mr.*, *Ms.*, *Madam*), считается в настоящее время в американском судебном дискурсе проявлением сексизма.

К судьям Верховного Суда США и некоторых штатов используется обращение *Justice* + фамилия (так же как в Австралии и Новой Зеландии). Формальное обращение к Верховному Судье Соединенных Штатов — *Mr. Chief Justice* или *Chief Justice* + фамилия.

К федеральным магистратам (независимым судьям, которых в США 572), следует обращаться *Your Honor* или *Judge*, а при ссылке на них в третьем лице использовать обращение *The Honorable* (Hickey 2008).

4. Заключение

В данном исследовании были проанализированы именованья судей и формы обращения к судье в национальных вариантах английского языка — британском, ирландском, канадском, австралийском, новозеландском и американском. Мы ограничились формами обращений, используемыми в устной речи и главным образом в ситуации судебного заседания. Предварительные результаты исследования выявили как сходства, так и различия, которые наблюдаются в наименованиях судей различного ранга и в формах обращения к ним.

Наиболее сложная система обращений с соблюдением строгой иерархии до сих пор традиционно сохраняется в британском английском, при этом уже в шотландском наблюдается ее значительное упрощение. В ирландском английском, который также идет по пути упрощения форм обращений к судьям, наряду с английскими активно практикуются ирландские (гэльские) термины, использование которых закреплено официальными документами. Тенденция к демократизации системы обращений в суде наблюдается и в других вариантах английского языка, в том числе и под влиянием государственной политики. Так, в Канаде и Австралии на законодательном уровне были приняты документы, упрощающие формы обращения в суде. Для американского судебного дискурса также характерна демократичность, которая проявляется в минимизации форм обращения к судьям, однако при этом в связи с федерализацией государства единые правила обращения отсутствуют и варьируют в зависимости от штата.

Выявленные различия обусловлены комплексом исторических, политических и социальных причин, которые требуют специального дальнейшего изучения. Среди них можно отметить, в частности, различную степень открытости общества к демократизации его правовой системы, стремление страны либо следовать традициям, установленным в британском судебном дискурсе, либо продемонстрировать свою уникальность и независимость от бывшей метрополии.

²² <https://www.daytranslations.com/blog/2015/05/the-use-of-honorifics-in-the-legal-profession-6273/>

Мы не претендуем на полноту исследования. Вопросы функционирования обращений как в вокативной, так и референтной функциях, требуют дальнейшего и более глубокого изучения. За рамками остались и вопросы использования обращений вне судебного заседания, а также в письменной речи. Тем не менее, несмотря на ограниченный характер, исследование дает новые данные, иллюстрирующие, что лексическая и дискурсивная вариативность, наблюдаемая в юридической сфере, способствует формированию вариантов плюрицентричных языков и может рассматриваться как их конституирующий элемент.

Проведенное исследование показало, что при анализе юридического английского и выявлении его особенностей в различных вариантах английского языка следует учитывать и особенности юридических систем, которые, несмотря на принадлежность к общему праву (Common Law), в значительной степени являются независимыми.

Результаты могут способствовать изучению плюрицентричных языков, найти применение в лексикографической практике, а также в преподавании юридического английского для студентов-юристов.

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Research Article

Phraseological Preposition *afin de* in the Customs Discourse: A Case Study of French-Language Customs Press

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Abstract

The article investigates the semantic and grammatical aspects of modern branch discourse on the example of French-language texts devoted to customs control. Noting to the frequent use of constructions with the phraseological preposition *afin de* in the texts under study, the author suggests analysing not only their structural, semantic, and discursive characteristics, but also exploring them as a significant communicative means that reveals the semantic potential of grammar in the French-language customs discourse. The discursive-pragmatic strategy of the addressee is manifested in the choice of prepositional constructions that determine the discursive features of French-language customs texts. Stylistically colored vocabulary, infinitives in negative form, and phraseological units employed in the constructions are discussed as factors aimed to influence the addressee. The results of the study allow us to view the phraseological preposition *afin de* as a grammatical tool with a communicative orientation, which plays an important role in the formation of French-speaking customs discourse.

Keywords: *industry press, French-language texts, customs discourse, phraseological preposition, semantics*

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Фразеологический предлог *afin de* в таможенном дискурсе (на примере текстов франкоязычной таможенной прессы)

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Аннотация

Статья посвящена проблемам современного отраслевого дискурса, который исследуется на примере франкоязычных текстов таможенной тематики с позиций семантико-грамматического подхода. При рассмотрении частоты употребления конструкций с предлогом *afin de* в исследуемых текстах предлагается не ограничиваться изучением их структурных, семантико-дискурсивных характеристик, а исследовать фразеологический предлог *afin de* как значимое коммуникативное средство, раскрывающее семантический потенциал грамматики в рамках франкоязычного таможенного дискурса. Дискурсивно-прагматическая стратегия адресанта выражается в выборе конструкций с предлогом, определяющим дискурсивные свойства франкоязычных таможенных текстов. Особое внимание в статье уделяется семантическому потенциалу компонентов конструкций с предлогом *afin de*, их употреблению в письменной речи и дискурсивным характеристикам. Как воздействующий фактор на адресата рассматриваются стилистически окрашенная лексика, инфинитив глагола в отрицательной форме, фразеологизмы, входящие в состав исследуемых конструкций. Полученные результаты исследования позволяют трактовать фразеологический предлог *afin de* как грамматическое средство с коммуникативной направленностью, играющее важную роль в формировании франкоязычного таможенного дискурса.

Ключевые слова: *отраслевая пресса, франкоязычные тексты, фразеологический предлог, таможенный дискурс, семантика*

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1. Введение

В современном массмедийном пространстве таможенный дискурс, испытывающий интенсивное динамическое развитие, занимает междисциплинарное положение — информация адресанта о деятельности таможенной службы представляет собой текстовой корпус профессиональной коммуникации таможенной тематики с учетом социально-экономической направленности таможенной сферы, ее правоохранительной функции. Вопросы междисциплинарности находятся в центре внимания лингвистов, дискурс-анализ

исследуется как «консолидирующая исследовательская парадигма», «к которой помимо лингвистики проявляет интерес широкий круг социальных дисциплин — экономика, история, социология, философия, культурология и социальная психология» (Понтон, Ларина 2016: 7—8).

Вопросы релятивных единиц на примере французского языка отражены в отдельных работах (Тер-Авакян 1983), анализируются функции, роль, отличительные характеристики предлогов в синтаксических конструкциях различных региональных вариантов французского языка, в частности, Бретани (Бухонкина 2015: 120—123). Исследуются характеристики отдельных французских лексических предлогов, в том числе на примере предлога *de* (Амеличева 2018: 144—152), предлога *sur* (Пайар 2000: 152—188). Современные исследования предлогов проводятся в сопоставительном аспекте на материале французского и русского языков — рассматривается роль предлогов в формировании лингвокультурологических особенностей пространственных концептов (Степанова 2009: 51—54), изучаются событийно-темпоральные значения предлогов на примере французского *à* и русского *при* (Чершышёв 2015). В работах лингвистов отражены вопросы антонимии предлогов (Шиганова, Суровцева: 328—335), проблемы развития предлогов на примере различных языков — русского (Бирцер 2011: 69—84), английского (Костромин 2013: 77—82). В трудах лингвистов рассматриваются грамматические характеристики предлогов (De Mulder 2003: 291—305), в отдельных работах анализируются дискурсивные функции грамматических категорий, грамматика дискурса (Ulanova 2017). Исследуются особенности образования фразеологических предлогов (Leeman 2007), эволюция грамматических структур (Peuraube), грамматических форм (Meillet), а также семантические характеристики (Pottier 1962), (Суровцева 2011: 297—301), синтаксическая классификация лексических предлогов (Vaguer: 2008), функционирование предлогов и предложных выражений на примере библиографии (Vaguer: 2007). Таким образом, вышеперечисленные факторы позволяют говорить о значимой роли предлога в системе языка и неугасающем интересе к нему со стороны исследователей. В рамках таможенного дискурса, формирующегося под влиянием экстралингвистических факторов, коммуникативная функция отводится в том числе и конструкциям с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de*, где «значение предлога не ограничивается одной ситуацией», возможны «разные сценарии», что «приводит к проблеме полисемии семантики предлога». В рамках настоящего исследования рассматриваются *функциональные* и *аргументированные* значения предлога (Пайар 2000: 152—188; Melis 2003: 33).

2. Материал исследования

Исследование проводилось на материале франкоязычных текстов журнала «*OMD Actualités*», отраслевого издания Всемирной таможенной организации, издающегося на ее двух официальных языках: английском и французском. Лингвистические особенности франкоязычных таможенных текстов

определены сферой их функционирования, принадлежностью научно-публицистическому подстилю гуманитарной сферы научного стиля. Исследуемые тексты обладают определенными функционально-структурными характеристиками, соотносённостью с профессиональной коммуникативной сферой, они отличаются наличием целеустановки, содержательными категориями, авторским выбором средств выражения смысловой структуры, отвечающих за функционирование таможенного текста как речевого произведения с целью и мотивом, замыслом адресанта.

Франкоязычное профессионально ориентированное издание таможенной тематики *OMD Actualités* представляет собой часть системы средств массовой информации, по типу целевой аудитории информация журнала предназначена для определённых лиц — сотрудников таможенной службы, её деловых партнёров. Исследование франкоязычных текстов таможенной тематики в аспекте медиадискурса позволяет трактовать их как результат целостного коммуникативно-когнитивного процесса смыслопорождения.

3. Методы исследования

В состав комплексной методики исследования вошёл дискурсивно-текстовый анализ, отражающий движение от языковых средств к смысловому компоненту с целью выявления прагматических особенностей таможенных текстов, а также метод интерпретативного анализа для обнаружения языковых средств реализации жанровой специфики исследуемых текстов.

В статье рассматриваются существующие интерпретации предлога в отечественных и зарубежных источниках, анализируется частота употребления предлога *afin de* в исследуемых текстах, выявляются структурно-дискурсивные, дискурсивно-стилистические характеристики образованных с ним конструкций, определяется их семантическая характеристика. Полученные результаты позволяют обозначить семантический потенциал грамматики во франкоязычном таможенном дискурсе, исследование характеристик которого на примере предлога *afin de* осуществляется с учётом положений лингвистов о дискурсе: «дискурс» — результат «высказывания» и «коммуникативной ситуации» (Charaudeau 1983: 28), «продукт, материя, высказывание» (Greimas, Courtés 1979: 389), «...лично, культурно и ситуативно детерминированная коммуникативная практика. Такая дефиниция расширяет поле исследования, перед нами не только текст, но и процессы текстопорождения и текстовосприятия» (Карасик 2014: 146). Теоретической основой исследования являются грамматический и дискурсивный подходы к языку: «в... дискурсионном подходе продуктивным представляется выход за пределы речевого акта» (Хазаргеров 2018). Настоящее исследование проводится на примере взаимодействия и взаимовлияния понятий *дискурс* и *текст* — «Дискурс понимается именно как процесс, связанный с реальным речепроизводством, *текст* же связывается с результатом этого процесса» (Лурия 1998), франкоязычный таможенный текст формируется на основе дискурсивной деятельности таможенной

сферы и трактуется как итог «социально ориентированной и социально обусловленной коммуникативной деятельности» (Кубрякова 2001: 76).

4. Обсуждение результатов исследования

4.1. Фразеологический предлог *afin de*: терминологические уточнения

Структура современных фразеологических предлогов сформировалась в результате сложного семантического процесса, в составе релятивных фразеологизмов содержатся компоненты, утратившие своё первоначальное значение. В процессе фразеологизации знаменательные части речи стали компонентами фразеологических предлогов, в их структуре лексические предлоги явились обязательными элементами — в нашем случае фразеологический предлог *afin de* содержит лексический предлог *de*.

В лингвистике существует несколько определений предлога, при этом нет единой формулировки данной части речи. В словаре, составленном французским Национальным центром текстовых и лексических ресурсов (Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales), предлог трактуется как неизменяемая часть речи, которая употребляется перед знаменательными словами, характеризующимися номинативным значением¹ («*Partie du discours invariable qui, est placée devant un élément à valeur nominale*») (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/définition/préposition>). Согласно другой формулировке, «предлог — это неизменяемое слово, которое устанавливает подчинённую связь между словами или синтагмами (*La préposition est un mot invariable qui établit un lien de subordination entre des mots ou des syntagmes*) (Grevisse 1993). В лингвистическом энциклопедическом словаре предлог трактуется как «разряд служебных, морфологически неизменяемых слов, выражающих различные отношения между зависимыми и главными членами словосочетания и осуществляющих подчинительную синтаксическую связь внутри словосочетания и предложения» (Ярцева 1990: 394). В словаре лингвистических терминов Ахмановой предлог определяется как «часть речи, характеризующаяся категориальным значением отношения предмета к предмету, явлению, ситуации; это значение выражается не исконным лексическим значением слов этого класса, а особенностями их функционирования в качестве связующих служебных слов» (Ахманова 2004: 347). Таким образом, перечисленные определения позволяют отметить важную роль предлога в таком аналитическом языке, как французский, где отсутствуют падежные окончания, и зависимость слов друг от друга выражается именно при помощи предлога.

Словосочетание *фразеологический предлог* во французском языке звучит как *сложный предлог* (*Prépositions composées*), а также как *предложные выражения* (*locutions prépositives*): *Prépositions composées. Elles sont appelées aussi "locutions prépositives"* (Сложные предлоги. Они также называются *предложные выражения*) (<https://www.forum.exionnaire.com/grammaire-les->

¹ Здесь и далее перевод выполнен автором данной статьи (Г.С.).

prepositions-3638). Французские источники приводят синонимы предлога *afin de*: лексические — *pour* (для), *vers* (относительно), фразеологические — *dans le but de* (с целью): *Synonymes de afin de: pour, dans le but de, vers* (https://www.cordial.fr/dictionnaire/definition/afin_de.php). При этом в другом французском источнике говорится о недопустимости употребления предлогов *afin de* и *pour* в качестве абсолютных синонимов: *Les prépositions afin de et pour ne sont pas synonymes et interchangeable dans tous les contextes* (Предлоги для того, чтобы и для не являются синонимами и взаимозаменяемы во всех контекстах). Отмечается, что «*Afin de implique l'idée d'un but visé par le sujet qui accomplit l'action. Dans ce sens, pour peut toujours être employé à la place de afin de*» (В семантике предлога для того, чтобы выражается идея цели, охватываемой субъектом, который выполняет действие. В этом смысле предлог *pour* может быть удачно использован вместо предлога для того, чтобы). *Il faut toutefois employer pour (et non afin de) pour exprimer un résultat, ou quand le sujet de l'action est une chose ou un être vivant non assimilé à une personne* (Однако предлог для (а не для того, чтобы) следует использовать, чтобы выразить результат, или когда субъект действия является вещью или живым существом, не приравненным к человеку). В другом французском источнике в качестве синонимичного, кроме *dans le but de* и *pour*, указывается также фразеологический предлог *dans l'espoir de* (в надежде): *dans le but de, pour, dans l'espoir de* (<https://dictionnaire.reverso.net/francais-definition/afin+de>). В отдельных работах французских лингвистов исследуются особенности употребления предлога *pour* и в качестве синонимичного указывается предлог *afin de* (Colinet, Danlos, Dargnat, Winterstein 2014).

Вопросы функционирования фразеологических предлогов во французском языке представляют интерес для лингвистов в связи с ростом их числа, употреблением их новых видов: «Класс фразеологических предлогов ... продолжает пополняться новообразованиями» Так, в качестве примера можно указать предлог *à l'écart de*: *Elle avait pris l'habitude de rester à l'écart des siens* (H. Troyat) (Она привыкла оставаться в стороне от родных) (Степанова 2009: 53).

Во французских источниках указываются особенности употребления предлога *afin de*: Предлог для того, чтобы употребляется с инфинитивом (*On emploie afin de avec l'infinitif*). При этом употребление предлога *afin de* рассматривается одновременно с предлогом *afin que*, требующего употребления сослагательного наклонения *Subjonctif*: *afin de/pour et afin que* (https://www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca/tpv2guides/guides/clefsfp/index-fra.html?lang=fra&lettr=indx_catlog_a&page=9PEQAczExS08.html). В рамках настоящей статьи анализируется только функционирование предлога *afin de*, рассматривается семантика образованных с ним конструкций с обязательным компонентом в виде глагола в форме инфинитива.

Целью настоящего исследования, как было указано выше, является определение коммуникативной функции фразеологического предлога *afin de*

в таможенном дискурсе, и в этой связи значимой является следующая информация: *Afin de exprime toutefois plus fortement l'intention d'arriver à un but que pour*) (Тем не менее, в предложении *для того, чтобы* намерение достичь цели выражается более решительно, чем в предложении *для*). Предлог *для того, чтобы* не употребляется в устной речи, принадлежит письменному языку (*Afin de appartient à la langue écrite*). (https://www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca/tpv2guides/guides/clefsfp/index-fra.html?lang=fra&lettr=indx_catlog_a&page=9PEQAczExS08.html).

4.2. Предлог *afin de* в рамках франкоязычного таможенного дискурса: частотность употребления

На современном этапе таможенная сфера деятельности относится к социально приоритетным в связи с интенсивным развитием социально-экономических отношений. Дискурс таможенной сферы наиболее полно представлен в текстах профессионально ориентированных изданий, в том числе франкоязычных — журнале *OMD Actualités*.

Тексты исследуемого франкоязычного издания как части системы СМИ относятся по жанру к публицистике как роду литературы и журналистики, отличаются актуальностью тем, полемичностью, эмоциональностью, по форме представления трактуются как периодика, им свойственны определённые конститутивные признаки: наличие стилистических, лексических, грамматических особенностей. Вопросы дискурсологии и стилистики, интегративных методов исследования медиакоммуникации рассматриваются в отдельных работах (Клушина 2016: 78—90), настоящее исследование проводилось в рамках стилистической и дискурсивной концепций изучения текста, являющегося общим предметом исследования с учётом *коммуникативного направления* изучения организации *текста*.

Семантико-структурная классификация конструкций с фразеологическими предлогами как лексико-грамматическая особенность таможенных текстов рассмотрена ранее на примере таких языковых единиц, как: *lors de, en matière de, au-delà, afin de, au sein de, en vue de* и других (Сосунова 2014: 178—181). В настоящем исследовании более подробно анализируются конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* как значимая характеристика франкоязычного таможенного дискурса: выявлена частотность употребления конструкций с данным предлогом, где внимание адресата направлено на социально-экономическую, социально-правовую роль современной таможенной службы, отражены аспекты таможенной деятельности, возникающие проблемы, способы их решения.

Как было указано выше, предлогу *afin de* несвойственно употребление в устной речи, ему присуще использование только в письменном языке. Специфика текстов массмедийного франкоязычного таможенного издания выражается, как было отмечено, в частотности употребления предлога *afin de*. В процессе исследования были получены следующие данные.

1. Дважды употреблены конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* — *afin de relever les défis*, *afin de mobiliser* в тексте из 837 печатных знаков (*OMD Actualités*, № 87, с. 13).

2. Дважды употреблены конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* — *Afin de rendre les contrôles*, *afin de détecter la présence* в тексте из 524 печатных знаков (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 27).

3. Дважды употреблены конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* — *Afin de suivre les progrès réalisés*, *afin de permettre de présenter un rapport* в тексте из 297 печатных знаков (*OMD Actualités*, № 87, с. 12).

4. Возможно употребление предлога *afin de* два раза на одной странице исследуемого журнала:

– *afin d'intégrer l'utilisation de ce type de données* (для интеграции использования данных этого типа); *afin de tester comment nous pouvions tirer parti de l'utilisation des données postales* (для того, чтобы проверить, какие мы имели преимущества при использовании почтовых данных) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 27);

– *Afin de contribuer au développement économique* (Для содействия экономическому развитию); *Afin d'analyser en profondeur les risques* (Для углубленного анализа рисков) (*OMD Actualités*, № 72, с. 12);

– *Afin de porter assistance à l'OMC* (Для оказания помощи ВТО); *Afin d'améliorer l'échange d'informations* (Для улучшения обмена информацией) (*OMD Actualités*, № 72, с. 16);

– *Afin de revoir sa position, axée avant tout sur les recettes* (Для того, чтобы пересмотреть свою позицию, ориентируясь в первую очередь на выручку); *Afin de poser un cadre pour cet instrument, un protocole d'accord avec le FMI a été rédigé* (Для того, чтобы установить рамки для этого инструмента, был подготовлен Меморандум о взаимопонимании с МВФ) (*OMD Actualités*, № 87, с. 14).

5. Употребление предлога *afin de* возможно три раза на одной странице журнала: *Afin de suivre le rythme du changement dans l'environnement commercial mondial* (Для того, чтобы идти в ногу с изменениями в мировой торговой среде); *afin de suivre le rythme des changements en cours* (для того, чтобы идти в ногу с текущими изменениями); *afin de veiller* (для того, чтобы осуществлять надзор, проявлять бдительность) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 14). Дискурсивные характеристики данных конструкций, включающих фразеологические выражения, рассмотрены далее в настоящей статье.

6. Предлог *afin de* может употребляться адресантом два раза в одном выражении: *identifier les problèmes persistants et revoir les indicateurs dans la pratique afin de rectifier les comportements de ceux qui essaient de contourner les indicateurs afin de poursuivre leurs mauvaises pratiques* (выявить постоянные проблемы и проанализировать показатели на практике, чтобы скорректировать действия лиц, пытающихся обойти показатели с целью продолжить свои неблагоприятные методы деятельности) (*OMD Actualités*, № 83, с. 10).

4.3. Структурно-дискурсивные характеристики конструкций с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de*

Как было отмечено выше, в рамках настоящей статьи не исследуются особенности употребления предлога *afin que*, требующего использования глагола в сослагательном наклонении, анализируется только функционирование предлога *afin de*, рассматривается семантика образованных с ним конструкций с обязательным компонентом в виде глагола в форме инфинитива. Таким образом, исследуются семантико-дискурсивные характеристики выражений, включающих следующие конструкции:

- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + прямое дополнение;
- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + инфинитив глагола в отрицательной форме + прямое дополнение;
- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + дополнение + предлог *à*;
- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + дополнение + лексический предлог *contre*;
- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + фразеологическое выражение;
- фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + стилистически окрашенная лексика.

К одной из дискурсивных характеристик франкоязычных текстов таможенной тематики относится частота употребления отдельных глаголов в конструкциях с предлогом *afin de* в форме инфинитива, в их семантике отражены такие понятия, как: оказание содействия, помощь, гарантия, обеспечение, предоставление возможности действий. Данные понятия входят в сферу таможенного дискурса, отражая аспекты таможенной деятельности. Частоту употребления глаголов с данной семантикой можно проследить на примере приведённой ниже информации, раскрывающей функции содействия, оказываемого таможенной службой различным организациям, их представителям, отдельным лицам:

1. Глагол *aider* (помогать, оказывать содействие, помощь): *afin d'aider les autres organisations* (Для того, чтобы оказать содействие другим организациям) (*OMD Actualités*, № 54, с. 19); *afin d'aider l'Autorité fiscale du Rwanda à mettre en oeuvre sa stratégie sur l'éthique* (в целях оказания помощи налоговому органу Руанды в осуществлении его стратегии по этике) (*OMD Actualités*, № 84, с. 25); *Afin d'aider les consommateurs* (Для того, чтобы помочь потребителям) (*OMD Actualités*, № 84, с. 46).

2. Глагол *assurer* (обеспечивать, осуществлять, гарантировать): *afin d'assurer l'efficacité des contrôles douaniers* (для обеспечения эффективности таможенного контроля) (*OMD Actualités*, № 78, с. 18); *Afin d'assurer*

l'interopérabilité entre les divers systèmes (В целях обеспечения взаимодействия между различными системами) (*OMD Actualités*, № 83, с. 4).

3. Глагол *faciliter* (упрощать, облегчать, содействовать): *afin de faciliter le commerce international* (в целях содействия международной торговле) (*OMD Actualités*, № 74, с. 12); *afin de faciliter le paiement électronique des droits de douane* (для облегчения электронной оплаты таможенных пошлин) (*OMD Actualités*, № 79, с. 12); *Afin de faciliter ce processus d'échange d'informations entre les agents des douanes sur le terrain et le secteur privé* (В целях содействия этому процессу обмена информацией между таможенными органами на местах и частным сектором) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 4).

4. Глагол *garantir* (гарантировать, обеспечивать): *afin de garantir une compréhension mutuelle et de pouvoir lancer des actions coordonnées* (для обеспечения взаимопонимания и возможности проводить скоординированные действия) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 8); *afin de garantir que les règles de sécurité de la chaîne logistique soient respectées* (для обеспечения соблюдения правил безопасности цепочки поставок) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 11).

5. Глагол *permettre* (позволять, предоставлять возможность): *Afin de permettre à l'OMD de mesurer l'impact à moyen terme des ateliers sur les organisations et les participants* (В целях предоставления возможности ВТамО оценить среднесрочное воздействие семинаров-практикумов на организации и участников) (*OMD Actualités*, № 78, с. 21); *Afin de permettre aux opérateurs commerciaux de naviguer plus facilement dans le paysage complexe des accords commerciaux* (В целях предоставления возможности торговым операторам более легко ориентироваться в сложном ландшафте торговых соглашений) (*OMD Actualités*, № 87, с. 4);

– *afin de permettre aux Unions douanières et économiques de devenir Membres de l'OMD* (для того, чтобы таможенные и экономические союзы могли стать членами ЮМОД) (*OMD Actualités*, № 54, с. 47).

В конструкциях с предлогом *afin de*, реализующим свои валентностные свойства с глаголами в неопределённой форме, отражаются, кроме функции содействия, основные виды борьбы таможенной службы, её противостояние негативным явлениям, трактующиеся как значимые характеристики франкоязычного таможенного дискурса:

1. производство контрафактной продукции, подделка торговой марки товара: *afin de lutter contre la contrefaçon et le piratage* (чтобы бороться с контрафакцией и пиратством) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 48);

2. коррупция в рядах таможенной службы: *afin de lutter contre la corruption et renforcer l'éthique* (в целях борьбы с коррупцией и укрепления этики) (*OMD Actualités*, № 83, с. 11);

3. загрязнение окружающей среды, нанесение вреда природным ресурсам: *Afin de lutter contre ce type de pollution* (Для того, чтобы бороться с этим видом загрязнения) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 19).

4.4. Семантическая характеристика конструкций с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de*

В семантике конструкций с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* отражены и другие понятия, раскрывающие аспекты таможенной службы. К наиболее значимым, отражающим специфику таможенной службы, относятся такие виды деятельности, как:

– проверка, контроль, совершенствование их проведения: *afin de vérifier le niveau de préparation des opérateurs postaux désignés et des administrations des douanes* (для того, чтобы проверить уровень подготовки назначенных почтовых операторов и таможенных администраций) (*OMD Actualités*, № 84, с. 12), *Afin de rendre les contrôles aux frontières plus efficaces* (В целях повышения эффективности пограничного контроля) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 21);

– обсуждение, анализ, рассмотрение: *afin d'examiner l'interconnectivité des systèmes* (для того, чтобы изучить взаимосвязь систем) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 51); *Afin d'analyser en profondeur les risques liés à des données de piètre qualité* (для того, чтобы тщательно проанализировать риски, связанные с некачественными данными) (*OMD Actualités*, № 72, с. 12);

– решение проблем, преодоление трудностей: *Afin de relever les principaux défis* (Для решения основных проблем) (*OMD Actualités*, № 74 с. 5), *afin d'étudier les défis existants* (в целях изучения существующих проблем) (*OMD Actualités*, № 72, с. 5);

– призыв, привлечение к эффективной деятельности: *afin de mobiliser tous les acteurs concernés et de susciter un engagement fort en faveur du changement de la part des décideurs* (в целях мобилизации всех заинтересованных сторон и обеспечения твердой приверженности переменам со стороны директивных органов) (*OMD Actualités*, № 87, с. 13);

– достижение положительных результатов путём использования эффективных методов: *afin de réduire les coûts et d'accélérer le transport des produits* (для снижения затрат и ускорения транспортировки продукции) (*OMD Actualités*, № 73, с. 30), *afin d'optimiser l'assistance technique fournie aux Membres* (для оптимизации технической помощи, оказываемой странам-членам) (84, с. 19) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 19);

– идентификация, определение, распознавание: *afin de détecter les transactions où la valeur déclarée peut sembler suspecte* (для обнаружения транзакций, где объявленная стоимость может показаться подозрительной) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 31), *afin d'identifier d'autres titulaires de droits susceptibles d'être victimes de ce trafic* (для выявления других правообладателей, которые могут стать жертвами такой торговли) (*OMD Actualités*, № 76, с. 57);

– финансовый аспект, таможенно-экономическая функция: *afin de répartir les bénéfices entre les différentes entités qui les composent* (чтобы распределить прибыль между различными субъектами внутри них) (*OMD Actualités*, № 80, с. 5);

– социальная функция защиты населения: *afin de protéger la société au mieux* (чтобы максимально защитить общество) (*OMD Actualités*, № 66, с. 14), *afin de protéger la santé et la sécurité des personnes dans le monde* (для защиты здоровья и безопасности людей во всем мире) (*OMD Actualités*, № 68, с. 12) (для привлечения и удержания талантливых людей) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 16);

– процессы создания, координирования, мониторинга: *afin de mieux réguler le mouvement de marchandises à faible risque* (для более эффективного регулирования движения товаров с низким уровнем риска) (*OMD Actualités*, № 85, с. 28), *afin de constituer des réseaux et des plateformes en vue de faciliter la coopération* (для того, чтобы создать сети и платформы для содействия сотрудничеству) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 6), *afin de prédire le comportement des opérateurs et des voyageurs* (для прогнозирования поведения операторов и пассажиров) (*OMD Actualités*, № 82, с. 7);

– развитие, совершенствование деятельности: *La douane de Singapour travaille en partenariat étroit avec le secteur privé afin de développer des solutions respectueuses de l'environnement* (Сингапурская таможня тесно сотрудничает с частным сектором в разработке экологически чистых решений) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 18) *afin d'améliorer la gestion* (для того, чтобы улучшить управление) (*OMD Actualités*, № 54, с. 46), *afin d'évaluer et d'améliorer les données reçues* (для оценки и совершенствования полученных данных) (*OMD Actualités*, № 76, с. 29), *Afin d'améliorer l'échange d'informations et de meilleures pratiques en matière de perception des recettes* (В целях совершенствования обмена информацией и передовой практикой в области сбора доходов) (*OMD Actualités*, № 72, с. 16).

4.5. Дискурсивно-стилистические характеристики конструкций с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de*

Конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* в исследуемых текстах обладают определёнными стилистическими характеристиками, свойственными франкоязычному таможенному дискурсу. Стилистические особенности выражаются в употреблении выше обозначенных конструкций, таких как:

– фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + фразеологическое выражение;

– фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + стилистически окрашенная лексика.

– фразеологический предлог *afin de* + инфинитив глагола в отрицательной форме + прямое дополнение.

Приведём в качестве примеров выражения, включающие конструкцию: фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + фразеологизм. Так, в выражении *mettre un terme à* (положить конец) отражено стремление прекратить практику негативных действий, что предполагает

достижение положительных результатов: *Ce rapport préconise le renforcement de la réglementation et une meilleure gestion des zones franches, afin de mettre un terme à la tendance alarmante à utiliser les zones franches pour faciliter la production, la distribution et la vente de produits de contrefaçon* (В докладе содержится призыв к усилению регулирования и улучшению управления зонами свободной торговли, с тем, чтобы положить конец тревожной тенденции использования зон свободной торговли для облегчения производства, распределения и продажи контрафактной продукции) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 40).

Употребление конструкций с фразеологизмом *mettre sur pied* (осуществить, поставить на ноги) даёт возможность адресату отметить креативный потенциал таможенной службы: *travailler avec la douane népalaise afin de mettre sur pied les mesures indispensables* (работать с непальской таможенной в целях принятия необходимых мер) (*OMD Actualités*, № 63, с. 24).

Фразеологизм *tirer les leçons* (делать выводы, извлекать уроки) в составе конструкции с предлогом *afin de* раскрывает современную таможенную службу как организацию, придающую большое значение опыту, анализу проделанной работы: *afin d'identifier les leçons tirées de certaines expériences* (для того, чтобы определить уроки, извлеченные из определенного опыта) (*OMD Actualités*, № 74, с. 5).

Следует отметить частоту употребления отдельных фразеологизмов в составе конструкции с предлогом *afin de*, что относится к одной из характеристик таможенного дискурса. Интенция адресанта выражается в отборе языковых средств, эмоциональном убеждении читателя в социальной значимости современной таможенной службы, её стремлении быть динамичной организацией, использующей новые информационные технологии. В выражении *suivre le rythme* (идти в ногу со временем) имплицитно отражены прогрессивные формы организации деятельности таможенной службы. Так, конструкция *suivre le rythme* используется автором два раза на одной странице: *Afin de suivre le rythme du changement dans l'environnement commercial mondial* (Для того, чтобы идти в ногу с изменениями в мировой торговой среде), *afin de suivre le rythme des changements en cours* (для того, чтобы идти в ногу с текущими изменениями) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 14).

Наряду с фразеологическими выражениями предлог *afin de* образует конструкции с устойчивыми словосочетаниями, в частности:

– *faire face à* (противостоять): *afin de faire face au véritable déferlement de produits de contrefaçon sur le marché* (для того, чтобы противостоять всплеску контрафактной продукции на рынке) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 49);

– *tenir compte* (учитывать): *adapter notre mission afin de tenir compte de cette dimension de facilitateur du commerce international* (адаптировать нашу миссию с учётом этого аспекта, способствующего международной торговле) (*OMD Actualités*, № 56, с. 25).

В составе отдельных конструкций с предлогом *afin de* используется устойчивое словосочетание *savoir-faire*, которое в переводе на русский язык

может звучать как английское выражение *noy-hay*, а также как существительное *технологии*: *afin d'apporter leur savoir-faire à ces pays* (для того, чтобы принести свои *noy-hay* (технологии) этим странам) (*OMD Actualités*, № 84, с. 19).

Как было отмечено, конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* включают стилистически окрашенную лексику как специфику франкоязычного таможенного дискурса. Как и фразеологизмы, стилистически окрашенная лексика позволяет адресанту решать свои коммуникативные задачи — быстро и эмоционально представить соответствующую информацию об аспектах таможенной деятельности. Исследуемые конструкции обладают следующей семантикой:

– одобрение, поощрение (*encourager* — подбодрить): *Afin d'encourager une telle démarche, l'OMD a lancé en 2017 un Groupe de travail* (В целях поощрения такого подхода ВТамО в 2017 году учредила рабочую группу) (*OMD Actualités*, № 86, с. 6);

– адаптация, эволюция, прогресс (*survivre* — выжить): *afin de survivre et prospérer dans le monde numérique* (для того, чтобы выжить и процветать в цифровом мире) (*OMD Actualités*, № 73, с. 46);

– подавление, прекращение преступных действий (*enrayer* — обуздать): *afin d'enrayer la corruption qui gangrène le secteur maritime* (с тем, чтобы остановить коррупцию в морском секторе) (*OMD Actualités*, № 83, с. 22).

Стилистические особенности конструкции фразеологический предлог *afin de* + инфинитив глагола в отрицательной форме + прямое дополнение выражаются в том, что их употребление позволяет адресанту реализовать мыслеформирующую, конатативную функции языка, акцентировать внимание адресанта на важности описываемого явления, события. В семантике глаголов данных конструкций отражены следующие понятия: недопустимость прекращения определённых явлений, безусловная необходимость их функционирования в рамках таможенной сферы, в том числе таких, как:

– сохранение рабочих мест: *afin de ne pas supprimer* (чтобы не упразднить) — *afin de ne pas interrompre* (чтобы не прекращать);

– непрерывные и эффективные действия сфер, сотрудничающих с таможней, в частности, торговой: *afin de ne pas supprimer* (чтобы не упразднить), *afin de ne pas interrompre* (чтобы не прекращать) — *Parfois pour des raisons sociales, certaines fonctions obsolètes persistent afin de ne pas supprimer des emplois, car les fonctionnaires qui occupent ces fonctions n'ont pas toujours les capacités d'en exercer d'autres* (Иногда по социальным причинам некоторые устаревшие функции сохраняются для того, чтобы не упразднить рабочие места, поскольку сотрудники, занимающие эти должности, не всегда имеют возможности выполнять другие функции) (*OMD Actualités*, № 83, с. 10), *afin de ne pas interrompre les échanges et les activités commerciales licites* (чтобы не прекращать законную торговлю и коммерческую деятельность) (*OMD Actualités*, № 71, с. 16).

5. Выводы

Исследуемые франкоязычные тексты таможенной тематики представляют собой коммуникативную модель речевого общения в таможенной сфере. Данные тексты отличаются актуальностью тем, эмоциональностью, обладают характеристиками научно-публицистического подстиля с наличием определённых конститутивных признаков отраслевых периодических изданий: наличием стилистических, лексических, грамматических особенностей, среди которых — употребление фразеологического предлога *afin de*, не используемого в устной речи, принадлежащего исключительно письменному языку. Употребление конструкций с предлогом *afin de* относится к одной из отличительных характеристик исследуемых текстов.

Проведённое исследование позволило выявить частоту употребления предлога *afin de* в рамках франкоязычного таможенного дискурса, выявить структурно-дискурсивные, семантические, дискурсивно-стилистические характеристики конструкций с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de*.

Исследованием установлено, что фразеологический предлог *afin de* образует определённые конструкции, в том числе такие, как: фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + прямое дополнение; фразеологический предлог *afin de* + инфинитив глагола в отрицательной форме + прямое дополнение; фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + дополнение + предлог *à*; фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + дополнение + лексический предлог *contre*; фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + фразеологическое выражение; фразеологический предлог *afin de* + глагол в форме инфинитива + стилистически окрашенная лексика.

Употребление в конструкциях с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* фразеологизмов, стилистически окрашенной лексики, инфинитива глагола в отрицательной форме связано с реализацией функций языка как многофункционального явления в коммуникациях таможенной тематики. При помощи данных языковых средств адресант решает свои коммуникативные задачи — привлекает внимание адресата, вовлекает его в речевое действие с целью оказания на него ориентирующего влияния, быстро и эффективно обозначает важность, значимость опубликованных фактов, побуждает к чтению представленной информации, другими словами, посредством языковых средств устанавливает контакты между коммуникантами.

Одной из дискурсивных характеристик исследуемых текстов является частота употребления глаголов *aider, assurer, faciliter, garantir, permettre* в форме инфинитива в конструкциях с предлогом *afin de*. В семантике перечисленных глаголов отражены функции современной таможенной службы, в том числе содействия, оказываемого различным организациям, их представителям, отдельным лицам, а также схемы упрощения различных процессов, таможенных процедур.

В семантике конструкций с предлогом *afin de* отражены понятия, раскрывающие специфику таможенной службы: контроль, обсуждение важных вопросов и решение возникающих проблем, призыв к эффективной деятельности, использование эффективных методов для достижения положительных результатов, процессы идентификации рисков, мониторинга, финансовые аспекты, социальная функция защиты населения, решение кадровых вопросов, совершенствование современной таможенной деятельности, что позволяет трактовать конструкции с фразеологическим предлогом *afin de* как значимую характеристику франкоязычного таможенного дискурса.

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Research Article

The Influence of Modern English Loanwords on the Verbal Code of Russian Culture

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Abstract

The aim of the article is to introduce the authors' perspective on how English loanwords are changing the structure and the content of the verbal code of Russian culture and the Russian linguistic pictures of the world, as well as on how the latter might change the former. Having used the continuous sampling method, observation method, and synchronic-diachronic approach (lexical semantic analysis, comparative semantic analysis, morphological and quantitative analysis), the authors have allocated and analyzed 487 loanwords, which led to the introduction of three distinguished types of interaction between the verbal code of the Russian language and foreign loanwords. The first interaction type is the process whereby the loanwords adapt semantically to the rules of the host language and culture, which leads to the complete change of a loanword meaning or its modification (15 words). The second interaction type is connected with the loanwords bringing new concepts to a host language and indicating borrowed ideas and objects (270 words). The differentiation of these two interaction types is based on the results of a synchronic and diachronic study of the loanwords in Russian. The analyzed interaction types are linked to the changes in the host language's verbal code. A concept of a "hybrid linguistic picture of the world" is being introduced as the one constituting the third interaction type (201 words). According to the authors, the hybrid linguistic picture of the world is developing at the current stage of the Russian language and is caused by the process of the morphological adaptation of English loanwords, which is manifested in the production of hybrid words and Russian words being actively substituted by English borrowings.

Keywords: *loanwords, Anglicisms, verbal code, hybrid linguistic picture of the world*

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Влияние современных английских заимствований на вербальный код русской культуры

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Аннотация

Цель статьи — описать происходящие под влиянием англоязычных заимствований изменения в структуре и содержании вербального кода русской культуры и русской языковой картины мира, а также влияние языковой картины мира на изменение вербального кода. Методы сплошной выборки и описания, а также синхронно-диахронный подход в исследовании (лексико-семантический анализ, сравнительно-семантический анализ, морфологический и количественный анализ) позволили обнаружить 487 заимствований и выделить три выраженных типа взаимодействий между русским языковым кодом и иностранными заимствованиями. Первый тип представляет семантическую адаптацию заимствований к правилам принимающего языка и культуры, что приводит к полному изменению значения заимствуемого слова, или его модификации (15 заимствований). Вторым типом взаимодействия связаны заимствованиями, которые приносят в принимающий язык новые понятия, называющие заимствованные идеи и объекты (270 заимствований). Выделение данных типов взаимодействия основывается на результатах синхронно-диахронного изучения функционирования заимствованной лексики в русском языке. Рассматриваемые типы взаимодействия положены в основу проблематики сохранения и изменения вербального кода культуры принимающего языка. Третьим типом взаимодействия (201 заимствование) представлен в понятии гибридной языковой картины мира, которая, по мнению авторов, складывается на современном этапе развития русского языка как следствие активного процесса адаптации англицизмов и проявляется в возникновении слов-гибридов и замене русских эквивалентов англицизмами.

Ключевые слова: заимствования, англицизмы, вербальный код, гибридная языковая картина мира

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Introduction

In research studies loanwords are discussed by many Russian (Krysin 2008, Khalevin 2010a, 2010b, Serebrennikova 2014, Rivlina 2015 etc.) and international scholars (Haugen 1950, Poplack, Sankof & Miller 1988, Veisbergs 2006, Jaworski 2014 etc.) who mainly focus on the problem of the formal and semantic adaptation of borrowings to the recipient language revealing changes of a loaned word's meaning as well as their structural assimilation. The issue of English loanwords and their influence on the modern Russian language has become topical within the last decade and is being discussed by Krysin (2008), Levontina, Shmelev & Zaliznjak

(2012), Vorob'eva (2009), Klement'eva (2014) et al. One of the major problems in scope is the nature, rules and consequences of the interaction of new words with the cultural linguistic picture of the world (hereinafter — LPW). Thus scholars' interest shifting from the study of purely “sign to sign interaction” to the study of “sign — culture” domain.

According to Tolstoi (1995) language and culture have “certain features of structural similarity” with a language being a “verbal code of culture” (Lukin 2015: 65—66) which expresses the worldview of a language community through language units. The overall aim of the present study is to discuss the role of loanwords in their contribution to the change in a verbal code of culture and the ability of the language affected to preserve and exercise its objectives to express a culturally conditioned worldview, and to determine basic patterns of interaction between the loanwords and the recipient language, which are either determined by a linguistic picture of the world of the recipient Russian language or lead to its change.

Aligned with the statement above, the main objectives in this study are as follows: (1) to specify a verbal code of culture; (2) to specify the interaction patterns between a recipient language's linguistic picture of the world and loanwords; (3) to discuss the influence of modern English loanwords on the verbal code of the recipient language and culture.

Lexical examples included in the study are based on the authors' observations, retrieved from linguistic landscape, dictionaries of loanwords in Russian, Russian *LiveJournal* blog posts, RNC (hereinafter — Russian National Corpus) or taken from secondary sources (see the References) and, thus, represent proof-checked lexical material existing in the Russian language. The number of analyzed *LifeJournal* texts to find loanwords is 280 (173 434 words). The number of retrieved loanwords is 304 words (4 951 entries). The rest of the loanwords were taken from secondary sources and linguistic landscape — 183 words. RNC and dictionaries were used to allocate the found loanwords semantics and the contexts of usage. Based on the examples obtained through continuous sampling and observation and the results of their synchronic-diachronic study (lexical semantic analysis, comparative semantic analysis, morphological and quantitative analysis) the authors speculate on the role English loanwords play in the lexical structure of the modern Russian language as well as on the part they play in the construction of a cultural verbal code.

1. Theoretical background

The terminological apparatus of the research is mainly based on Russian language studies and requires closer determination to disclose the main aspects of the present research. A code is commonly referred to as “a combination of signs (symbols) and a system of certain rules by which information can be represented (encoded) as a set of such symbols for its transmission, processing, and storage (memorization)” (*Bol'shoj Jenciklopedicheskij Slovar'* 1993). Every code consists of elements or signs which should be organized in a proper way for the code to implement its functions. Svetlana Tolstaya (2007), who leads the Moscow Ethnolinguistic

School named after Lev Tolstói, highlights three essential characteristics of a code: substantial homogeneity, systemacity and conventionality.

Substantial homogeneity is the characteristics of a code, which means that the code consists of qualitatively equal elements that serve to express the same idea by completing each other. For example, music consists of notes (hymn, alarm), a visual code consists of objects (traffic signs) or colors (state flag), a verbal code consists of meaningful linguistic elements of the same language (morphemes make words, words make phrases, phrases make sentences). Systematicity stands for the way the elements of a code organize themselves: colors make up a color spectrum, traffic light colors make up a traffic regulation system, letters make up an alphabet, and words make up a language's lexicon. Conventionality stands for the feature that each element of a code has a meaning which is subscribed to it. We use a code to convey (encode) information. A recipient is able to decode the information because he/she knows the meaning prescribed to the code elements: an embroidery scheme, pattern for knitting, flower language, sign language, any living language. Thus, a combination of signs can be called a code when it consists of equal elements, has a systemic organization and is recognized by an addressee.

According to Tolstói (1995), every culture has a code for self-expression, which consists of several other codes (or subcodes): a corporal code, a musical code, acoustic, color, gesture codes etc. A verbal code is also a constituent of a cultural code, the most complicated one and the most important as each of the cultural code constituents can be expressed through the verbal code thanks to a nominative function of the language. Thus, following Tolstói (1995), “language is a tool of a culture” (1995: 36), and a verbal code of a culture is “any form of a language (word, term, name, cliché, proverbs, folklore text, saying, curse, ritual words etc.)” (Tolstaya 2007) which can express cultural information of this language community by means of its structural elements.

Language is a type of a code that “represents culturally constructed conceptualizations encompassing the whole range of human experience” (Sharifian 2017: 2). In other words, language features are embedded in cultural conceptualizations, and through the language we can express our worldview. Thus, the verbal code of a culture is the ability of a language with its structural elements to express the cultural specifics of a language speaking community.

Structural elements of a language (phonemes, morphemes, words) are responsible for this ability; “language can be viewed as a primary mechanism for “storing” and communicating cultural cognition, acting both as a memory bank and a fluid vehicle for the (re-)transmission of cultural cognition” (Sharifian 2017: 5). In other words, a language preserves and expresses cultural conceptualizations by means of language structural elements. To make up a complete picture of the world by means of a language all language elements are used, because each of them correlates with a part of the world or with a part of our attitude to the world.

On the **phonetic level**, the cultural conceptualizations by means of language structural elements can be demonstrated by onomatopoeic words, which copy the

sounds around. In some languages they are alike, but in others they are very different:

- Sound of a kiss: Russ. *цмок* [*chmoc*]¹; Eng. *smooch, smack*; Fin. *musik*.
- Dog barking: Russ. *гав-гав* [*gav gav*], *тяф-тяф* [*tyaf tyaf*]; Fr. *ouah ouah*, Eng. *bow wow*.
- Sound of a frog: Russ. *ква-ква* [*kva-kva*]; Eng. *croak*; Danish *kvæk kvæk*.

The difference in onomatopoeic words depends on many factors, among which is the way people hear the sounds and the way they can reproduce them, distinguishing the most precise and typical phonemes for this or that object of reality.

Concerning the **morphemic level**, according to (Nagel 2015: 227), word-formation models have the status of a “cultural code” that helps people to express their worldview via morphological units. Historically, in Slavic culture suffixes transmit the attitude of speakers to the abnormalities in human bodies and human behavior, including verbal. Slavic culture had a tradition to nickname people according to their origin, their roles in the community, their appearance or character, etc. In Slavic languages among the suffixes used for this purpose there were *-ah* ([*zubaha*] — *зубаха* — Eng. *pejorative*), *-ok* ([*rochinok*] — *починок* — Eng. *firstborn*), *-un* ([*godun*] — *годуи* — Eng. *sluggish*), *-an* ([*molchan*] — *молчан* — Eng. *silent*) and others. These examples are no longer used in Russian, however the meaning of the suffixes is preserved and they are used to form other lexical units with the same socio-cultural semantics: [*govorun*] — Russ. *говорун* — Eng. *bab-bler*, [*znatok*] — Russ. *знаток* — Eng. *expert*, [*golovan*] — Russ. *голован* — Eng. *know-all*. Thus, word-formation models represent a “language objectification of the way a person perceives and structures information, pointing out the most important meanings for social interaction” (Nagel 2015: 227).

On **lexical and syntactic levels**, the cultural code of a language can be expressed through proverbs and sayings. These are culturally consolidated and closed units of a language: no word can be substituted by another one. Despite many Russian proverbs and sayings including words which are not used in the modern language, they correspond to modern life and express the cultural peculiarities and mentality of a Russian linguistic community: Russ. *Баба с возу — кобыле легче* — Eng. *A good riddance to bad rubbish*; Russ. — *В Тулу со своим самоваром не ездят*; Eng. — *They don't bring coals to Newcastle*. Only words which have a connection with the corresponding culture can be used to express the cultural code of a language in syntactical units of this kind. The influx of loanwords complicates the connection between the culture expressive syntactical units and the host LPW, because loanwords represent a foreign LPW.

Besides, in Russian, the cultural code of the language can be expressed purely syntactically by traditional syntactic constructions. Syntax is not just a formal organization of linguistic units, “it also encodes a certain type of conceptualization,

¹ Hereinafter we use the online transliteration service recommended by the Journal in section 2.5. of the guide for authors: <https://translit.ru/ru/?account=bsi>. [Last viewed: 20.07.2019].

and by learning this (of course, not only this), a person is familiarized with a cultural worldview” (Mel'nikova 2006: 34). Among syntactical constructions in Russian, there are fixed patterns that are called “syntactical concepts” (Popova 2004: 27), because by their syntactical forms they express the worldview and reflect the LPW. In this research, we follow the syntactical concepts discussed by Popova (2004). In Slavic languages, as well as in Russian, one of them is the concept of “the statement of the subject absence” (Popova 2004: 29) which is fashioned with the use of a noun or a pronoun in genitive form, the word *no* (Russ. [net]), an adverbial modifier of place and no explicit predicate: Russ. *Этой книги нет в библиотеке* — Eng. *This book is not in the library*; Russ. *Оценки нет в тетради* — Eng. *There is no mark in the copybook*; Russ. *Её нет в комнате* — Eng. *She is not in the room*. According to Popova, in English and in German there is no such concept as “the statement of the subject absence”; that is why in these languages constructions of existence are used with a verb and the particle *no*: Eng. *There is no...*; Germ. *Es gibt ... nicht*.

Another example is a syntactic concept of “existence with the meaning of possessiveness” (Popova 2004: 29), which is expressed in Russian with the use of an object in the possessive in combination with the verb *to have*: Russ. *У него есть красный автомобиль*. — Eng. *He has a red car*; Russ. *У неё есть свободное время на этих выходных* — Eng. *She has free time this weekend*. The grammatical subject is not explicit in this syntactical construction. German and English sentences with the same meanings are constructed with the grammatical subjects and grammatical predicates with the latter expressed by the verb *to have*: Eng. *He has a cat* — Germ. *Er hat eine Katze*. In Russian, the grammatical construction *у него/неё/них есть* (Eng. *she/he has, they have*) is frozen which means that the verb does not coordinate with the possessing object whether singular or plural, unlike in German or in English.

Thus, the language code of a culture can be traced on each language level: phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic. We claim that loanwords also can be included in each of the language levels and become either the means of the verbal code expression or the means of its change.

By appearing in a recipient language, loanwords bring new linguistic fragments of cultural conceptualization, which undergo stages of assimilation (orthographic, grammatical, and semantic) before they enter the recipient language’s lexical structure. Some loanwords adapt to a recipient language and lose their foreign appearance, but some of them make the recipient language adapt to them. These new language elements can change the verbal code of the recipient culture.

The ability of a language to serve as the verbal code of a culture is supplied by cumulative and world-image constructive functions (Vereshchagin 1980, Serebrennikova 2014). Though it is assumed that all language levels are involved in the representation, fixation and preservation of information about reality, the vocabulary level is regarded as one of the most essential for the cumulative function. The cumulative function is responsible for the preservation (accumulation) of the cultural heritage in a language (Vereshchagin 1980), thereby turning a language into a sort of a memory bank (Sharifian 2017). Each unit of a language preserves a part of

the culture where this language exists. Lexical units are the most cumulative in this sense, being the most visible units that preserve a verbal image of a concept or an object that belongs to a language community holistically, and are easily accessed by all members of this community.

The world-image constructive function is responsible for “conceptualizing the world by means of a language” (Serebrennikova 2014: 196). The world around, according to Serebryannikova (2014), is understood as “the interaction of a human and the environment, which the human is conceptualizing, learning and structuring” (Serebrennikova 2014: 196). Another way to explain the world-image constructive function is to describe it as the language function that makes us see the world in the way we are “verbalized” to see it. This statement can be exemplified by the following: in Russian, there is a word *окно* [*okno*] (Eng. *window*) which has its origin in the Ancient Russian *око* [*oko*] that stands for an *eye* (Shaposhnikov 2010: 64—65). In English, a *window* has its origin in the Middle English *windowe* or earlier in the Old Norse *vindauga*, where *vindr* is *wind* and *auga* stands for an *eye* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Thus, we can conclude, that for Russian speakers [*okno*] is something through which we can see and thus it performs the same function as human eyes (metonymic transfer), while for English speakers, *window* is something through which we can see (metonymic transfer) with an additional component to the meaning: to see *the wind*. This example represents the difference in our worldviews (in our world pictures) determined by the language we speak and the culture which stands behind it. On the one hand, the culture is imprinted in words by determining their meanings, and, on the other hand the culture is preserved by words which can tell about the culture in the past (archaisms, historicism).

With the rapid increase of loanwords, the implementation of cumulative and world-image constructive functions becomes more loaded due to the possible involvement of loanwords in this process. On the one hand, each language adjusts to the changes in the surrounding world to reflect events and phenomena occurring in the sociocultural space in each individual period of its development and the employment of new words is a natural process. On the other hand, if the language as the verbal code of a culture accepts foreign language elements, then both the recipient language and the culture have to transform in a number of ways. Since languages are different in “how they encode reality” (Nagel & Koshkarova 2015: 728—729) or create its linguistic picture, thus, when languages establish a close contact, one of the results of which are borrowings, there arises the problem of changes in the original image of a culture as a cultural LPW starts its interaction with the borrowed units.

This interaction might lead both to the change of the verbal code of a culture through the replacement of the usual language elements by the borrowed ones, and to the loanwords’ conceptual adaptation to the recipient language.

2. Loanwords and recipient language interaction types

In this section we proceed to the principal part of the study and discuss the interaction types between a recipient language LPW with loanwords and the

influence of modern English loanwords on the change of the verbal code of the Russian language and Russian culture revealed by the synchronic and diachronic study of loanwords in Russian.

The first interaction type is the semantic adaptation of loanwords to the rules of the recipient language and culture, which results in a loanword meaning transformation. The second interaction type is connected with loanwords that indicate ideas and objects borrowed by the recipient culture, thus bring new semantic units to the host language and culture. The third subsection is devoted to the third interaction type allocated in the result of the study. In the third interaction type we include the loanwords that do not bring new semantic components to the recipient language but adapt to the host-language grammatically and substitute the existing lexical ways to express meaning. The result of the third interaction type is discussed through the prism of the “hybrid linguistic picture of the world” that raises the issue of changes in the Russian language’s verbal code which either accepts loanwords into its system (completely assimilated words) or lets them function as foreign elements preserving some traits of their source language form and meaning.

It is a well-known fact that loanwords undergo different types of assimilation in a host-language. The main types of assimilation are orthographic, grammatical, and semantic, which also have their subtypes. Orthographic assimilation is the adaptation of a borrowed word to the orthographic system of a host-language (Lisogub 2004, Nechaeva 2011: 11, Gabdreeva & Ageeva 2014: 224). Grammatical assimilation means that the loanwords adapt to the grammatical rules of the recipient language: adaptation to the declination and word-formation patterns (Vorob'eva 2009: 179). Semantic assimilation means that a recipient language “loans all semantic components of a loanword’s lexical meaning (denotative, significate, connotative, ethnocultural)” (Gabdreeva & Ageeva 2014: 224) with its further semantic adaptation resulting in either semantic expansion or restriction. The above-mentioned ways of assimilation take place during the first and second interaction types, but during the third interaction type there is the rejection of semantic adaptation though loanwords that undergo grammatical assimilation.

2.1. First Interaction Type

The first interaction type shows all types of a loanword assimilation: orthographic, grammatical, and semantic. The semantic assimilation during this type of interaction is the most distinct as the original meaning of a loaned lexical unit is partially or completely lost. Consequently, a loan word does not stand out as an alien word but looks and sounds common for the host-language speakers. Thus, this interaction type results in the loanwords changing or modifying their semantics under the influence of the LPW of the recipient language which accepted a loanword and transformed its meaning to its own requirement.

Semantic change is regarded as the semantic assimilation of a borrowing when in a recipient language it has a completely different meaning in comparison with its original one. Examples of such semantic assimilation are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Examples of semantic changes of foreign loanwords in Russian

Source language	Original form	Original semantics	Cyrillic and transliteration	Russian dictionary definition
Persian	<i>sarāi</i>	castle	<i>сарай [sarai]</i>	“Non-living premises for keeping garden working tools”. (TSOO)
French	<i>fouchette</i>	fork	<i>вилка [vilka]</i>	“Small standing party or reception with drinks and canapés”. (TSOO)
French	<i>vinaigrette</i>	“Cold sauce made with vinegar, oil and seasoning” (CD)	<i>винегрет [vinegret]</i>	1. “Cold salad made of chopped vegetables and sauced with vinegar, oil, and herbs”; 2. colloq. “A mix of unordered thoughts or mismatched objects”. (Shaposhnikov 2010a: 117)
French Polish	<i>honneur; honor</i>	pride	<i>зонар [gonor]</i>	Arrogance. (TSOO)
German	Der Gastarbei-ter	guest worker (DUDEN)	<i>гастарбай-тер [gastar-bait-er]</i>	“In modern Russia, a worker from the former Soviet Union republics and South-East Asia”. (Slovar'Academic)
English	<i>notebook</i>	a book for notes	<i>ноутбук [noutbuk]</i>	Laptop.
English	<i>lifting</i>	1. “The action of ending a rule or law” 2. “The action of moving something from a lower to a higher position” (CD)	<i>лифтинг [lifting]</i>	Face-lift.

Modification of meaning is a semantic transformation of a lexical unit with the original semantics of a loaned word to be partially preserved. Examples are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Examples of semantic modifications of foreign loanwords in Russian

Source language	Original form	Original semantics	Cyrillic and transcription	Russian semantic
German	<i>n. Die Schlange</i>	1. <i>n.</i> snake; 2. <i>n.</i> hosepipe, hose tube. (Shaposhnikov 2010: 545)	<i>шланг [shlang]</i>	<i>n.</i> Hosepipe, hose tube. (Shaposhnikov 2010: 545)
French	<i>n. cadet</i>	1. <i>adj.</i> junior (in a family, in the army); 2. <i>n.</i> “a student of a school with military training” (“élève, aspirant officier”) (Dictionnaire français en ligne gratuit).	<i>кадет [ca-det]</i>	<i>n.</i> “A student of a military school”. (TSOO)
French	<i>n. baiser</i>	1. <i>v.</i> to kiss. 2. <i>n.</i> a kiss	<i>безе [beze]</i>	1. <i>n.</i> Meringue; 2. <i>n., old.</i> A kiss.

Source language	Original form	Original semantics	Cyrillic and transcription	Russian semantic
English	<i>adj. nude</i>	1. Naked, without clothes. 2. Tone of clothes or make-up, the colors that are close to natural skin colors. (OLD)	нюдовый	Equal to 2.
English	<i>n. look</i>	1. A noun, meaning an action derived from a verb <i>to look</i> . 2. A process of looking for something or someone. 3. Face expression. 4. Fashion and style. 5. Image of a person especially if s/he is attractive. (OLD)	лук	Equal to 4 and 5 meanings.

To explain the usage of a word [*beze*] in Table 2 we need a historical context that led to the survival and active use of this word in Russian. This loanword originally was used in the meaning of *a kiss* (1—2), which was preserved due to N.V. Gogol's novel "Dead Souls" (1853):

(1) Russian: "Позволь, душа, я тебе вклею один бeze. Уж вы позволите, ваше превосходительство, поцеловать мне его. Да, Чичиков, уж ты не противься, одну **безешку** позволь напечатлеть тебе в белоснежную щеку твою!" (Gogol' 2017)

(2) English: "Let me imprint upon your cheeks a baiser or two. You will excuse me if I kiss him, will you not, your Excellency? No, do not resist me, Chichikov, but allow me to imprint at least one **baiser** upon your lily-white cheek." (Gogol')

To sum up, the first type of interaction results in a formal (orthographic and grammatical) and semantic adaptation of a loaned lexical unit to the structure of the recipient language and to the LPW of the language's native speakers. The cultural LPW is not only retained but also lexically enriched by new units, which in their turn have acquired the rules of the recipient language and can fulfil the cumulative and world-image constructive functions of the Russian language.

2.2. Second interaction type

The loanwords of the second interaction type demonstrate orthographic and grammatical assimilation but have disputable traces of a semantic assimilation. This type of interaction does not result in the same semantic assimilation of the loanwords as the first. In this type, English loanwords bring new semantics to the host-language and the recipient LPW. The interaction of the second type includes loanwords whose loaning is motivated by the borrowing of a new concept or an idea that brings changes to the common course of life within a recipient culture. With such loanwords the LPW of a recipient language loans a fragment of another picture of the world (Aitalieva 2013: 2) and is enriched by new culture-specific elements, which represent an element of "an alien worldview" (Aitalieva 2013: 3): Russ.

каршеринг [karshering] — Eng. *carsharing*; Russ. *скрапбукинг* [skrapbukiŋg] — Eng. *scrapbooking*; Russ. *спойлер* [spojler] — Eng. *spoiler*; Russ. *аутсорсинг* [autsorsing] — Eng. *outsourcing*; Russ. *стартап* [startap] — Eng. *startup*; Russ. *аутстаффинг* [autstaffing] — Eng. *outstaffing* etc.

This type of interaction can be seen in the word *supermarket* (Russ. *супермаркет*), which came into the Russian language from English, representing American culture. This word brought “an alien way of reality conceptualization” to the Russian world (Shmuner 2009: 140) and a new concept for Russian culture: “self-service as a form of trade” (Shmuner 2009: 140). This example belongs to the second interaction type between the Russian LPW and the English loanwords because it shows that loanwords bring new ways of reality conceptualization, and new ways of socio-cultural interaction between people. Such words represent not only the material objects, which were borrowed, but also the systems, ideas, and concepts that change both the life and worldview of the host-language community. Another such example is the word *privatization* (Russ. *приватизация*), which does not have such a material object to correspond to and does not implicate it, still this word is loaned “conceptually” as new, not typical for the recipient culture, and a way of organizing commercial relations.

The contrast between these English loanword examples is more obvious in the opposition with the words whose loaning is motivated by the corresponding material objects: Russ. *плеёр* [player] — Eng. *player*; Russ. *принтер* [printer] — Eng. *printer*; Russ. *степнер* [stepper] — Eng. *stepper*; Russ. *стенлер* [stapler] — *stapler*; Russ. *компьютер* [computer] — Eng. *computer*; Russ. *процессор* [protzessor] — Eng. *processor* etc.

To conclude, the loanwords of the second interaction type bring changes to the LPW by supplementing it with new ideas and concepts, which enables speakers of the host-language to broaden their worldview.

2.3. Third Interaction Type

The third interaction type, which we allocate through the synchronic and diachronic study of loanwords in Russian, is characterized by orthographic assimilation, rejection of semantic adaptation and active grammatical assimilation.

By the rejection of semantic adaptation we mean that new English loanwords entering the Russian language do not bring new objects, ideas, or concepts, but substitute the existing Russian words: п. *кэжуал* [kjezhual] — *adj. повседневный* [povsednevnyj]; п. *андеит* [ardejti] — *п. обновление* [obnovlenie]; п. *мастхэв* — [masthjev] — *обязательно иметь* [objazatel'no imet']. At the same time these words are actively adapting to Russian declination and conjunction paradigms and even producing new derivatives exploiting Russian morphemes, however they are stylistically marked and used in colloquial speech: п. *кэжуальность* [kjezhual'nost'] (in style) — *повседневность* [povsednevnost'], *adj. кэжуальный* [kjezhual'nyj] — equal to *кэжуал*; в. *андейтить* [ardejtit'] — *обновить* [obnovit']; *adj. мастхэвный* [masthjevnyj], п. *мастхэвность* [masthjevnost] —

equal to *обязательно иметь*. These two characteristics seem to be contradictory as one of the characteristics of the same lexical units shows the forcing of a host-language, and the other one represents the loanwords integration tendency. Thus, on the grounds of these characteristics, in the third interaction type, we single out two groups of loanwords: loanwords with **semantic substitution** and loanwords with **mixed morpheme structure**.

Loanwords with **semantic substitution** are the borrowed lexical units that substitute already existing words in the host-language. These words neither mean new ideas and concepts, which broaden the worldview of the recipient language speakers, nor name new material objects borrowed from another culture (Table 3). They show a different semantic component that can be expressed by a Russian equivalent, which is sometimes an earlier loanword.

Table 3

Examples of English loanwords with equivalents in Russian

English word	English loan-words in Cyrillic	RNC ² entries ³	RuTenTen ⁴ entries	Russian equivalent	RNC entries	RuTenTen entries
<i>coffee-break</i>	<i>кофе-брейк</i>	1—0	4 042	<i>перерыв</i> [pereryv]	2 115—4698	505 676
<i>developer</i>	<i>девелопер</i>	36—1012	3 785	<i>разработчик</i> [razrabotchik]	206—760	876 980
<i>draft</i>	<i>драфт</i>	32—481	2 522	<i>черновик</i> [chernovik]	340—133	30 682
<i>pattern</i>	<i>паттерн</i>	25—4	9 830	<i>шаблон</i> [shablon]	299—98	361 912
<i>trench/trench coat</i>	<i>тренч</i>	10—30	1 323	<i>плащ</i> [plashch]	2 799—369	162 268

The number of entries in the RNC are taken from general and journal sub-corpora because they include the largest number of contexts in comparison with the oral or multimedia sub-corpora. The number of entries for each word in pairs in RNC and RuTenTen corpora (RuTenTen) demonstrates ongoing competition between the words in the Russian language use. We have decided to show the results from the two corpora because they embrace different texts from different resources. The table illustrates that RuTenTen comprises a considerably bigger number of Russian Internet texts and consequently provides more word entries. For example,

² RNC — Russian National Corpus. The first RNC entries column refers to the English loanwords exemplified in the second column of the table. The second RNC entries column refers to the Russian equivalent exemplified in the fifth column of the table.

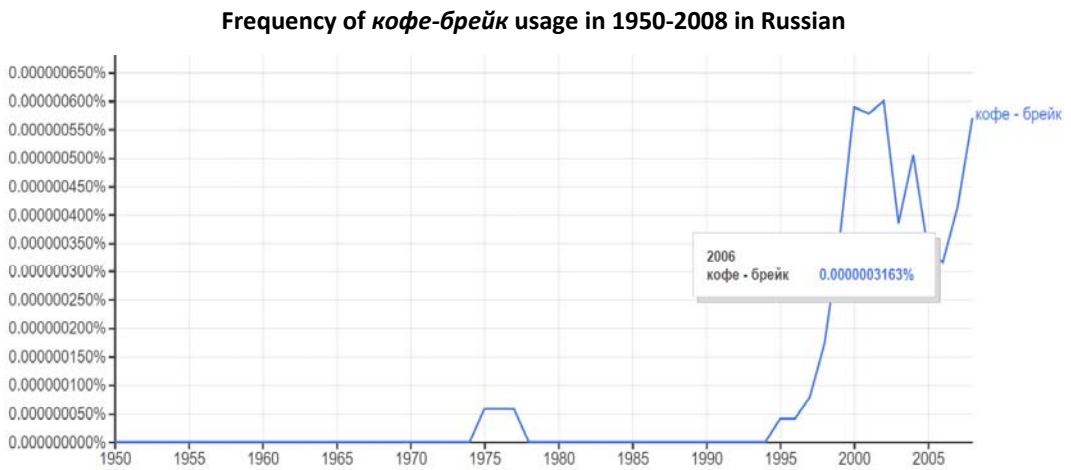
³ The first number in the column shows General sub-corpus entries, and the second number illustrates journal sub-corpora entries. The demonstrated data are retrieved from the RNC on 25.10.2019. (RNC)

⁴ The first RuTenTen entries column refers to the English loanwords in Cyrillic column. The second RuTenTen entries column demonstrates the Russian equivalents exemplified in the fifth column of the table.

in the case of *coffee break*, RNC shows only 0.02% of the RuTenTen data, though this loanword is widely used in Russian.

The analysis shows that some of the words were first loaned from English into Russian to define specific semantic aspects of an object that were not expressed by the Russian equivalents. For instance, *кофе-брейк* was borrowed to name a special type of a pause which happens during a conference for the participants to have a rest and usually drink coffee or tea. According to the Google Books Ngram Viewer data (see Picture 1), this word entered the Russian language in the mid-seventies but was not frequently used till the period of 1996—1999 when it demonstrates a sharp growth in usage.

Picture 1



In the ‘New Words and Meanings’ dictionary based on the periodicals and newspapers of the 90-ss (Burtseva 2014), this word is defined as follows (3—4).

(3) Russian: *Перерыв между заседаниями конференции, семинара, совещания, во время которого участникам предлагаются горячие напитки, бутерброды, печенье; кофе-пауза.* (Burtseva 2014: 283)

(4) English: *A pause between conference sections, seminars, meetings when participants are offered to get hot drinks, sandwiches, and cookies; coffee pause.*

This definition reveals a Russian equivalent, or an earlier assimilated borrowing, to the English loan part *break*, which is *пауза* in the meaning of a break in Russian and can be used as a synonym to *перерыв* provided in Table 3. The same dictionary defines *coffee pause* is an equivalent to *coffee break* (Burtseva 2014: 284).

Originally, *coffee break* means “a short rest from work in the morning or afternoon” (CD), according to both British and American English definitions of this word. This meaning roots to the mid-fifties in the USA when a break for a cup of coffee was introduced to a working day as a legal time for taking a rest (Hester

2015). This meaning refers more to the original Russ. *непрекур* [*perekur*] — Eng. *smoking break, time out*. The Russian *кофе-брейк* develops its context-defined semantics and gets to be used instead of the equivalent *перерыв* in particular modern contexts (5—6).

(5) Russian: *Если твои веки вот-вот сомкнутся, этот Volvo издаёт предупредительный звуковой сигнал и на приборной доске появляется изображение чашки, говорящее о том, что было бы неплохо остановиться на кофе-брейк или просто отдохнуть.* (Panov 2013)

(6) English: *If you are to close your eyes, Volvo gives you a warning sound and an image of a cup appears on the dash-board. It means that you should stop for a coffee break or take a rest.*

Despite the fact that the word *перерыв* has much more entries in RNC and RuTenTen, the word *кофе-брейк* demonstrates a steady increase of frequency in broader contexts.

The existence of such words or “buzzwords” (Chen Huan 2017: 765) is grounded in a “language fashion” which is one of the universal reasons for loanword usage (Bogdanova 2015: 45, D'yakov 2001: 152, Krysin 2008, Szabolcs 2009: 48). Even though English loanwords bring new synonyms to the Russian language, they do not seem to be semantically assimilated in the sense that other loanwords undergo semantic adaptation. This results in the simultaneous existence of words of equal semantic value, which constitute a hybrid lexical mosaic of the Russian language when semantically equal words are competing for the same place in the lexical structure.

This process is visible in the language of Russian immigrants in English speaking countries. Surrounded by the English language, Russian speakers have to make a choice between two language structures: native and customary or foreign and practical. The words of a foreign language become practical abroad, but the components of a native language remain customary for expressing emotions and the attitude to the object. This leads to the production of words with mixed morpheme structure: English roots with Russian affixes.

In the history of Russian language studies **words of mixed morpheme structure** are called hybrid words. With respect to Russian, hybrid words are “foreign root derivatives with Russian affixes” (Zemskaya 2003). Such words were used in the speech of Russian immigrants in the USA in the 1990s, among whom 99,3% said that they speak Russian and do not know English at all (Zemskaya 2003). (Table 4).

Obviously, such words with hybrid morphemic structure appear in speech when there is a close contact of both two languages and cultures. This is the case of Russian speakers living in the USA: the Russian community in the English language and American culture.

Table 4

Examples of hybrid words of Russian immigrants in the USA

Source word	Cyrillic hybrid word, transliteration and morpheme structure explanation	Hybrid word semantic
<i>n. bedroom</i>	<i>adj. трёхбедрумный [tryochbedroomniy]</i>	a home with three bedrooms
	<i>трёх (1 Russ. root) + бед (2 Eng.root) + рум (3 Eng.root) + н (Russ.adj.suffix) + ый (Russ. masculine adj. flection)</i>	
<i>v. to afford</i>	<i>v. аффордить [affordyt']</i>	to afford
	<i>аффорд (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	
<i>n. cash</i>	<i>v. окешить [okeshit']</i>	to spend cash
	<i>о (Russ. verb prefix) + кеш (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	

Nowadays, words of a similar morpheme structure appear in the Russian language in Russia as well (without the physical surroundings of an English language community or a culture corresponding to English as a native one). The cases enumerated in Table 5 show the hybrid nature of the words which Russian speakers make up with Russian derivatives; such words are constructed of loaned roots and Russian affixes. These lexical units are not caused by interference or bilingual usage of English words in Russian, as was described (Zemskaya 2003) when native Russian speakers were placed in an English language community and were creating words using the material of both languages. These are hybrid English origin words in the modern Russian language in Russia.

Table 5

Examples of hybrid English origin words in modern Russian in Russia

Source word	Cyrillic hybrid word, transliteration and morpheme structure explanation	Hybrid word semantic
<i>v. to parse</i>	<i>v. парсить [parsit']</i>	to analyze data with computer programs
	<i>парс (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	
<i>n. a piercing</i>	<i>adj. пирсинговый [pirsingovy]</i>	adjective corresponding to a piercing (piercing shop, piercing salon)
	<i>пирс (Eng. root) + инг (Eng. suffix) + ов (Russ. adj. suffix) + ый (Russ. masculine adj. flection)</i>	
<i>n. to google</i>	<i>v. гуглить [guglit']</i>	to search for something on the internet (not only in a Google browser)
	<i>гугл (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	
	<i>v. нагуглить [naguglit']</i>	to have something googled/found on the internet
	<i>на (Russ. verb prefix) + гугл (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	
<i>v. загуглить [zaguglit']</i>	to will have googled/found on the internet	
<i>n. a selfie</i>	<i>v. селфить [selfit']</i>	to take selfies
	<i>селф (Eng. root) + и (Russ. verb suffix) + ть (Russ. verb flection)</i>	

Evidently, every structural element of such hybrid lexical units has its own functional and semantic features, though the motivation of such lexical semantics formation is not clear; the Russian language gives birth to words whose meaning cannot be understood from their inner structure. For those Russian speakers who do not speak English the explanation of the hybrid words requires translation, which reveals the existence of Russian equivalents. The existence of hybrid morpheme structure words in the modern Russian language can be explained by the tendency of the host language to assimilate the English loanwords by making them more common for native Russian speakers.

Thus, by a hybrid LPW we mean a cultural LPW, which represents the worldviews and values of two lingua-culture communities simultaneously. It is the result of competition between loanwords and the recipient LPW. On the one hand, loanwords tend to be useful in a host language without changing their meaning, but by changing the recipient language lexical structure and introducing lexical units with already existing semantics that need not to be modified. On the other hand, a host language tries to adapt new words and concepts to the recipient language structure, to make them more common for the host language speakers. For this the host language uses its ability to subordinate the loanwords to its grammatical rules.

3. Conclusion

Through the example of the Russian language the synchronic and diachronic study revealed the existence of different interaction types between the loanwords and the recipient language picture of the world. The first interaction type is the loanwords adaptation to the host language: the LPW dominance over the borrowed lexical units. The second interaction type is the loanwords' dominance over the LPW, which results in bringing new objects, concepts and ideas to the host language. The third interaction type showed that loanwords are able to influence the change of the recipient language's verbal code of culture by substituting the existing lexical equivalents. However, the third interaction type also represents the rejection of the loanwords to be adapted to the recipient language and the LPW, and the language forcing this adaptation through its derivative ability. This interaction type demonstrates the development of the hybrid language picture of the world in the Russian language caused by an active process of English loanword adaptation and, thus, requires further thorough study and examination.

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**РЕЦЕНЗИЯ
BOOK REVIEW**

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Book review

**Review of Ponton, Douglas Mark. 2020.
*Understanding Political Persuasion:
Linguistic and Rhetorical Analysis.* Vernon Press.
Series in Language and Linguistics**

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Рецензия

**Рецензия на книгу Ponton, Douglas Mark.
*Understanding Political Persuasion: Linguistic
and Rhetorical Analysis.* Vernon Press.
Series in Language and Linguistics (2020)**

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1. Introduction

The book under review is a textbook at the crossroads of Rhetoric, Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis, Historiography and Culture

Studies, by Professor Douglas Mark Ponton, University of Catania, Italy. It spans 227 pages making up 10 chapters and a useful subject index. The overall objective of the book is to synthesize relevant literature in the above-mentioned disciplines and apply the ensuing analytic toolkit to a selection of diachronically influential texts. In so doing, Ponton has recourse to a rigorous analytical protocol that methodologically (1) provides historical, cultural, and political contextual information, (2) offers theoretical considerations, and (3) shares his interpretation, findings, and concluding remarks through a close reading of the selected texts. The present critical review is structured as follows. First, it provides a synopsis of the various parts of the book, with a view to highlighting its major contributions. Second, it opens up theory-informed horizons for a learned discussion of the major stakes raised by the book.

2. Hot Issues to Reckon with: New Challenges & Future Prospects

One of the main merits of this book is that it raises a number of vital issues in current Discourse Analytic theory. In the following part, some of the ensuing stakes will be outlined and discussed as issues posing new challenges and highlighting the need for future research. The hottest issue is that of the rhetorics of social resistance.

3. Rhetorics of Social Resistance

Ott (2011, pp. 334—335) contends that, although in the early years, social movement criticism “tended to stress the radical, the revolutionary, and the extreme,” in the ensuing decades, scholars observed that the rhetorical modes and means of effecting social change vary greatly by cultural and historical context. This author insists that symbolic actions that promote and bring about social change need not be drastic and confrontational, nor do they need be especially unified, organized, or even intentional. Consequently, Ott warns against treating the discourses of dissension on a given social issue as a “movement” as that would dangerously risk homogenizing a diverse set of voices, viewpoints, and volitions under a single label, motive, and purpose. Ott (2011, p. 335) proposes the notion of rhetorics of social resistance (RSR) to account for the expanding range of practices that once fell comfortably under the umbrella of social movement rhetoric. This author acknowledges the difficulty to define the concept of resistance as it is frequently invoked by critics without careful explication or reflection. Ott, therefore, defines resistance as any discourse, performance, or aesthetic practice, which through its symbolic and/or material enactment, transgresses, subverts, disrupts, and/or rebels against the social codes, customs, and/or conventions that, through their everyday operation, create, sustain, and naturalize the prevailing relations of power in a particular time and place. Whilst acknowledging the diversity of the possible modes of resistance, Ott calls for a mapping of those possibilities along the intersecting axes of agent (individual/collective) and action (coordinated/disjointed).

Ott (2011, pp. 343—344) associates publicity with the strategic rhetorical efforts of a person or group to frame the public’s perception of a subject. This author

foregrounds the mediated role of resistive rhetorics in promoting social change. The discourse and actions of individuals or groups pass through the filter of the media (both mainstream and alternative) where they are distorted, altered, and transformed by attendant discourses and commentary. The material effects of transgressive rhetorics are neither simple nor direct; to understand the role of rhetoric in social change, Ott insists on the absolute need to take into consideration the ways in which they are managed, mitigated, and manipulated.

For Ott (2011, pp. 344—345), Rhetoric is defined by its capacity to effect change in the attitudes, values, and beliefs of individuals and the rules, rituals, and norms of collectives. Evaluating rhetoric's consequentiality is an important but challenging enterprise, as it raises questions and concerns about what counts as suitable evidence of rhetoric's influence and effects. Therefore, Ott (2011, pp. 344—345) urges scholars of dissension to explore the full range of rhetorical modalities available to those who would challenge or subvert the prevailing social codes and structures. This requires attention to the mode of expression (e.g., visual, oral, tactile), the medium/context of transmission (e.g., immediate, mediated, virtual), and the means/mechanism of enactment (e.g., symbolicity, embodied performance, built/constructed environment). However, as the technologies of communication continue to converge and change, so, too, will the modes by which resistance is carried out. So, critics need to be vigilant in recognizing and (re)mapping rhetoric's ever-evolving modalities. Mediated and immediate transgressive acts engage and involve audiences differently.

Research is increasingly foregrounding the importance of affect. To this effect, Ott (2011, pp. 344—345) argues that resistive social rhetorics, which often foreground visceral appeals, are uniquely suited for exploring the emotive dimensions of politics and social change. How, for instance, do televisual images of the non-violent actions of protestors or the violent actions of single issue extremists move us at a bodily level? Moreover, Ott (2011, pp. 344—345) contends that rhetoric is a situated activity, one that is profoundly shaped by the time and place of its enactment. Serious engagements with resistive rhetorics need carefully to consider not only the cultural moment, but also the cultural emplacement of symbolic action. But critics need to investigate the role of spatiality in rhetorics of social resistance as well. How, for instance, do protestors with signs standing on the sidewalk differ from protestors with signs marching down the street? How is an act of resistance altered when it moves from the open, public space of the street to the semi-public space of the church or business to the interior, private space of a home to the networked, virtual space of Facebook? The next direction of research is the interface with technology.

4. Synopsis of the book

Right from the very introductory chapter, the author notices that the question of how political speakers attempt to persuade their listeners has informed much of modern political discourse analysis (Nöth, 1995, p. 339). It was recognized that the

ability to use words to sway an assembly was the politician's chief weapon; and the characteristic form of political debate, in much Greco-Roman oratory, was the genus deliberativum, which required a pro/con debate, on the basis of which decisions were taken. It was imperative, then, for any politician to master what Aristotle called the forms of persuasion (Ponton, 2020, p. 1). Ponton also points out that, though one feature of the pro-con debate is undoubtedly the discussion of various possible responses to real-world situations, the pragmatic purpose of much persuasive rhetoric is not to obtain a specific result but to influence 'the hearts and minds' of hearers, creating a diffuse consensus for the speaker's preferred ideology or belief system (Bermejo-Luque, 2011, p. 73).

In the modern world, Ponton argues, political rhetoric clearly has a role to play in spreading beliefs that, though they may not affect the immediate vote, may make their contribution to an ongoing, mediated, nationwide or even global debate at semi-conscious levels of political ideology. These processes may, clearly, produce concrete results for a political party at the next electoral consultation (Ponton, 2020, p. 2).

Ponton devotes some space to the discussion of the Aristotelian perspective on persuasion: ethos, or the respect engendered by the speaker's character (Aristotle, 1954, p. 91); pathos, the appeal to the emotions (Aristotle, 1954, p. 25) and logos, the rational argument advanced (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 9). The importance of these three factors is, arguably, as great today as in ancient Greece. Ponton explains that it is necessary for politicians to preserve an untarnished image though such factors are highly culture-specific. The persuasive force of any particular message will clearly be augmented if the speaker has a positive ethos, as was the case with Malcolm X with the black community in Harlem. However, Aristotle regards logos, or reason, as the orator's chief persuasive resource. The argumentation force of a speech mostly consists of the reasons that support the orator's favored solutions, making it persuasive to listeners. Ponton's argument is that Aristotle's categories, then, offer approaches to text analysis that have not been supplanted altogether by more modern methodologies, and the notions of ethos, pathos and logos are central to the concept of persuasive political discourse advanced throughout the book (Ponton, 2020, p. 4).

Ponton is alert to the need to define some key terms which are: evaluation, engagement and alignment. Each represents a component of persuasive political discourse. Evaluation refers to the positive or negative statements advanced by speakers, thereby revealing a system of 'values', which may be aesthetic or axiological, according to the topic: politicians praise some policies, people or aspects of a situation whilst they denigrate others. Engagement describes the way the speaker represents other views than his own. Alignment refers to the attempt to persuade the audience to adopt the speaker's own views. Ponton cites Fairclough (2003, p. 173) to argue that evaluative language has a central role to play in much more persuasive political rhetoric. Ponton uses the Appraisal Framework proposed by

Martin and White (2005) to classify the references in this book (Hunston and Thompson, 2003, p. 142).

The author discusses what he terms ‘Tokens’ of Affect according to which emotion/affect is viewed as the basis for all our evaluations; references to a speaker’s emotional response can be via explicit emotive lexis as in “I am proud of all who have fought on my orders”. However, Affect can be “invoked, where the emotion is implicit in a stretch of text with no apparent reference to the emotional sphere (Martin and White 2005, p. 62), as in Churchill’s address to the London crowd on VE day saying: “so we came back after long months from the jaws of death, out of the mouth of hell, while all the world wondered”. In this example, there is no explicit reference to the emotion, yet the probable rhetorical aim is to move the hearers to a profound sense of relief, mingled with pride at having achieved so much (Ponton, 2020, p. 7). Such references are termed ‘tokens’ and would be signaled, in this case, as t (token) + Aff: security/satisfaction.

Ponton stresses the idea that the interpretation of tokens is more useful if they are not seen as isolated fragments of meaning but rather viewed as threads in a verbal/textual tapestry; as part of an overall rhetorical design that may include allusions, jokes, body language gesture, and so on. Ponton moves, then, to the evaluation of Churchill’s address to VE crowd by underscoring explicit Affect, together with their tokens. On the other hand, the semantic field covered by Judgement propositions deals with speakers’ assessment of human behavior, which can be positive or negative. Ponton proposes a framework for analyzing Judgment in English based on Martin and White (2005, p. 53), where a basic distinction is made between evaluations relating to ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’, which grade judgments according to the perceived gravity of the behavior in question. Conversely, evaluations of objects or naturally occurring phenomena are dealt with under the system of Appreciation. Martin and White (2005, p. 56) outline five basic categories, again with positive and negative polarities, organized as reaction (impact), reaction (quality), composition (balance), composition (complexity) and valuation.

As for Graduation, lexis can be graded according to its perceived level of intensity, via a process of selection from a range of options: low, median, or high. Martin and Rose (2003, p. 38) say that there seem to be more resources in English for ‘turning up’ the ‘volume’ than for turning it down. As regards Engagement, the Appraisal Framework’s work on engagement is inspired by Bakhtin/Volosinov’s work in this field (White, 2003, p. 259). Texts respond to other texts; they anticipate possible objections, answer points made by other speakers, dispute conclusions or propositions, and so on (Ponton, 2020, p. 11).

Finally, for Alignment, it refers to the way a speaker attempts to bring his audience ‘into line’ with his own views. Ponton takes it for granted that the attempt to achieve alignment is a component of most, if not all, persuasive political rhetoric. In other words, speakers use their rhetorical and other gifts in an effort to bring their listeners around to their way of thinking. Ponton stresses the fact that the application of the appraisal tools to the construction of rhetorical alignment is not the only or

the best way to approach political discourse; indeed, there are other methods for exploring such questions that will be covered in other chapters of the book and it is a personal choice to use one method over another (Ponton, 2020, p. 15).

It transpires from the above synopsis that Chapter One tackles a very important topic which is mainly political persuasion and its various mechanisms. Politicians all over the world resort to persuasion in order to achieve their goals. Thus, political persuasion has become an undeniable truth that needs understanding and clarification. Modern political discourse analysis focuses on how political speakers tend to persuade their listeners. This chapter tries to elucidate the power of spoken words relying on Aristotle's notions and the Greek Context of Ancient Greek polis, where oratory played a crucial role in the political life. However, with modern parliamentary democracies, this notion has become less important as debates are considered as responses to a real-world situation. Thus, the major purpose is not to achieve goals but to influence the listeners' hearts and minds of a specific ideology or a certain belief. Though today's parliamentary democracies do not focus on the power of rhetoric, ethos, pathos and logos will always be deciphered in persuasive political discourses, as speakers tend to use different strategies in an effort to influence their listeners' way of thinking.

5. Review of single chapter

One of the chapters, Chapter Six, is now reviewed in detail as a sample of the book as a whole:

In an approach mixing ethno-history and rhetoric, Chapter Six involves two religious leaders of the African American community in the 1960s, namely Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK henceforth) and Malcolm X. They were contemporary of one another and they adopted a type of discourse tinted with obvious political and ideological connotations. Yet, they maintained diametrically opposed stances as to social integration. In this respect, MLK downplayed discrimination and called for an accommodative attitude, whereas X wanted separation from white society.

In this comparative inquiry, Ponton makes a non-random selection of passages from his speakers' respective statements based on his rhetorical assumptions. The latter hold that the in-group/out-group interplay reflects two distinct persuasive strategies. It was unsurprisingly aloofness in the case of X, and rapprochement in that of MLK. Nonetheless, Ponton asserts that these strategies were successful; because both of them relied on the ideological symbiosis between each speaker and his specific audience. Besides, both strategies, too, according to Ponton, included (1) argumentation, (2) evaluative language, (3) and affect as rhetorical techniques of persuasion for such a type of politico-religious discourse, so as to convey either X's virulent invective or MLK's conciliatory message.

6. Conclusion

To sum up, then, Ponton's book is a very useful textbook for students of Politics, Culture Studies, Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Studies, Historiography

and Pragmatics. Its merit is its reader-friendliness as it synthesizes serious theoretical issues in a simple style without claiming to substitute the major contributions. Rather, researchers interested in further deeper theoretical studies will be motivated to take the book as a springboard, an appetizer for more demanding specialized investigations. As for laymen, the book is of paramount utility as it demonstrates through its practical analyses how to make good use of the synthesized theories. All in all, it is a valuable contribution to knowledge and I would strongly recommend it.

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Book review

Review of Mustajoki, Arto Samuel, Ekaterina Protassova and Maria N. Yelenevskaya (eds.). 2020. *The Soft Power of the Russian Language. Plucentricity, Politics and Policies*. Abingdon: Routledge. ISBN 9780367183660

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Рецензия

Рецензия на книгу Mustajoki, Arto Samuel, Ekaterina Protassova and Maria N. Yelenevskaya (eds.). *The Soft Power of the Russian Language. Plucentricity, Politics and Policies*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020. ISBN 9780367183660

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As the 20th-century French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu suggests, there are four different forms of capital: economic capital (money and ownership), cultural capital (education), social capital (social networks and relationships) and symbolic capital

(prestige). This book is about the Russian language as a “soft power” tool, according to the book’s title, but I would propose that it is more about Russian as a *capital*, if we look specifically at the titles of the sections: Part 1. “Russian as a communicative tool: lingua franca, intermediary or something else?”, Part 2. “The Russian-language legacy”, Part 3. “The Russian-speaking diaspora”, and Part 4. “New trends in the functioning of the Russian language”. In other words, the book deals with the status of Russian and the planning of the status. It is about corpus planning and acquisition planning, top-down and bottom-up, providing a wide range of examples, from both the official and the grass-roots levels. This collection allows the reader to travel around the globe in search of Russian’s soft power in a variety of countries: in the post-Soviet area (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), in Western Europe (France, Germany, Finland, Great Britain and Sweden) and in countries closely related to Russia culturally, historically and economically through past or recent intensive migration (the US, Canada and Cyprus) and/or through membership in political and economic unions and strategic partnerships (in South America). Japan can be considered a cherry on the cake in this beautiful mosaic of countries.

This volume consists of 21 chapters and the above-mentioned four parts follow one another logically. In my review, I comment upon what was missing for me as a reader (especially in Part 2).

Arto Mustajoki, Ekaterina Protassova, and Maria Yelenevskaya make an attempt to list the challenges of the pluricentric development of Russian, while highlighting the linkages among the varieties of the Russian language away from the Metropolis, as they state on page 9: “the main contribution of the volume in advancing the theory of linguistic pluricentricity by providing a multifaceted and empirically based description of the varieties of Russian differing in the status and vitality, intensity of use in the public sphere and relevance for the speakers’ identity”. In this collection, there are lots of modern instances of the close connections among the diaspora and mainstream Russian languages, identity, and challenging and sometimes dramatic attitudes. Unfortunately, there is no concluding chapter to summarise how the Russian-speaking speech communities, diasporas and individuals try to build their multiple identities as they cope with the demands of their particular states’ official legislation and actual linguistic environments.

Vladimir M. Alpatov illuminates the history of the internationalisation of the Russian language and concludes that interests in alphabet and script choice arise with changes in the political and cultural orientations of ruling elites. This chapter seems a little out of date, as Alpatov says “a new cycle of instability might be ahead leading to Latinization in Kazakhstan” (page 19), although Latinisation of the Kazakh alphabet started in 2017 (as loudly declared with the aim of consolidating the Kazakh national identity, but in fact it may have been merely an attempt by pro-Western politicians to take Kazakhstan out of the linguistic and cultural influence of the Russian Federation). This chapter is short but it is a good brief introduction

to Soviet language legislation patterns that might be used with undergraduate students when discussing Soviet top-down language policy and bottom-up reactions to it.

Implicit in the chapter on the democratisation of Russian by Arto Mustajoki is the idea that the evolution of contemporary Russia's Russian can be seen as an instrumental tool, as it allows standard Russian to expand with the help of loanwords, new creations and the linguistic creativity of its speakers. Here presidents of Russia are mentioned as triggers for the "brutal and colloquial lexicon" exposure in the case of Putin, and a rise in the popularity of "youth slang" due to Medvedev. While reading this chapter, I had a feeling that the reason it was written was Mustajoki's desire to overcome the compelling ignorance of many Russian linguists, as well as of official language policy makers, that different varieties of Russian have clearly been emerging in their own speech communities.

There is still a developing (although more popular than scientific) discourse about the differences, not necessarily clearly either linguistic or cultural, between Russia's Russian-speakers and Russian-speaking diasporas (or communities). The second part of this exciting book introduces the Russian-language legacy in post-Soviet countries with substantial or even only small numbers of Russians and Russian-speaking communities which appeared there for different historical-political reasons in the past, and especially during the Soviet era. I remember very well my personal interactions with Aneta Pavlenko, who made the first efforts to put together an overview of Russian language use and the current Russian state from the departure point of the break-up of the USSR in 1991 (see Pavlenko 2008). She mentioned the challenge of finding authors in the particular countries who dealt with specific questions as insiders or outsiders. Here again some countries are missing, in particular Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Reading the second part of the book, one wishes to get acquainted with the ways post-Soviet countries are similar but also different in top-down policies and bottom-up language practices with regard to these countries' titular languages, as well as Russian and minority languages. How have official and grassroots attitudes towards these languages changed? What are the levels of Russian language maintenance and to what degree have titular- and Russian-language speakers shifted to the titular languages in everyday practices?

Russians form a group that differs from typical immigrant communities in having been a dominant group which has lost its high status, but their situation also differs from typical postcolonial settings in that the Russian language has not retained its powerful position. Consider Blommaert (2013: 40), who rightly acknowledges that "communication in the public space is communication in a field of power". In terms of reaching some general conclusions, there are rich empirical materials presented in the book being reviewed: these expand and show how Russian reinforces and implements new forms in the public sphere, also touching upon some dark sides of nationalism in newly independent states, where institutional and

non-official support is enjoyed by the regained and reinvigorated impetus of official languages.

If we turn to the titles of the nine chapters for more detailed examples, these are “Language Policy in Relation to the Russian Language in Georgia before and after the Dissolution of the Soviet Union” by Kakha Gabunia and Ketevan Gochitashvili, “Russian in Armenia: Between Thriving and Surviving” by Suren T. Zolyan and Karen S. Hakobyan, “Russian in Azerbaijan: Changing Practices and Emerging Paradigms” by Jala Garibova, “Variability in the Russian Diaspora Speech of Estonia” by Jelisaveta Kostandi, Irina Külmoja and Oksana Palikova, “The Russian Language in Latvia—The Historic Linguistic Situation” by Pāvels Jurs and Alīda Samuseviča, “The Russian Language of the Lithuanian Republic as Reflected in Mass Media Discourse” by Birute Sinochkina, “The Russian Language in Belarus and Ukraine” by Jan Patrick Zeller and Dmitri Sitchinava, “The Russian Language in Kazakhstan in the 21st Century” by Damina Shaibakova, and “Russian Language in Kyrgyzstan: Status, Functioning and Collisions between Languages” by Mamed D. Tagaev and Ekaterina Protassova. Part 2 covers 10 countries, as Ukraine and Belarus are combined into one case study. I will discuss the book’s title later but I believe that probably in *Soft Power of Russian* there is no independent study on Ukraine, which is sad because sociolinguistics as a scientific branch must be an independent enterprise, not an area of political manipulation. But there is a problem with “soft power”, as all sociolinguists know the expression from the famous Yiddish expert and linguist Max Weinreich, who said that “a language is a dialect with an army and navy”. Some languages have soft power, while others do not. What I as a meticulous reader particularly missed in Part 2 were cross-references among the case studies, although I do understand that the editors and the authors were trying to briefly show intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic forces at work in sociolinguistic situations and the social life of Russians in the former USSR countries included in the volume (probably a reader should have the background to make such connections independently).

Part of the ideological underpinning is the discussion about the Russian-speaking diaspora and the preservation of its linguistic and cultural heritage. Strong networks support language and cultural maintenance, while weak ties lead to language and identity shift. Collectivistic cultures have stronger networks than individualistic cultures, and Russian culture is considered to be collectivist according to Hofstede’s definition. Typical observations are provided in Part 3 by Irina Kor Chahine in “The Russian Language in France: from the Russian Community to the National Education System”; by Katharina Hamann, Kai Witzlack-Makarevich and Nadja Wulff in “Russian in Germany”; by Johanna Viimaranta in “Russian and its Speakers in Finland”, by Veronika Makarova in “The Russian Language in Canada”, by Olga Rovnova in “The Russian Dialects Outside Russia: The Situation in South America”; and by Oksana Morgunova (Petrunko) and Renat T. Zinnurov in “Connected by Digital Imagination: Discourses of Belonging and Community Building of Rusophone Migrants in the USA and Great Britain”.

Although power relations, the overt and covert prestige of Russian and titular or mainstream languages, ideologies, discourses about these languages, shared values etc. matter, we cannot always predict what will occur in everyday multilingual communication. When a reader turns to matters of the Russian language presented under the *new trends* [my emphasis — A.Z.] in its functioning, it becomes clear that a closer look at *individual* [my emphasis — A.Z.] language planning allows the reader to find new facts. Without an investigation of individual multilingual oral/writing practices and repertoires, it is impossible to get a full picture of the (non-)transmission of Russian and concrete examples might be drawn from the following topics discussed in the book's Part IV: Russian as a heritage language in the context of immigration (Tanya Ivanova-Sullivan), family language policy based on the example of Cyprus and Sweden (Natalia Ringblom and Sviatlana Karpava), and Russian as foreign language education in Japanese high schools (Sachiko Yokoi Horii).

To be honest, the only thing that I totally dislike (perhaps even despise) about this book is its title: *The Soft Power of the Russian Language*. In our world of binary oppositions and prototypically exclusive dimensions, i.e. soft vs. hard, and power vs. weakness (inability, incapacity and impotence), I would rather talk about Russian language *ecology* (and especially, considering Einar Haugen's theory of the ecology of language (1972), *speakers*, who are important as they *learn* the language, *use* it and *transmit* it to others). Probably the editors had a similar feeling because on page 10 they say that they “hope that a panoramic view of the *ecology of Russian* [my emphasis — A.Z.] today will contribute to a greater tolerance among readers for language variation” but the use of the term was due to (probably political) fashion. It is especially funny to hear about Russian *soft power* in the discourse of Russia's elites as it is considered to involve gatherings around a samovar in numerous Russkiy Mir Foundation houses across the globe. To cite John Edwards (2009: 25), who slightly adapted Orwell (1945/1965: 178): “one has to belong to intelligentsia to produce or respond favourably to this sort of thing; no ordinary person could be so silly.” Maybe one day the understanding that it is indeed natural that the changing nature of Russian, its variability and especially its market-driver commodification in service-oriented industries is hardly compatible with standardisation, and prestige is confronted by authenticity in a multilingual global market, where languages as symbolic linguistic resources have gained salience and value. This understanding will be facilitated by the insights provided by this contribution (hopefully among future readers).

Arto Mustajoki, Ekaterina Protassova and Maria Yelenevskaya state without a trace of doubt that the “Russian diaspora could never boast a unity of goals and attitudes to the country of origin. It is the language and the desire to maintain it that have always served as the diaspora's primary unifying factor” (page 5). Here I would add that as a language is the core of culture and both enables people to reduce their uncertainty and to feel a sense of belonging (and people do need an emotional attachment to a collective group either in the country where they live or abroad), it

would be fantastic to have somebody edit a collection of *Russian culture transmissions* (but bottom-up, among ordinary individuals, not with the help of all those “cultural institutions”) across the same choice of countries and even in new regions. This is interesting to consider in our contemporary globalised society, where the number of mixed families is increasing. In many of these micro-collectives Russian functions as one of the arbitrary elements of shared communication, or a semiosphere. The mode of communication and the experience of such families will definitely have an impact on the intergenerational transmission of the Russian language(s) and culture(s).

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