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**Modern Languages and Cultures: Varieties, Functions
and Ideologies in Cognitive Perspective**

G u e s t E d i t o r s **Marina I. SOLNYSHKINA and Habibullah PATHAN**

**Современные языки и культуры:
вариативность, функции и идеологии
в когнитивном аспекте**

П р и г л а ш е н н ы е р е д а к т о р ы **М.И. СОЛНЫШКИНА, Х. ПАТХАН**

RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

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Modern Languages and Cultures: Varieties, Functions and Ideologies in the Cognitive Perspective

Современные языки и культуры: вариативность, функции и идеологии в когнитивном аспекте

CONTENTS / СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Book reviews

Anniversaries

Introductory article / Вступительная статья

Variety and functional diversity of modern discourse in cognitive perspective

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Abstract

The article offers a concise summary of problems dealing with the multidisciplinary paradigm of modern cognitive linguistics research discussed at VI Firsova Readings "Modern Languages and Cultures: Varieties, Functions, Ideologies in a Cognitive Perspective" (19–21 October, 2023, RUDN University, Moscow). It highlights the most relevant issues which include linguistic means of conceptualization and categorization, critical and positive discourse analysis, environmental thinking, pragmatics of gestures, multimodality, cognitive perspectives of intercultural communication and translation studies, discourse markers taxonomy, IT and cognitive studies, transdisciplinary methods in the study of language and cognition, among others. We aim to illuminate the advantages of the cognitive paradigm and trace new directions in its development. The articles included in this Issue and authored by the conference participants illustrate a broad range of cognitive studies drawn on different methods and conducted on diverse datasets. They clearly demonstrate that the cognitive perspective enables scholars not only to present and describe the phenomena under study but also to offer explanations to the findings and trace correlation between language, cognition and communication. This article also discusses the prospects for further research in the area.

Keywords: *cognitive linguistics, cognitive studies, sociolinguistics, multidisciplinarity, multimodality*

Вариативность и функциональное многообразие дискурса в когнитивном аспекте

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Аннотация

В статье освещаются проблемы, рассматриваемые в рамках мультидисциплинарной парадигмы современных лингвокогнитивных исследований, которые обсуждались на VI Фирсовых чтениях «Современные языки и культуры: вариативность, функции, идеологии в когнитивном аспекте» (19–21 октября 2023 г., РУДН, Москва). К наиболее актуальным проблемам относятся лингвистические средства концептуализации и категоризации действительности, критический и позитивный дискурс-анализ, экологическое мышление, прагматика жестов, мультимодальность, когнитивные аспекты межкультурной коммуникации и перевода, таксономия дискурсивных маркеров, информационные технологии и когнитивные исследования, трансдисциплинарные методы изучения языка и сознания и т. д. Цель статьи – осветить преимущества когнитивной парадигмы исследований и проследить новые направления в ее развитии. Статьи, вошедшие в этот номер и написанные участниками конференции, иллюстрируют широкий спектр когнитивных исследований, проводимых с использованием разнообразного материала и на основе различных методов. Они демонстрируют, что когнитивная перспектива позволяет ученым не только представлять и описывать изучаемые явления, но и предлагать объяснения полученным результатам и прослеживать корреляцию между языком, сознанием и коммуникацией. Также в статье намечены перспективы дальнейших исследований в данной области.

Ключевые слова: *когнитивная лингвистика, когнитивные исследования, социолингвистика , мультидисциплинарность, мультимодальность*

I. Introduction

This Special Issue deliberates on some topics of cognitive linguistics and related fields which were discussed at the international conference VI Firsova Readings "Modern Languages and Cultures: Varieties, Functions, Ideologies in a Cognitive Perspective" held on 19–21 October, 2023 at the RUDN University, Moscow. Firsova Readings are regularly held in honour of Nataliya M. Firsova, renowned Russian scholar in the field of Spanish linguistics and intercultural communication who was an honorary professor of the RUDN university where she had been a faculty member for 52 years.

The conference brought together 204 speakers from 39 universities and 20 countries. The plenary speakers included well-known Russian and international scholars: Zoltan Kövecses, Andreas Musolff, Douglas Mark Ponton, Alan Cienki, Salvador Pons Borderia, Evgeny E. Ivanov, Olga S. Chesnokova, Natalia G. Med, Valery M. Mokienko, and Marina I. Solnyshkina. The work of the conference was organized along 12 panels, which comprised a wide range of research topics dealing with language and cognition. They included linguistic means of conceptualization and categorization, critical and positive discourse analysis, environmental thinking, pragmatics of gestures, multimodality, cognitive perspectives of intercultural communication and translation studies, discourse markers taxonomy, IT and cognitive studies, transdisciplinary methods in the study of language and cognition, methodology of cognitive science, neurocognitive and linguistic determinants in rehabilitation and educational activities, a cognitive approach to computational linguistics, etc.

In this introductory article to the Special Issue which presents a collection of articles authoured by the conference participants, we aim to briefly state our position on modern multidisciplinary research of discourse, highlight advancements in cognitive linguistics theory and outline the relevant subfields of research. We conclude with a discussion of the results and a brief outlook on future research.

Considering the potentially broad readership of the current Special Issue, we decided to start by providing researchers of different backgrounds with a quick overview of Nataliya Firsova's achievements and their influence on further research.

2. Firsova's academic legacy and its implications

Nataliya M. Firsova's research interests comprised semantic and stylistic variants and territorial varieties of Spanish, as well as intercultural communication and socio-cultural differences of verbal and non-verbal communication in Spanish-speaking countries. She approached 'World Spanishes' from a range of perspectives as a theorist of language, a sociolinguist, a specialist in applied linguistics, a lexicographer, and a popularizer.

In her doctorate dissertation defended in 1979, Firsova encapsulated her conceptualization of stylistic functions of the tense forms (see also Firsova 2019) and founded Spanish "variantology" as a study of Spanish varieties. It was during that period that the scholar acquired ideas of cultural and cognitive values of territorial varieties of the language which do not only manifest multiple ways of nominating the same phenomena but also reflect different attitudes towards the same objects. She addressed the problem of semantic differences in Iberian and Latin American varieties of Spanish and registered multiple examples of formal coincidence of lexemes and numerous multifold semantic differences which she referred to as *inter-variant homonymy* (Firsova 2000: 39–44). The notion manifests

itself in frequentative examples registered in Firsova's collection as separate entries. E.g. Spanish *gato* means (1) 'a cat' (a pet); (2) 'a representative of the cat family'; (3) 'mousetrap', in Argentinean Spanish; (4) 'a folk dance', and (5) an open-air market in Peru (Firsova 2006). She developed five main types of "inter-variant divergence": (1) lexical units that coincide in form, but diverge in meaning; and at the same time they may have common semantic elements; (2) lexical units of the same form, but with different meanings; (3) lexical units of the same form, but with opposite meanings; (4) lexical units of different forms and the same semantics; (5) lexical units that have partial (morphological) differences and the same semantics (Firsova 2007).

Firsova addressed social determinism of language and demonstrated how the Spanish language changed over different periods of history. She meticulously registered immense changes in the Spanish vocabulary and spoken language and assigned them to historic events: Franco's death in 1975, adoption of the new Constitution in 1978, division of the country into 17 federal regions and joining European Union in 2002, as well as others which caused democratization of language (Firsova 2005).

Firsova used a functional approach to the study of language focusing on various social and cultural contexts. She explored communicative behavior and language etiquette in national varieties of Spanish. In her multiple publications (Firsova 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007 among many others), she highlighted differences in language use and comminicative behaviour in Spanish speaking countries. She was among the first researchers who registered and described the shift from formal to informal register in different contexts.

In her classification of language varieties, Firsova distinguished between national and territorial varieties and territorial dialects. She argued that in contrast to national varieties, territorial varieties do not possess the "rank" of the state language and do not perform the full range of public functions. Moreover, they are not native to the absolute majority of residents and do not have standard norms. Functionally, territorial varieties are similar to territorial dialects. However, the latter serve small population groups, in other words they are employed for a part of the national community, and/or used in a limited sphere of communication (Firsova 2003: 31–32).

As numerous studies of language varieties show, scholars predominantly employ a complex polyparadigmatic approach. Along with the traditional level-by-level research of language varieties, they address modern paradigms of linguistic and cultural studies, which embrace cognitive science, theory of communication, intercultural communication, discourse analysis, migration studies, among others (e.g. Galaktionov & Proshina 2023, Nelson et al. 2020, Proshina & Nelson 2020, Shaibakova et al. 2023, Tazik & Aliakbari 2023 among others).

Firsova's theory of language varieties has been elaborated further in the works of her students and followers (Borisova & Ebzeeva 2019, Chesnokova 2014, 2020, Chesnokova & Martynenko 2019, Kotenyatkina 2019, Larina et al. 2019,

Nikiforova 2016, Soomro & Larina 2023 among many others). They also explore the language situation and language policy in Latin America and other countries (e.g. Borisova & Ilina 2017, Chesnokova 2014, 2020), reveal culture specific features of communication in cross-cultural, intercultural and multicultural contexts (Khalil & Larina 2022, Larina 2009, 2015, Larina & Ponton 2020, 2022, Litvinova & Larina 2023, Zhou et al. 2023), trace the impact of culture and cognition on language and its functioning in various genres and discourses (Anissimov et. al. 2019, Borissova 2012, Borisova & Rubinshtein 2015, Chesnokova & Kotenyatkina 2022, Dugalich 2020, Ebzeeva & Dugalich 2018 among many others).

3. Paradigmatic shifts of modern research: Cognitive perspective, multidisciplinarity and multimodality

In this section of the article we aim to offer scholars 'a snapshot' of modern linguistics trends, which have been successfully implemented in the studies published in this Issue.

Researchers concur that one of the most productive approaches to the wide range of modern linguistic problems, i.e. a cognitive perspective, operates on two main beliefs: (1) people's mind determines people's behaviour and (2) "Language is only a representation of thought, but it is a powerful and very flexible and informative representation" (Tenbrink 2014:1). In other words, the cognitive perspective implies synthesizing cognitive models of human behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal. Analysis of people's behaviour in different surroundings reveals valuable insights about the human mind and language.

The information explosion of the XXth century followed by the fall of informational barriers between philology, psychology, IT and cognitive studies resulted in developing related disciplines, i.e. psycholinguistics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics, computational and cognitive linguistics, etc. Having validated and summarized the results of previous studies, the modern research paradigm equipped linguists with new methods which serve as a powerful driving force for the development in the field. Linguistics has acquired methods and techniques of numerous fields of knowledge, thus expanding the area of its research exponentially and addressing new and unresolved problems of the past. Its main characteristics include ability to promptly respond to the world events, provide an explanation for new language or discourse phenomena, and anticipate language development. The latter ultimately shifted the emphasis to the predictive function of research because it enables scholars to detect stable factors of external and internal determinants of language functioning and development. The main trend in modern linguistics is towards a holistic vision of an object which implies addressing not only traditional linguistic aspects of an entity, i.e. origin, semantics and forms, but cognitive mechanisms of its development and functioning, its pragmatics and applications. The questions which require attention of modern researchers include (but are not limited to) the following: how a native or foreign language affects comprehension, the ways people perceive and categorize the world in their languages, what causes

differences in people's communicative patterns and speech generation models, how multimodality expands research methods, etc.

When administered in phraseology, the cognitive perspective implies exploring capacities of different language communities to conceptualize information in numerous ways, i.e. when using the same sources, or coin idioms with similar or different meanings. Cognitive linguistics of modern times offers researchers reliable instruments to investigate mechanisms regulating modifications of idioms of all registers and ideographic groups as well as an 'infinite cross-cultural variety' of metaphors (Kövecses 2005, 2015, 2020). Multi-million token corpora and corpus managers available for modern phraseologists enable the enhanced accuracy of linguistic analysis and provide numerous facts testifying to the hypothesis proposed in pre-electronic corpora era. The latter include the systematic nature of idioms manifested in all or many languages, cognitive mechanisms of idioms production, the motivated nature of idioms, and the emergence of idiomatic meaning (Byiyk et al. 2017, Ivanov et al. 2021, Med 2022, Mokienko & Nikitina 2018, 2021 among others).

Another issue where the cognitive perspective proved its efficiency is interpreting mechanisms behind cultural codes transfers. These views are corroborated by (Kozlova 2020: 899) who argues that " the cognitive dimension of contemporary cognitive linguistics is based on the idea that the processes of the world conceptualization take place in the context of a certain culture and language imparting culturally determined character to our cognition". Offering original explanations of metaphor variation in discourse, Kövecses (2005, 2015, 2020) points to the so-called 'pressure of coherence', which he defines as adjustment of metaphors to communicative situation so that metaphors would be coherent with the context. The researchers focusing on phraseology testify to the fact that the cognitive perspective has shifted the focus of idioms analysis exposing their regularities as cognitively dependent phenomena and a function of culture (see Med 2022). Modern multidisciplinary paradigm offers phraseologists a new and potentially useful view on idioms as linguistic units which are conceptual by nature (Kövecses 2020).

Another area of research deals with prediction models of metaphor comprehension which require understanding linguistic, cognitive, social, and emotional contexts of metaphor use. Psycholinguistic evidence confirms comprehension differences between the so-called 'dead' and 'innovative' metaphors: while the former are understood quickly and easily, innovative metaphors are more complex to infer. There are numerous examples proving that metaphor patterns are discernible at the level of scenarios rather than at the level of individual concepts, and their conceptual range is almost limitless. E.g. the research by Musolff (2019, 2020, 2021) confirms the overall nationalist bias of body politic metaphor which is realized in Russian discourse with a low criticism index Metaphoric images of the same referent may differ dramatically during different

periods of history and discourse allowing for variation in attitudes and relations (e.g. Kövecses 2005, Leontovich et al. 2023, Solopova et al. 2023, Sun et al. 2021).

Discourse analysis has recently, and quite rapidly, earned a well-established place in modern linguistics. It was caused by its more problem-oriented and multidisciplinary than discrete character: conducting discourse analysis implies identifying the setting (time, place) and participants, including their roles, identities, and interrelations. Discourse analysts employ a variety of approaches, methods and tools focusing on the way a person generates and comprehends a text (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2020). They are often 'blamed' for the fuzziness of the methods employed, although the latter is viewed as a consequence of numerous research variables implicated by the complexity of processing and generating a text by a person. As researchers name it 'unpacking', i.e. comprehending a discourse, it is conducted with the reference to numerous dimensions, or variables, i.e. linguistic, intertextual, historical, social and situational (Khalil & Larina 2022).

More recent trends in multimodality studies compel scholars to investigate how different modes may interact in communication, including modifications or substitutes of meanings change as they drift across modes. Demonstrating an example of a multimodal research and resting on a solid validation mechanism, Leonteva et al. (2023) investigate how salience comes through in gestures of simultaneous interpreters and report that non-salient gestures outperform salient gestures and the latter tend to co-occur with the verbs of physical actions and negation, as well as with the nouns accompanied by attributes denoting high degree of a quality.

Less than two decades ago, researchers considered cognitive perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to be strange, as 'cognitive linguistics' engagement with linguistic structure was viewed as limited almost exclusively to the sentence (Hart 2007). Now the situation has changed dramatically: during the last three decades we have witnessed a boom of research conducted on critical discourse. The greater part of those studies focus on criticism of the negative role of dominant political discourse, social insecurity and discrimination (e.g. Fairclough 2003, van Dijk 2006, Weiss & Wodak 2003, Zappettini et al. 2021). As distinct from critical discourse analysis (CDA), positive discourse analysis (PDA) as its counterpart explores "the discourse we like rather than the discourse we wish to criticize" (Martin & Rose 2003).

Ecolinguistics as a subfield of discourse analysis and a framework has covered the way from purely CDA to PDA (e.g. Fill & Penz 2018, Ponton 2022, 2023a,b, Stibbe 2015, 2017), broadening its coverage and including into its focus "discourse that inspires, encourages, heartens; discourse we like, that cheers us along" (Martin 1999). Nowadays, the multidisciplinary paradigm views ecological discourse analysis as a framework aimed at identifying beneficial, destructive, and ambivalent 'stories' that human beings live by (Stibbe 2015). The very existence of ecolinguistics emphasizes the importance of considering social and cultural implications of the language used in the environmental discourse and highlights the

relevance of this new subfield of linguistics which gives new perspectives to the study of language and cognition (see Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001, Goatly 2017, 2022, Stibbe 2014, 2015, 2017 among others).

The phenomena which attract the attention of numerous discourse analysts are discourse markers (DMs), the emergence of which is nowadays viewed not as a result of grammaticalization or pragmaticalization only, but also that of cooptation (Abraham 2017). According to the theory of Discourse Grammar (Ariel 2009, Heine 2013, Hughes & McCarthy 1998), discourse markers belong to the level of discourse management: they have lost their status as constituents of a sentence, no longer being a part of the syntax or semantics (Heine 2013). However, despite the growing number of research on DMs and a universally accepted view that DMs play a vital role in utterance interpretation, there is still no agreement on the range of their meanings and the criteria to identify this class of linguistic items. The researchers in the area recognize the cognitive perspective as a solid foundation for the growing trend in discourse marking studies (see Bordería & Fischer 2021).

Another area of rapidly developing modern multidisciplinary research which has dramatically changed due to major findings of cognitivists is discourse complexology. A reliable platform for success and stimuli for breakthrough research in this field was Kintsch's construction-integration model (Kintsch 1988) which completely diversified its paradigm. If the main achievement of text complexity studies in the XXth century was the idea that "different types of texts are complex in different ways" and "readability formulas are genre-dependent", modern discourse complexology addresses texts, cognitive aspects of reading and a level of challenge a text provides for readers. Based on a solid foundation of additive and non-additive types of complexity, researchers implement not only parametric methods measuring objective complexity of texts but criteria approach assessing relative complexity of texts for different categories of readers or individuals (Kupriyanov et al. 2023, Solnyshkina et al. 2022, Solovyev et al. 2022).

The ongoing paradigmatic shift and rapid changes in modern linguistics impose new rules and algorithms. The multidisciplinary research paradigm views validity as an obligatory measure introduced to increase transparency and decrease chances to insert researcher bias in qualitative research (Singh 2014). Researchers (including linguists) are expected not only to exemplify their findings but validate them, not only to test and (dis)prove hypothesis but provide the dataset so that their opponents and reviewers could replicate them, and provide not only evidence of their findings but explanations, even if it implies implementing methods and data of other sciences. The present stage of linguistics demands multidisciplinary approach to language and discourse phenomena and integration of multiple methods into a single whole contributing to the solution of the most pertinent issues. All of these mean that multidisciplinary research is extremely challenging.

Thus, the conference emphasised the now obvious interdependence between digital technologies and linguistics. On the one hand, digital technologies have given new incentives and opportunities for linguistic research by providing them

with new methods of data collection and analysis. On the other hand, they have contributed to the formation of new subfields of linguistics (e.g. natural language processing, information retrieval systems, automatic speech recognition, discourse complexology,) and have given impetus to the study of new research areas (e.g. mobile App-mediated research, networked communication, digital communication, digital narratives, among others).

By way of conclusion to this section, it should be specially emphasized that the cognitive perspective provides a solid foundation for multidisciplinary analysis of many varieties of discourse, including multimodal.

4. Summary of articles in the Issue

The current Issue contains 10 articles, each exemplifying either a corpus-based or corpus-driven multi-disciplinary case-study of a discourse variety. One study, i.e. "Metaphoric gestures in simultaneous interpreting" (Leonteva et al.)*, constitutes an exception exploring the problem of nature and functions of gestures performed by simultaneous interpreters in their professional activity. Based on video recordings, the authors test two hypotheses to identify that interpreters' gestures are more self-adapting than representational: interpreters resort to beat or presentation gestures as elements of the internalized dialogic nature of human communication. The latter do not only facilitate speech generation but also embody aspects of the source lecturer and are aimed at engaging with audience.

Contributing to the field of Ecolinguistics, Douglas M. Ponton investigates the role of public 'positive' discourse in the tree-centred narratives of UK people distinguishing between different types of ideologies, i.e. pseudo- and authentic environmental sensitivity. The author uses social media as well as numerous Internet resources and centers his study on public responses to the sensational eco-vandalism, the felling of the Sycamore Gap tree in September 2023 in Northumberland. In stark contrast to critical discourse analysis which is focused on discourse practices of dominance, discrimination, power, and control, positive discourse analysis aims at tracing implicit positive ideologies (Fairclough 2003) in discourse.

Rania Magdi Fawzy contributes "Temporalizing the space of old Nubia in digital narrative: A semio-chronotopic reading" to extend or "resemiotise" the concept of chronotope manifested in digital communication. Using the Nubian Facebook* page *Al Nuba Café* as the research corpus and implicating numerous methods of studying multimodality, the author observes and registers constant identity reprocessing and translocality of the online Nubian identity.

The article "Internal migration and changes in language repertoire among Sindhi youth" (Abbasi et al.) provides a profound analysis of the language situation in modern Pakistan and expresses concern that the younger generation of Sindhis

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* Компания Meta Platforms, которой принадлежат данные ресурсы признана экстремистской организацией и запрещена на территории РФ.

are targeted at mastering and use Urdu and English, not their native language. The authors conclude that the latter would ultimately result in the loss of Sindhi language functional range and possibilities to transfer Sindhi to the coming generations. Therefore, the authors call for risk reduction measures for Sindhi suggesting not only publishing more books, introduction and supporting social media in Sindhi, but also establishing language centres where children could be exposed to and taught the Sindhi language and culture.

Amir Salama proposes a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model to examine the advertising discourse. The model was validated on the Uber-Blog-mediated multimodal texts designed by Saudi Arabia-based Uber Company. The author utilizes (1) a multimodal cluster transcription and (2) an interpersonal-meaning analysis of multimodal participants to provide a comprehensive analysis of the discourse under study.

The main focus of "Discursive Design of Autobiographical Memories in Speech Ontogeny: Longitudinal Survey" (Petrova et al.) is on children's recall as a basic productive mnemonic process of a linguistic personality development. Researchers provide a classification of discursive strategies and tactics of numerous information extraction practices from a child's memory and exemplify it with the texts from their Corpus. Based on the observations and analysis, researchers offer a psycholinguistic model of ontogenetic generalization of childhood memories for German-speaking communication partners, which comprises six age levels. The model reflects the evolution of the surface structure of mnemonic recollections and is viewed as a framework of primary autobiographical narrations. Admitting the preliminary nature of their findings, researchers define validating the model as the prospect of their future studies.

Solnyshkina, Kharkova and Ebzeeva offer their views on linguistic and cognitive factors that influence qualitative and quantitative parameters of immediate text-based recalls conducted by high ability speakers of English as a foreign language. The contrastive analysis of the English stimuli text and recalls of Russian proficient readers revealed shifts in metadiscourse pattern of the original text from an interactive to a more logical one. Russian readers tend to omit hedges, emphatics and evidentials but add logical connectives to their recalls. The study furthers modern understanding of cross-linguistic differences in metadiscourse markers.

The authors of "Instrumentality Features in Texts of Recalls: The Case of Academic" (Gafiyatova et al.)*,* identify, describe and discuss types of instrumentality manifestations in oral immediate recalls of native Russians. Although the research indicates that respondents do not experience difficulties in understanding and reproducing the semantics of instrumental action, respondents used a wide range of substitutions and replace instruments with Causator, Theme or the circonstant of Place.

Buntman, Borisova and Darovskikh demonstrate advantages and pragmatic demand for the new ways of annotating verbs in corpora providing users not only

with information on formal characteristics of verbs (tense, mood, aspectuality, ratio of finite and non-finite forms), but the communicative situation as well (dialogical replica, negation, question, exclamation). The database may be used not only as a source of investigation into the system asymmetry of verbal forms but also into contextual and low-frequency asymmetry.

The Issue also contains two book reviews and finishes with the Tribute to the prominent Russian scholar Olga B. Sirotinina who is celebrating her centenary anniversary this year**.**

5. Discussion and conclusion

This Issue reflects the growing awareness of linguists working in different spheres that the cognitive approach to research provides an algorithm and offers possible objective explanations of the findings. The papers in this Special Issue demonstrate the diversity of theories, methods and approaches designed and developed in present-day cognitive linguistic research. The data used reflect a wide scope of discourse practices studied with the help of modern methods of cognitive and corpus linguistics. Drawing on diverse theoretical approaches and data, the authors implement multidisciplinary tools and algorithms searching for patterns distinguishing discourses and communities.

When reviewing the papers contributed to the current Issue, we observed the following tendencies on different levels of modern discourse analysis: (i) the number of Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) studies is obviously increasing, though they are still much fewer than those on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Baker & Ellece 2011); (ii) few scholars deny an independent status of PDA arguing that it is a variety of CDA (Martin & Rose 2003, Martin 2004); (iii) The change over time is most visible in multidisciplinary methods and techniques expansion in linguistics: scholars tend to apply them to both verbal and non-verbal phenomena thus widening the area of research and their expertise. Among the preferable are cognitive, neuro- and psycholinguistic experiments, and methods of statistics; (iv) the term 'multimodality' as "the entire range of semiotic resources which humans use for meaning making, including language, image, symbolism, gaze, gesture, space, architecture, and so forth" (O'Hagan 2019) has been acquiring additional senses of meaning in different spheres thus widening its differences in linguistics and related research (Blum & Liu 2006).

A variety of different approaches has been developed lately to facilitate understanding between semantic and pragmatic features of discourse and metadiscourse markers, on the one hand, and cognitive behaviour of L1 and L2 speakers, on the other (see Petrova et al. 2021, 2022). Those approaches refer both to comprehension and production of texts. Thus, a special focus in the Issue was made on identifying cognitive causes of differences in communicative practices of foreign and native language speakers. One of the main findings in this area is the confirmed hypothesis that the native language considerably affects discourse generation models. In other words, discourse markers and factual information are

recalled and reproduced in different modes, and more specifically: while reproducing a text, speakers tend to focus mostly on textual not metadiscourse information thus shifting the original, i.e. reading text, metadiscourse pattern to minimum (Solnyshkina et al. 2023).

Once again, the articles of the Issue have shown the impact of digital technologies on the methodology of linguistics studies (see Buntman et al. 2023, Leonteva et al. 2023). They have demonstrated the relevance of digital communication research (see Salama 2023, Fawzy 2023) which shows "how technologies improve, change or replace traditional discourses and practices" (Eslami et al. 2023: 18, Rhee 2023) and create heterogeneous semiotic resources which coexist in a networked interrelations (Salama & Fawzy 2023).

The materials of this Issue point to the broad prospects for the study of language varieties, functions and principles of cognitive processing of discourse markers in different situation models as well as linguistic and cognitive varieties of idioms in different languages and cultures. The research adds insights into pragmatics of gestures and highlight exceptional scientific and social importance of ecolinguistic studies.

The Issue presents the broad context of research interest of contributors who offer a wide-scope view of cognitive perspective with broad implications for various fields of inquiry — pragmatics, discourse complexology, speech reproduction, ecolinguistics, sociolingiostics and discourse studies. The findings can be used in further research of cognitive perspectives of discourse analysis and applied linguistics and experimental linguistics to design experiment algorithms.

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1. Введение

Представляемый тематический выпуск посвящен вопросам когнитивной лингвистики, а также смежным с когнитивистикой областей, широкое обсуждение которых состоялось на VI Международных Фирсовских чтениях «Современные языки и культуры: вариативность, функции, идеологии в когнитивном аспекте» в Российском университете дружбы народов имени Патриса Лумумбы 19–21 октября 2023 г. Фирсовские чтения проводятся в память о выдающемся российском ученом-романисте Наталии Михайловне Фирсовой, вся жизнь которой была связана с РУДН.

В конференции приняли участие 204 делегата из 39 университетов и 20 стран мира. В качестве пленарных докладчиков выступили известные российские и зарубежные ученые: Андреас Музолф, Золтан Кёвечеш, Дуглас Марк Понтон, Алан Ченки, Сальвадор Понс Бордериа, О.С. Чеснокова, Н.Г. Мед, В.М. Мокиенко, Е.Е. Иванов и М.И. Солнышкина. Работа конференции была организована в рамках 12 секций, охватывающих широкий спектр исследовательских тем, связанных с языком и сознанием. Они включали языковые средства концептуализации и категоризации, критический и позитивный анализ

дискурса, экологическое мышление, прагматику жестов, методологию когнитивистики, мультимодальность, когнитивные аспекты межкультурной коммуникации и перевода, таксономию дискурсивных маркеров, информационные технологии и когнитивные исследования, трансдисциплинарные методы в изучении языка и сознание, нейрокогнитивные и лингвистические детерминанты в реабилитационной и образовательной деятельности, когнитивный подход в компьютерной лингвистике и др.

Цель статьи – осветить достижения теории когнитивной лингвистики и преимущества когнитивной парадигмы исследований, представленных участниками конференции, а также наметить новые направления в ее развитии. Учитывая широкую читательскую аудиторию специального выпуска, мы решили начать с краткого обзора академического наследия Наталии Михайловны Фирсовой.

2. Научное наследие Н.М. Фирсовой и ее последователи

Научные интересы Н.М. Фирсовой включали изучение национальных и территориальных вариантов испанского языка, а также вопросы межкультурной коммуникации и социокультурных различий вербальной и невербальной коммуникации в испаноязычных странах. Ее подход к вариантам испанского языка характеризовался многообразием и широтой взглядов: Н.М. Фирсова изучала испанский язык как теоретик, социолингвист, специалист по прикладной лингвистике, лексикограф и популяризатор науки.

В 1979 г. в докторской диссертации «Стилистика временных форм испанского глагола» Н.М. Фирсова представила концептуализацию стилистических функций временных форм глагола (см. также Фирсова 2019), обосновав понятие испанской «вариантологии» как научного направления изучения вариантов испанского языка. Именно в этот период Н.М. Фирсова обращается к проблеме территориальных вариантов языка, которые не только проявляют множественные способы номинации одних и тех же референтов, но и отражают различное отношение их носителей к данным референтам. Она иллюстрирует межвариантную *омонимию* многочисленными примерами из иберийского и латиноамериканских вариантов испанского языка (Фирсова 2000: 39–44). Например, испанское слово *gato* обозначает (1) «кошку» (домашнее животное); (2) «представителя семейства кошачьих»; (3) «мышеловку» в аргентинском варианте испанского языка; (4) «народный танец» и (5) «рынок под открытым небом» в Перу (Фирсова 2006). Н.М. Фирсова разработала пять основных типов «межвариантной лексико-семантической дивергенции»: (1) межвариантная полисемия: лексические единицы, совпадающие по форме и частично совпадающие по значению; (2) межвариантная омонимия: лексические единицы одной формы, имеющие разные значения; (3) межвариантная антонимия: лексические единицы одной формы, имеющие противоположные значения; (4) межвариантная синонимия: лексические единицы разной формы, имеющие сходную семантику; (5) межвариантная синонимическая

дублетность: лексические единицы, имеющие частичные (морфологические) различия и одинаковую семантику (Фирсова 2007).

Проблема социального детерминизма в языке была одной из проблем, глубоко интересовавших Н.М. Фирсову. Она активно исследовала диахронические изменения в испанском языке, детерминированные историческими событиями, тщательно регистрировала многочисленные изменения в словарном составе испанского языка и мельчайшие изменения в устном дискурсе, указывая на их экстралингвистические причины: смерть Франко в 1975 г., принятие новой конституции в 1978 г., разделение страны на 17 федеральных регионов, вступление страны в Евросоюз в 2002 г. и другие события, которые привели к демократизации языка (Фирсова 2005).

Основным для Н.М. Фирсовой всегда оставался функциональный подход к языку, обеспечивающий возможность обращения к различным социальным и культурным контекстам. В многочисленных публикациях, посвященных проблемам коммуникативного поведения и языкового этикета в национальных вариантах испанского языка (Фирсова 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007 и др.) она подчеркивает различия в способах использования языка и в коммуникативном поведении жителей испаноязычных стран. Н.М. Фирсова была одним из первых исследователей, которые в начале 2000-х гг. зафиксировали и описали переход от формального к неформальному регистру общения в различных коммуникативных ситуациях.

В классификации языковых вариантов Н.М. Фирсова выделяет национальные и территориальные варианты и диалекты. В отличие от национальных вариантов последние не обладают статусом государственного языка и не выполняют весь спектр социальных функций. Более того, они не являются родными для абсолютного большинства жителей и не имеют стандартных норм. В функциональном отношении территориальные варианты аналогичны территориальным диалектам, которые обслуживают небольшие группы населения и/или используются в ограниченной сфере общения (Фирсова 2003: 31–32).

Вариантология Н.М. Фирсовой получила дальнейшее развитие в работах ее учеников и последователей (см. Борисова, Эбзеева 2019, Чеснокова 2014, 2020, Чеснокова и Мартыненко 2019, Котеняткина 2019, Ларина, Сурьянараян, Юрьева 2019, Никифорова 2016, Soomro & Larina 2023 и мн. др.). В фокусе их исследований – вопросы языковой ситуации и политики в Латинской Америке и других странах (см. Борисова & Ильина 2017, Чеснокова 2014, 2020), культурные особенности коммуникации в межкультурном и мультикультурном контекстах (Ларина 2009, Khalil & Larina 2022, Larina 2015, Litvinova & Larina 2023, Zhou et al. 2023 и др.), влияние культуры и сознания на язык и его функционирование в различных жанрах и дискурсах (Анисимов и др. 2019, Борисова 2012, Борисова, Рубинштейн 2015, Чеснокова, Котеняткина 2022, Дугалич 2020, Эбзеева, Дугалич 2018, Larina & Ponton 2020, 2022 и др.).

Следует отметить, что современные исследования вариантов языка базируются преимущественно на полипарадигматическом подходе. Наряду с традиционным изучением отдельных уровней вариантов языка они используют современные парадигмы лингвокультурологии, когнитивной науки, теории коммуникации, межкультурной коммуникации, дискурсивного анализа, миграциологии и др. (см. например, Galaktionov & Proshina 2023, Nelson et al. 2020, Proshina & Nelson 2020, Tazik & Aliakbari 2023, Шайбакова, Протасова, Еленевская и др. 2023.).

3. Парадигматический сдвиг современных исследований:
когнитивный аспект, мультидисциплинарность и мультимодальность

Современные исследователи сходятся во мнении, что когнитивный подход как один из наиболее продуктивных подходов к широкому кругу современных лингвистических проблем имеет в основе два постулата: (1) поведение человека, включая вербальное, определяется его мышлением и (2) «Язык — это всего лишь представление мысли, но это мощное, очень гибкое и информативное представление» (Tenbrink 2014: 1). Другими словами, когнитивная перспектива предполагает синтез когнитивных моделей поведения человека, как вербальных, так и невербальных. Анализ поведения людей в различных ситуативных моделях раскрывает ценную информацию о мышлении и языке.

Информационный «взрыв» XX в., сопровождавшийся падением информационных барьеров между филологией, психологией, информационными технологиями и когнитивными исследованиями, привел к развитию смежных дисциплин – психолингвистики, прагматики, корпусной лингвистики, компьютерной и когнитивной лингвистики и т.д. Современная исследовательская парадигма обеспечила лингвистов новыми методами, которые служат движущей силой развития в этой области. Языкознание современного мира овладело методами и приемами многих областей знаний, что позволило расширить область лингвистических исследований и обратиться как к новым, так и нерешенным проблемам прошлого. Основными характеристики современного языкознания следует признать способность оперативно реагировать на происходящие в мире события, давать объяснение новым языковым или дискурсивным явлениям, а также прогнозировать развитие языка. Последнее в конечном итоге смещает акцент на прогностическую функцию исследований, поскольку позволяет ученым выявить устойчивые факторы внешних и внутренних детерминант функционирования и развития языка. Основная тенденция в современной лингвистике направлена на целостное видение объекта, предполагающее обращение не только к традиционным языковым аспектам сущности, т.е. происхождению, семантике и формам, но и к когнитивным механизмам развития и функционирования и прагматике. Вопросы, требующие внимания современных исследователей, включают, но

не ограничиваются следующими: влияние родного или иностранного языка на понимание, восприятие и концептуализация мира средствами разных языков, причины различий в коммуникативных моделях и моделях порождения речи, мультимодальность как современный взгляд на коммуникацию, расширение методологий исследования.

Когнитивная перспектива во фразеологии предполагает изучение способов концептуализации мира различными языковыми сообществами, т.е. каким образом разные этнические группы генерируют различные идиоматические модели. Когнитивная лингвистика предлагает надежные инструменты для исследования механизмов, детерминирующих модификации идиом всех регистров и идеографических групп, а также «бесконечное межкультурное разнообразие» метафор (Kövecses 2005, 2015, 2020). Многомиллионные корпусы и корпусные менеджеры, доступные современным фразеологам, обеспечивают более высокую точность лингвистического анализа и предоставляют многочисленные факты, подтверждающие или опровергающие гипотезы, выдвинутые в эпоху доэлектронных корпусов. В центре внимания современных фразеологов находятся вопросы систематического характера идиом, проявляющегося во всех или многих языках, когнитивные механизмы порождения идиом, мотивированность идиом, возникновение идиоматических значений и др. (Byiyk et al. 2019, Med 2022, Бредис, Иванов 2022, Иванов, Ломакина, Петрушевская 2021, Мокиенко, Никитина 2018, 2021 и др.).

Когнитивный подход доказал эффективность в интерпретации механизмов передачи культурных кодов: «когнитивное измерение современной лингвистики основано на идее о том, что процессы концептуализации мира происходят в контексте культуры и языка, придающих нашему познание культурно детерминированный характер» (Kozlova 2020: 899). Предлагая оригинальные объяснения метафорических вариантов в дискурсе, Кёвечеш (Kövecses 2005, 2015, 2020) указывает на так называемое «давление когерентности», которое исследователь определяет как адаптируемость или приспособление метафор к коммуникативной ситуации. Работы в области фразеологии свидетельствуют о том, что когнитивная перспектива сместила фокус анализа идиом, обнажив их закономерности как когнитивно- и культурнозависимых явлений языка (см. Med 2022). Современная междисциплинарная парадигма предлагает исследователям фразеологии новый и весьма продуктивный взгляд на идиомы как единицы, которые по своей природе являются в большей степени концептуальными, чем языковыми (Kövecses 2020).

Еще одной областью лингвокогнитивных исследований является моделирование прогнозирования метафорический импликаций, которые требуют пресуппозиции лингвистического, когнитивного, социального и эмоционального контекстов метафоры. Психолингвистические данные подтверждают различия в восприятии между так называемыми «мертвыми» и новыми или «инновационными» метафорами. Если метафоры первого типа понимаются

так же быстро и легко, как и высказывания с буквальными смыслами, то понять инновационные метафоры сложнее. Существует множество примеров того, что метафорические модели дифференцируются не на уровне отдельных концептов, а на уровне сценариев, при этом показательно, что их концептуальный диапазон практически безграничен. Метафорические образы одних и тех же референтов могут существенно различаться в дискурсах различных исторических периодов, предоставляя широкий спектр вариантов установок и отношений к миру (Kövecses 2005, Leontovich et al. 2023, Musolff 2020, Solopova et al. 2023, Sun et al. 2021). Например, исследования А. Музолфа (Musolff 2019, 2020, 2021) подтверждают высокую степень этноспецифичности политической метафоры, которая, по мнению ученого, в российском дискурсе объективирована с высоким индексом лояльности.

Дискурс-анализ как устной, так и письменной форм коммуникации занял прочное место в современной лингвистике. Очевидно, что данное обстоятельство обусловлено многоаспектностью и отсутствием дискретности самого объекта исследования – дискурса, предполагающего обращение к широкой проблематике исследований с привлечением мультидисциплинарных методов и средств исследований. Обязательными в дискурс-анализе являются обращение к ситуации (время и место), а также участникам, их ролям, идентичности и взаимоотношениям. Исследователи дискурс-анализа используют различные подходы, методы и инструменты, ориентируясь на то, как человек генерирует и понимает текст (Kress & Leeuwen 2020). Их часто «обвиняют» в нечеткости применяемых методов, хотя очевидно, что данное обстоятельство следует рассматривать как следствие многочисленных переменных в их исследования, связанных со сложностью обработки и порождением текста человеком. Сам процесс понимания, т.е. обработки информации, или, как исследователи метафорически называют его, «распаковки», предполагает обращение к многочисленным измерениям или переменным, включая лингвистические, интертекстуальные, исторические, социальные, ситуативные и др. (Khalil & Larina 2022).

Мультимодальность ярко проявляется в исследованиях, нацеленных на изучение проблем передачи информации, а также взаимодействия и взаимодополнения смыслов, транслируемых различными способами и средствами. К такого рода вопросам относится, например, вопрос функциональности жестов, используемых переводчиками-синхронистами в профессиональной деятельности при работе в кабинах, т.е. без непосредственного визуально присутствующего слушателя. Продолжая традиции современной семиотической школы, в которой принято деление жестов на так называемые «салиентные», т.е. выделенные, и «несалиентные», т.е. невыделенные жесты (см. Iriskhanova et al. 2023), Леонтьева и др. (Leonteva et al. 2023) валидировали положение о том, что в профессиональной деятельности переводчика-синхрониста невыделенные жесты превосходят выделенные по количеству. При этом показано, что «салиентные» жесты имеют тенденцию сочетаться с

глаголами физических действий и отрицаниями, с именными группами, обозначающими высокую степень качества.

Менее двух десятилетий назад исследователи сомневались в когнитивной перспективе критического дискурс-анализа (CDA), поскольку взаимодействие когнитивной лингвистики с языковой структурой ограничивалось исключительно уровнем предложения (Hart 2007). Ситуация кардинально изменилась три десятилетия назад, а в настоящее время мы являемся свидетелями бума исследований в области критического дискурс-анализа. Они в основном сосредоточены на критике негативной роли доминирующего политического дискурса, социальной незащищенности и дискриминации (см. Fairclough 2003, van Dijk 2006, Weiss & Wodak 2003, Zappettini et al. 2021). В отличие от CDA недавно появившийся позитивный дискурс-анализ (PDA) сосредоточен на дискурсе, который «нам нравится, а не дискурсе, который мы хотим критиковать» (Martin & Rose 2003).

Эколингвистика как отрасль знания и научный конструкт прошла путь от критического к позитивному дискурс-анализу (Fill & Penz 2018, Stibbe 2015, 2017, Ponton 2023), расширив проблематику изучения и включив в фокус «дискурс, который вдохновляет и воодушевляет; дискурс, который нам нравится и подбадривает» (Martin 1999). Современная мультидисциплинарная парадигма рассматривает анализ экологического дискурса как основу, направленную на выявление полезных, деструктивных и амбивалентных «историй», которыми живут люди (Stibbe 2015). Само существование эколингвистики подчеркивает важность учета социальных и культурных особенностей (Ponton 2022), а значение языка, используемого в дискурсе об окружающей среде, подчеркивает актуальность этой новой области лингвистики, которая открывает широкие перспективы для изучения языка и мышления (см. Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001, Goatly 2017, 2022, Stibbe 2014, 2015, 2017 и др.).

Феноменом, привлекающим в настоящее время внимание многочисленных дискурс-аналитиков, являются дискурсивные маркеры (ДМ), возникновение которых сегодня рассматривается не только как результат грамматикализации или прагматикализации языковых средств, но и как результат кооптации (Abraham 2017). Согласно теории дискурсивной грамматики (Ariel 2009, Heine 2013, Hughes & McCarthy 1998), (мета)дискурсивные маркеры относятся к уровню управления дискурсом: они утратили свой статус единиц синтаксического уровня, перестав быть частью синтаксиса или семантики (Heine 2013). Несмотря на растущее количество исследований ДМ и общепринятое мнение о том, что ДМ играют жизненно важную роль в интерпретации высказываний, до сих пор не сформировано единого мнения о спектре их значений и критериях выделения этого класса лингвистических единиц. В современной научной парадигме наиболее прочной основой для исследований ДМ признан когнитивный подход (см. Bordería & Fischer 2021).

Активно развивающейся областью современных междисциплинарных исследований, кардинально изменившейся благодаря открытиям когнитивистов, является дискурсивная комплексология. Надежной платформой для успеха и стимулом для прорывных исследований в этой области стала

конструктивно-интеграционная модель понимания У. Кинча (Kintsch 1988), полностью изменившая исследовательскую парадигму. Если главным достижением исследований в области сложности текста в XX в. была идея о том, что «разные типы текстов сложны по-разному» и «формулы читабельности зависят от жанра», то современная дискурсивная комплексология обращается не только к текстам, но когнитивным аспектам восприятия, обработки информации и понимания текста, а также к вопросам (не)готовности читателя к восприятию текста. Основываясь на прочном фундаменте аддитивных и неаддитивных типов сложности, исследователи реализуют не только параметрические методы измерения объективной сложности текстов, но и критериальный подход, оценивающий относительную сложность текстов для разных категорий читателей или отдельных лиц (Kupriyanov et al. 2023, Solnyshkina et al. 2022, Solovyev et al. 2022).

Продолжающийся парадигматический сдвиг и быстрые изменения в современной лингвистике диктуют новые правила и алгоритмы. Парадигма мультидисциплинарных исследований рассматривает валидность как обязательную меру, введенную для повышения прозрачности и уменьшения шансов внести предвзятость в качественные исследования (Singh 2014). Ожидается, что ученые (включая лингвистов) не только иллюстрируют свои выводы, но валидируют их, не только тестируют гипотезы, но предоставляют набор данных, обеспечивая таким образом воспроизводимость исследований, не только предоставляют доказательства своих выводов, но и объясняют их причины, даже если это предполагает использование методов и данных других наук. Современный этап лингвистики требует мультидисциплинарного подхода к явлениям языка и дискурса, объединения множества методов в единое целое, способствуя таким образом решению более широкого спектра проблем, с одной стороны, но значительно усложняясь с другой.

Отдельно следует сказать об очевидной взаимозависимости цифровых технологий и лингвистики. С одной стороны, цифровые технологии дали новые стимулы и возможности для лингвистических исследований, предоставив им новые методы сбора и анализа данных. С другой стороны, они способствовали формированию новых отраслей лингвистики (например, корпусной лингвистики, компьютерной лингвистики, обработки естественного языка (NLP, natural language processing), систем поиска информации, автоматического распознавания речи, дискурсивной комплексологии) и появлению новых областей исследований (например, исследований, опосредованных мобильными приложениями, информационными и коммуникационными технологиями, а также сетевое общение, цифровое общение, цифровые нарративы и т.д.).

В заключение этого раздела следует особо подчеркнуть, что когнитивный аспект современных исследований обеспечивает прочную основу для мультидисциплинарного анализа многих форм и типов дискурса, в том числе мультимодального.

4. Краткое содержание статей номера

Данный выпуск содержит 10 статей, каждая из которых представляет собой междисциплинарное корпусное исследование дискурса. Исключение составляет статья А.В. Леонтьевой, А. Ченки и О.В. Агафоновой «Метафорические жесты в синхронном переводе», в центре внимания которой – природа и функции жестов переводчиков-синхронистов. На материале видеозаписей профессиональной деятельности переводчиков-синхронистов авторы ищут ответ на вопрос, являются ли жесты переводчиков самоадаптирующими или репрезентативными. Вывод исследователей однозначен: независимо от присутствия/отсутствия коммуникантов переводчики используют репрезентативные жесты в силу присущей человеческой коммуникации диалогичности. Жесты не только способствуют порождению речи, но также отражают некоторые аспекты личности лектора-источника и направлены на взаимодействие с аудиторией.

Д.М. Понтон представляет статью «Больше, чем просто дерево: Эколингвистика и реакция на вырубку "дерева Адриана"». Исследуя роль публичного «позитивного» дискурса в нарративах жителей Великобритании, ученый описывает разные типы идеологий, иллюстрирующих псевдо- и подлинную чувствительность к окружающей среде. Используя материалы социальных сетей, а также многочисленных интернет-ресурсов, он изучает реакцию общественности на нашумевший эковандализм — вырубку платана в сентябре 2023 г. в Нортумберленде. В отличие от критического дискурс-анализа, который фокусируется на дискурсивных практиках доминирования, дискриминации, власти и контроля, позитивный дискурс-анализ направлен на отслеживание имплицитных позитивных идеологий в дискурсе (Fairclough 2003).

Р.М. Фаузи в статье «Транслокализация пространства старой Нубии в цифровом повествовании: ресемиотизированные хронотопы как маркеры идентичности» изучает концепцию хронотопав цифровой коммуникации. Используя нубийскую страницу Al Nuba Café в Facebook[*] в качестве исследовательского корпуса и многочисленные методы изучения мультимодальности, автор наблюдает и регистрирует постоянные изменения идентичности и транслокальность нубийской онлайн-идентичности.

Соавторы статьи «Внутренняя миграция и изменения в использовании языков синдхской молодежью» (Abbasi et al. 2023) представляют глубокий анализ языковой ситуации в современном Пакистане и выражают обеспокоенность тем, что молодое поколение синдхов нацелено на освоение и использование урду и английского, а не родного языка. Авторы приходят к выводу об угрозе потери функционального спектра языка синдхи и невозможности трансляции культуры и языка будущим поколениям и призывают принять меры по снижению существующих для языка синдхи рисков, предлагая не только публиковать больше книг, внедрять и поддерживать социальные сети на языке синдхи, но также создавать языковые центры, в которых дети могли бы знакомиться с синдхи и обучаться языку и культуре коренного населения.

А. Салама в статье «На пути к мультимодальной герменевтической модели: «саудизация» рекламного дискурса в Uber-блогах» предлагает мультимодальную герменевтическую модель изучения рекламного дискурса. Модель была проверена на мультимодальных текстах, созданных с помощью Uber-блога и разработанных компанией Uber в Саудовской Аравии. Для обеспечения всестороннего анализа изучаемого дискурса автор использует (1) мультимодальную кластерную транскрипцию и (2) смысловой анализ межличностного мультимодального диалога участников.

Основное внимание в работе А.А. Петровой, И.В. Приваловой и К.О. Косовой *«Дискурсивное конструирование автобиографических воспоминаний в речевом онтогенезе: лонгитюдное наблюдение»* уделено воспоминаниям детей как основному продуктивному мнемическому процессу развития языковой личности. Исследователи приводят классификацию дискурсивных стратегий и тактик многочисленных практик извлечения информации из памяти ребенка и иллюстрируют ее текстами из авторского корпуса. На основе наблюдений и анализа предложена психолингвистическая модель онтогенетической генерализации детских воспоминаний немецкоязычных коммуникантов, включающая шесть возрастных уровней. Модель отражает эволюцию поверхностной структуры мнемических воспоминаний и рассматривается как каркас первичных автобиографических повествований. Признавая предварительный характер своих выводов, исследователи определяют валидацию модели как перспективу своих будущих исследований.

М.И. Солнышкина, Е.В. Харькова и Ю.Н. Эбзеева в статье «Влияние содержания на понимание текста: пропозициональный анализ дискурса» предлагают свой взгляд на лингвистические и когнитивные факторы, влияющие на качественные и количественные параметры текстов-пересказов носителей русского языка. Контрастивный анализ английского текста-стимула и пересказов, осуществленных носителями русского языка, изучающими английский язык, выявил сдвиги в метадискурсивной структуре. По мнению авторов, свертывание исходного текста происходит за счет утраты им интерактивности. Носители русского языка при пересказе текста на английском языке склонны опускать маркеры интерактивности: маркеры неуверенности, эмоционального отношения и эвиденциальности, добавляя в свои пересказы внутритекстовые логические связи.

Авторы статьи «Способы выражения категории инструментальности в текстах-ретранслятах», Э.В. Гафиятова, Х.Н. Галимова и Ю.М. Алюнина выявляют, описывают и обсуждают типы манифестации инструментальности в устных пересказах на русском языке. Исследование показывает, что респонденты не испытывают трудностей с пониманием и воспроизведением семантики инструментального действия, используя широкий спектр субституций, заменяя семантическую роль инструмента каузатором, темой или сирконстантой места.

Н.В. Бунтман, А.С. Борисова и Ю.А. Даровских в статье «Глагольная база данных: структура, кластеры, функции» демонстрируют преимущества и востребованность новых способов аннотирования глаголов в корпусе, предоставляя пользователям информацию не только о формальных характеристиках глаголов (времени, наклонении, аспектуальности, соотношении личных и неличных форм), но и о коммуникативной ситуация (диалогическая реплика, отрицание, вопрос, восклицание). База данных может быть использована как источник исследования системной, контекстной и частотной асимметрии глагольных форм.

Номер также содержит две рецензии на книги и завершается поздравлением выдающегося российского ученого *Ольги Борисовны Сиротининой*, отмечающей в этом году столетний юбилей.

5. Обсуждение и заключение

Представленный вниманию читателей выпуск отражает растущее осознание лингвистами того, что когнитивный подход способен обеспечить не только основу исследовательских алгоритмов современной лингвистической парадигмы, но и предложить объяснение причин языковых и дискурсивных фактов. Статьи выпуска демонстрируют разнообразие теорий, методов и подходов, разработанных и продолжающих разрабатываться в современных лингвистических исследованиях. Они отражают широкий спектр дискурсивных практик, изучаемых с помощью современных методов когнитивной и корпусной лингвистики. Опираясь на разнообразные теоретические подходы и данные, авторы используют междисциплинарные инструменты и алгоритмы для поиска закономерностей, дифференцирующих дискурсы и лингвокультурные сообщества.

Из наиболее значимых современных тенденций дискурс-анализа укажем на следующие: (i) выросло количество исследований позитивного дискурс-анализа (PDA), хотя в абсолютном отношении их все еще гораздо меньше, чем исследований по критическому дискурс-анализу (CDA) (Baker & Ellece 2011); (ii) ряд ученых отрицает независимый статус PDA, рассматривая его как разновидность CDA (Martin & Rose 2003, Martin 2004); (iii) за счет расширения объектов исследования и введения в их состав невербальных референтов наблюдается широкое применение междисциплинарных методов и техник в лингвистике. К наиболее предпочтительным относятся когнитивное, нейро- и психолингвистическое экспериментирование и статистические методы; (iv) термин «мультимодальность», означающий в лингвистике «спектр всех семиотических ресурсов, используемых людьми для порождения смыслов, включая язык, образ, символику, взгляд, жест, пространство, архитектуру и т.д.» (O'Hagan 2019), приобретает дополнительные оттенки значения при его использовании в различных областях науки (Blum & Liu 2006).

В современной науке разработан ряд подходов, нацеленных на изучение семантических и прагматических особенностей дискурса и (мета)дискурсивных паттернов, с одной стороны, и когнитивных аспектов поведения говорящих на родном и изучаемом языке, с другой (см. Petrova et al. 2021, 2022). Эти подходы относятся как к пониманию, так и к порождению текстов. Отражая в своих исследования современные тенденции, авторы выпуска уделяют особое внимание выявлению когнитивных причин различий в коммуникативных практиках носителей иностранного и родного языков. Одним из главных результатов в этой области является подтвержденная гипотеза о специфике влиянии родного языка на модели порождения дискурса на иностранном языке, а именно, что при воспроизведении текста говорящие склонны концентрироваться преимущественно на текстовой, а не метадискурсивной информации, тем самым максимально видоизменяя медадискурсивную модель исходного текста (Solnyshkina et al. 2023).

Публикации данного выпуска еще раз показывают, насколько масштабно влияние цифровых технологий на методологию лингвистических исследований (см. Бунтман, Борисова, Даровских 2023, Leonteva, Cienki & Agafonova 2023) и демонстрируют актуальность исследований цифровых коммуникаций (см. Salama 2023, Fawzy 2023), которые не только «улучшают, изменяют или заменяют традиционные дискурсы и практики» (Eslami et al. 2023: 18, Rhee 2023), но и создают гетерогенные семиотические ресурсы, сосуществующие в сети (Salama & Fawzy 2023). Материалы выпуска указывают и на широкие перспективы изучения вариантов языка, функций и принципов когнитивной обработки дискурса, включая изучение дискурсивных маркеров в различных ситуативных моделях, а также анализ идиоматических выражений в разных языках и культурах. Исследования подтверждают научную значимость выводов относительно смысловых трансформаций при использовании коммуникантами жестов, а также изменения в идеологических практиках экологического дискурса.

В выпуске представлен широкий контекст исследовательских интересов авторов, которые предлагают видение когнитивных перспектив развития и разработки новых алгоритмов исследований в прагматике, социолингвистике, дискурсивной комплексологии, теории понимания и порождения речи, эколингвистике и дискурс-анализе.

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Research article / Научная статья

More than just a tree: Ecolinguistics and responses to the felling of 'Hadrian's tree'

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Abstract
In the current climate ecolinguistic research has arguably never been more important, as its basic premises regard the survival of life on Earth and key philosophical questions hitherto under-acknowledged by mainstream science. In recent decades, environmental thinking has made great advances in shaping current opinions towards nature and the non-human world. The goal of this paper is to explore certain currents of mediated thinking in modern Britain regarding nature, in order to assess how far expressions of sorrow for the felling of a prominent tree might correspond to a genuine ecological sentiment. The study explores public responses to an apparent case of eco-vandalism, the felling of the Sycamore Gap tree in September 2023 in Northumberland, using data taken from social media and other online sources such as e-newspapers. From the point of view of Ecolinguistic theory and that of Positive Discourse Analysis it applies critical lenses such as Evaluation and Discourse Pragmatics to dig beneath the surface of texts produced on the topic, in order to explore diverse current attitudes to trees in the UK. The paper finds that, though there are instances in which people appear to express grief for the loss of the Sycamore Gap tree, it is possible to account for these in ways that lessen the likelihood that they are motivated by purely ecological sentiment. In practice human attitudes towards trees tend to be superficial and instrumental, and this tendency is also found here. The Sycamore Gap event brings many latent social attitudes into play, and this paper thus contributes to the developing field of Ecolinguistics by focusing on tree-centred narratives, distinguishing between inherent ideologies of pseudo- and authentic environmental sensitivity.
Keywords: *ecolinguistics, ecological discourse, mourning, environmental sensitivity, environmentalism*

Больше, чем просто дерево:
эколингвистика и реакция на вырубку «дерева Адриана»

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Аннотация

Современная климатическая ситуация в мире обусловливает особую значимость эколингвистических исследований, поскольку их основные положения касаются сохранения жизни на Земле и ключевых философских вопросов, до сих пор недостаточно признаваемых официальной наукой. В последние десятилетия экологическое мышление оказывает существенное влияние на формирование взглядов на природу. Цель данной статьи – рассмотреть научные подходы к опосредованному осмыслению природы в современной Великобритании и определить, насколько скорбь по поводу вырубки одного реликтового дерева может соответствовать подлинным экологическим чувствам. В исследовании изучается реакция общественности на получивший широкую огласку случай эковандализма — вырубку в сентябре 2023 г. в Нортумберленде т.н. «платана Гэп», или «дерева Адриана». Материал был взят из социальных сетей и других онлайн-источников, в частности электронных газет. Нарративы исследовались с позиций эколингвистики и позитивного дискурс-анализа с применением критических подходов теории оценки и дискурс-прагматики для выявления заложенной в них скрытой информации и определения различных отношений к деревьям в современной Великобритании. Полученные данные продемонстрировали, что, хотя в ряде случаев люди выражают скорбь по поводу утраты «платана Гэп», есть основания предполагать, что ими движут не только экологические чувства. На практике отношение человека к деревьям часто является поверхностным и инструментальным. Анализ данного случая эковандализма и реакций на него выявил ряд скрытых социальных факторов, а также установил различия между псевдо- и подлинной экологической чувствительностью, что вносит вклад в развитие эколингвистики.

Ключевые слова: *эколингвистика, экологический дискурс, экологическая чувствительность, скорбь, экологизм*

1. Introduction

In the current climate Ecolinguistic research (Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001, Fill & Penz 2018) has arguably never been more important, as its basic premises regard the survival of life on Earth and key philosophical questions hitherto under-acknowledged by mainstream science. Moreover, thanks to the affordances of the worldwide web, public access to debate on such issues has never been easier, and sites like Facebook[*], Instagram[*], TikTok, etc., permit users to engage with each

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[*] Компания Meta Platforms, которой принадлежат данные ресурсы признана экстремистской организацией и запрещена на территории РФ.

other and contribute to the shaping of a range of discourses and social practices. They also contribute to what has been called the 'emotionalisation of public discourse' (Zappettini et al. 2021), as posters frequently attempt to boost their profiles through hyperbolic expressions and performative emotive manifestations. Ecolinguistic discourse is no exception. The present study was prompted by the extraordinary outpouring of public feeling concerning the demise of the Sycamore Gap tree, on Hadrian's Wall in the north of Britain, which was felled during the night of 28th September 2023 by an anonymous vandal. Public response to the outrage featured expressions of grief, anger and bewilderment, and probably exceeded any previous demonstration of public feeling at the loss of an individual tree. From an Ecolinguistic perspective this evidence that people care so deeply about a tree could be taken in a positive sense, as a suggestion perhaps that decades of green activism have left a mark on public consciousness. Yet viewed more closely, the special features of this particular tree complicate the question. It stood alone by the historic Roman wall in a curvaceous dip between two hills, and lent itself to a thousand evocative reproductions for calendars and the like. It was highly photogenic, and had even featured in a 1991 Hollywood movie, Kevin Costner's *Prince of Thieves*. Discourse concerning the tree's demise frequently evokes notions of 'heritage', as in this comment reported in a Guardian article with the significant title of 'More than just a tree':

> Sycamore Gap is a Northumberland symbol, more than a piece of landscape, more than just a tree; it's as instantly recognisable as the Palace of Westminster or the Liver Building[1]

This speaker recontextualises or reframes the tree, moving it from its appropriate site within the vegetable universe to the realm of photogenic heritage buildings. Its loss is akin, from this perspective, to that of a landmark like Big Ben – the semiotic, not the natural, landscape has been affected. Another way of putting this would be to say that the speaker does not miss the tree as a living, feeling, non-human essence with its own unknowable conscious processes; indeed, his general attitude to trees could be seen as something closer to contempt ('more than *just* a tree'). Because of the contingent features of its particular history, especially those linked to its unique location, this tree acquired the significance of other marketable human artefacts, and meanings that have little to do with Ecology. The Economic Times, for example, highlights the tree's role in promoting tourism:

> It was a place where countless couples found romance, making it a popular spot for marriage proposals. Its unique location and striking appearance had made it one of the most-photographed landscapes in Britain, attracting tourists from around the world to Hadrian's Wall and the Northumberland National Park.[2]

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[1] Guardian. Online at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/sep/29/more-than-just-a-tree-recollections-of-northumberlands-sycamore-gap, retrieved 12 Oct. 23.

[2] The Economic Times. Online at: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/us/what-was-the-sycamore-gap-trees-significance-know-its-history-as-police-arrests-2-over-its-destruction-in-england/articleshow/104074179.cms?from=mdr, retrieved 12 Oct. 23.

Thus, the tree was a contributor to tourism, currently one of Britain's most significant industries. It is from this perspective, then, that this study asks how far the expressions of grief for this natural, growing, non-human object may correspond to the authentic feeling that would be provoked by the loss of a dear one in the human world. Another way of looking at this would be to say that only true feelings of grief, for the tree itself, could be viewed as a touchstone for the existence of ecological sensibility. To the extent that a sentimental regard for the tree as having value in other contexts (for example, as a factor in promoting tourism) is the mainspring of the emotional outpour, the ecological significance would be correspondingly diminished.

The goal of the study is to sift certain currents of mediated thinking in modern Britain towards the natural world, in order to assess how far what has been called an 'outpouring of grief' over the felling of a prominent tree might correspond to a genuine ecological sentiment. It aims to answer the question whether British people do indeed have strong feelings about trees, and whether sentiments that correspond to what Ecolinguists would refer to as 'deep ecology' might underlie the expressions of grief provoked by the Sycamore Gap episode.

2. Background: Grieving for trees

The notion that trees can occupy a place of sufficient importance in human psychic space to provoke grief at their removal is not unkown in literature as the example of J. R. R. Tolkien shows, author of *The Lord of the Rings*, one of the most successful novels of the last century, and a landmark of cinema in this. For him trees were not 'just' trees but were endowed with perceptions, thoughts, feelings and in some cases even ambulation. As he wrote, in a letter to the Daily Telegraph:

> Lothlórien is beautiful because there the trees were loved; elsewhere forests are represented as awakening to consciousness of themselves.[3]

He continues in a vein most relevant to the current paper, indicating that in his view trees are akin to animals and humans since they can be 'tortured' and even 'murdered':

> but nothing it [the Forestry Commission] has done that is stupid compares with the destruction, torture and murder of trees perpetrated by private individuals and minor official bodies. The savage sound of the electric saw is never silent wherever trees are still found growing.

Ecolinguistic and Ecostylistic studies have explored the representation of nature in poetry, highlighting the way some poets respond to nature in ways suggestive of deeper relations with the natural world, including trees (Stibbe 2007, Goatly 2022). Goatly (2017: 62), for example, shows how the lexical choices of Edward Thomas construe kinship with trees:

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[3] Tolkien and trees. Online at: https://www.rootsimple.com/2016/09/tolkien-and-trees/, retrieved 31.10.2023.

And trees and us — imperfect friends, we men
And trees since time began; and nevertheless
Between us still we breed a mystery.

Lucille Clifton's 1990 poem, '*The Killing of the Trees* '[4] describes an 'old oak' uprooted and felled by a bulldozer, comparing the attack to that of Custer on native Americans at Wounded Knee. The grief at the event is not represented as located in the poet herself, but rather in the trees themselves: 'trees huddle in a camp weeping/ outside my window'. In a better-known modern American poem, Maya Angelou's *When Great Trees Fall*, it is possible to understand the poem as not about trees at all, but rather about the death of 'great souls', for whose passing the death of great trees is an extended metaphor.

By contrast the British poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, whose work often features a passionate observation of the natural world, appears to feel something like grief for the trees themselves, in his poem *Binsey Poplars* (1879):

My aspens dear, whose airy cages quelled,
   Quelled or quenched in leaves the leaping sun,
   All felled, felled, are all felled;
    Of a fresh and following folded rank
          Not spared, not one
          That dandled a sandalled
       Shadow that swam or sank
On meadow and river and wind-wandering weed-winding bank

Likewise nature poet John Clare's attention in his long poem '*To a Fallen Elm*' (1830), though it becomes a political reflection on the nature of human liberty, is mainly motivated by his feelings of loss for the 'Old Elm that murmured in our chimney top. The sweetest anthem autumn ever made.' In their different ways, these writers express feelings of affection for the trees, and sadness that provoke sadness and even grief at their loss or destruction. By contrast with some of the responses already quoted to the loss of Hadrian's tree, it is noticeable that there is no reference to the trees' relevance on some other scale of values – as symbols for tourists, for example. Hopkins simply misses the trees he passed on his daily walks and had come to love, very much as living beings that shared his bio-space, to whose beauty and freshness he was particularly sensitive.

3. Ecolinguistics: Literature review

The now vibrant research trend of Ecolinguistics arguably originated in a 1992 paper by M. A. K. Halliday in which he presents a wide-ranging critique of the role of language and its relationship with the environment:

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[4] Poetry for the Anthropocene. Online at: https://scalar.usc.edu/works/engl205-07h-fall-2017/panel-2-person-2, retrieved 31.10.2023.

There is a syndrome of grammatical features which conspire – in Martin's term – to construe reality in a certain way; and it is a way that is no longer good for our health as a species. (Halliday 2010: 164)

Like critical discourse analysis it is partly a socially constructive paradigm, regarding language as key in shaping both discourses and social practices in the area of our relationship with what has been called the 'more than human world'. It also reaches out, in the tradition of positive discourse analysis (Martin 2004), in search of more beneficial environmental discourses, embracing insights from the arts, from ecology, ecosophy, anthropology, primitive cultures and the like (Gottlieb 2008, Stibbe 2015, Dryzek 2022, Virdis 2022). The aim is both to raise awareness on the current tragic situation that results from our unreflecting exploitation of what we habitually regard as 'natural resources', and to learn from more holistic and eco-sensitive approaches that prevail in such domains.

Trees and forests are fundamental in the discourse of 'green' movements, and become significant players in clashes between interests of local communities and organised capitalism, as was the case with the Chipko movement in India in the 1970s, which pitted local interests against mass deforestation (Haynes 2002). In our own time, the Amazon rainforest appears frequently in international discourse because of its perceived role in mitigating climate change (Siikamaki et al. 2019), while large-scale tree-planting as carbon sinks to offset toxic emissions has been an influential feature of Green environmentalism since the 1992 Kyoto protocol (Bäckstrand & Lövbrand 2006).

In the deep ecological perspective that imbues much Ecolinguistic research (see, e.g. Devall & Sessions 1985, Naess 1987, 2005, 2008, 2009, Kohn 2013), trees have great significance because they occupy a key role in sustaining so many vital parts of the biosphere. In attempting to recover a perception that has largely been backgrounded in first world countries, Ecolinguistics has reached out to indigenous traditions that still preserve ecological practices and holistic ecosophies, reflective of a more intimate connection with nature. As Indian environmentalist Sunderlal Bahugana says, 'We have to feel the heartbeats of the trees, because trees are living beings like us' (in Suzuki et al. 2008: 187). Meanwhile Tim Ingold (2000: 145) says of the Malay rainforest people the Batek: 'for the Batek, trees are people. They possess agency and sociality.' This and similar ways of thinking about trees will likely be viewed by many in the first world as at best fanciful notions, probably associated with minorities such as tree huggers who are stigmatised as eccentrics by mainstream thought (Shirania et al. 2015). Alternatively, such perspectives may be felt to typify imaginative or literary representations of trees. Talking, walking or otherwise animated trees are familiar figures in popular culture (e.g. J. K. Rowling's 'whomping willow', while many works of fiction or non-fiction document personal ecosophies, and highlight the authors' sensitivity to the regenerative potentialities of contact with trees (see, e.g. Kimmerer 2013, Powers 2018, Shafak 2021).

In his provocative book '*How Forests Think'* (2013), Kohn recognises that to give serious attention to the book's claim would entail a revision of anthropocentric understandings of our place in the natural world:

> Forests think. What are the implications of this claim for our understandings of what it means to be human in a world that extends beyond us? (Kohn 2013: 21–22)

The notion that trees might communicate and enjoy other aspects of conscious life has received scientific attention in recent years. For example, Wohlleben (2016) speaks of 'the language of trees' and describes their communication through the air and by means of fungal networks, via 'olfactory, visual, and electrical signals'. Research in mainstream biological science has also highlighted the sophisticated systems developed by plants to exchange information with other plants (see, e.g. Trewavas 2014, Karban 2015, Davies 2015, Ryan et al. 2021). Yet such scientific research may take care to distance itself from the kind of environmental thinking that breezily attributes sophisticated human features like 'soul', 'consciousness', 'feelings', etc. to plants and trees. Karban (ibid: 3), for example, appears to dismiss as 'absurd' the notion that plants might 'appreciate' music, insisting on the need for empirical evidence; he also takes great care to define what is meant by 'communication', distinguishing what occurs in the plant context from the everyday human kind.

Ecolinguistic research on the topic has taken a variety of approaches. From a critical ecolinguistic perspective, authors have pointed out that trees may be reductively represented in terms of their marketability as 'lumber' (Chawla 2001: 120), the same perspective from which Stibbe (2015: 157) surveys the characterisation of forests as 'stocks of natural capital'. Applying the methods of Corpus Analysis to Ecolinguistics, Poole and Micalay-Hurtado (2022) report a diachronic study that shows how previous associations of forests and trees with 'wildness' and 'boundless', 'limitless' space have now given way to discourses of human dominion. Some studies in Ecolinguistics have focused on terminological critique: for example, Schultz (2001: 110) argues that the practise of representing natural features such as forests as 'resources' is exploitative. She provides a list of conventional ways of referring to trees that highlight their potential as sources of wood next to more ecological alternatives (e.g. production forest/*forest used for industrial forestry*; softwood/*conifer, pine*; timbered/*forested*, etc.) (Schultz, ibid: 114).

In general then, the perspective of Ecolinguistics towards plants, trees, forests, is that of deep ecology, as Stibbe (2014: 5) puts it:

> Deep ecology is based around recognising the intrinsic worth of plants, animals, forests and rivers, that is, their value beyond direct, short-term use for humans.

This formula cannot easily be represented as idealistic green whimsy, a common response to ecological thinking in the cultural mainstream. It stops short

of exaggerated, unproven hypotheses regarding plant consciousness for example, simply arguing that they have a value and an 'intrinsic worth' that has nothing whatever to do with their usefulness for humans.

4. Data and methodology

The paper analyses reporting of stories of the felling of Hadrian's Tree from a narrative perspective, taking data from a variety of media and social media sources. Data is taken from online newspapers like the Guardian, one of the few major UK dailies not to paywall its texts, and from Facebook[*], using stories obtained from the search prompt 'Sycamore Gap tree'. Three of these stories have been analysed using the methodology outlined.

As Allan Bell (2005: 397) says, 'Journalists do not write articles. They write stories.' Polkinghorne (1988: 11) calls narrative 'the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful'. By focusing on narrative in discourse, this paper follows a path outlined by Stibbe (2015), who sees stories as fundamental components of social construction. In the same way that Lakoff and Johnson suggest that we 'live by' metaphors, Stibbe argues that we live by stories – western societies, for example, live by stories expressive of neo-liberal consumerist ideologies such as GROWTH IS GOOD, MORE IS BETTER, A GOOD JOB IS ONE THAT PAYS WELL, and so on. Of course, these 'stories' are environmentally harmful because they feed a capitalist-industrial logic of production and consumption that has little or no regard for holistic or deep ecological principles.

Labov (1972: 227) outlined a model that is still relevant for narrative analysis,[5] which proposed the following stages (summarised in Hall 2005: 397–8):

> 1. The *abstract* summarizes the central action and main point of the narrative. A storyteller uses it at the outset to pre-empt the questions, what is this about, why is this story being told?
> 2. The *orientation* sets the scene; the who, when, where, and initial situation or activity of the story.
> 3. The *complicating action* is the central part of the story proper answering the question, what happened then?
> 4. The *evaluation* addresses the question, so what? A directionless sequence of clauses is not a narrative. Narrative has point, and it is narrators' prime intention to justify the value of the story they are telling, to demonstrate why these events are reportable.
> 5. The *resolution* is what finally happened to conclude the sequence of events.
> 6. Finally, many narratives end with a *coda* – 'and that was that.' This wraps up the action, and returns the conversation from the time of the narrative to the present.'

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[5] Bell (ibid: 399), for example, uses Labov's model in much the same way as I do in this paper. See also Ponton (forthcoming).

To exemplify this model, consider a story taken from the Guardian newspaper concerning the UK's preparedness for future storms.[6] The *abstract*, in this case, coincides with the headline and the sub-header:

> UK ill-prepared for havoc future storms could wreak, scientists warn
>
> Government not putting enough effort into flood resilience despite likelihood of more frequent and severe storms, experts say

The *orientation*, which naturally features in the early part of the story, presents key actors such as those found in the text just quoted – scientists, government, experts. It gives information that allows readers to contextualise the story relating to where it's happening and what's going on:

– Experts believe
– Storms more frequent and severe in the UK
– Caused thousands of homes in the UK to flood
– Almost 150,000 households in the UK were left without power
– Schools in Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney had to shut

Stories have one or more *complicating action* that make significant contributions to the story's consequentiality, to provide readers with a reason to take an interest. Here we find:

> The flood prevention approach has been to build large, hard structures to protect infrastructure, but Hoey said this was expensive and had major drawbacks.

Hunston and Thompson (2003: 5) describe the next component, evaluation, as a way of expressing the speaker or writer's 'attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about'. For Labov evaluation is crucial since it shows listeners how they are to understand the story, to answer a hypothetical listener's imagined 'so what?' Like the other stages, evaluation is not confined to a particular point in the text but may occur at any moment or be sprinkled throughout. For example, in the storms story it is already at work in the sub-text:

> The UK is <u>ill-prepared</u> for <u>the disaster</u> future storms could wreak, <u>scientists have warned</u>

Here we find evaluation of the UK via the adjective 'ill-prepared', while a hypothetical future event is premediated (Grusin 2004) as a 'disaster', the negative overtones further underlined by the notion of 'warning' from scientists, socially valued as authoritative figures. Via such semantic means the writer signals the importance of the story, that readers need to pay attention if they want to stay safe in future. As for the result stage, this story proposes two alternatives, unlike many

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6 Guardian online at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/nov/07/uk-ill-prepared-for-havoc-future-storms-could-wreak-scientists-warn, retrieved 07/11/2023.

stories where this is a univocal feature (e.g. '*and they all lived happily ever after*'). Here the outcome depends on the action the UK government takes to deal with the threat of flood damage, and could be positive:

> all those at risk of flooding are better protected and prepared for the future.

Or negative:

> [..] could cost people their homes, livelihoods and even their lives.

There is no coda.

Wilson and Sperber's *relevance theory* (Sperber & Wilson 1986, Wilson & Sperber 1994) theorizes implied meanings that underly texts and utterances, and where needed their approach is used with some of the data. In their view, 'relevance, and the maximisation of relevance, is the key to human cognition' (Wilson & Sperber 1994: 41), and the theory claims that communication involves a presumption of 'optimal relevance' (ibid: 96). For example, in the Guardian text we find:

> A Defra spokesperson said: "We are investing a record £5.2 billion investment in flood and coastal erosion schemes"

Readers will unpack this to mean something like: *If we are investing all this money then we should be safe from future floods*. This would be my hypothesis for the most 'strongly salient' implied meaning in this case. Other meanings, for example that: *this proves that the government is taking the problem seriously*, or *this shows how badly climate change is impacting our economy* would be seen as 'weakly salient' (Wilson & Sperber 1994: 99) and hence less likely to represent the writer's intended meaning.

The study also considers discourse framing (Goffman 1974), a perspective that allows for consideration of the way narrative composition influences the transmission of meaning. In Entman's well-known formula, this selection process has the effect of 'promot[ing] a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described' (Entman 1993: 52). This can be a largely unconscious process: for instance, in the first story dealt with in the next section, the poster is describing the Sycamore Gap tree in the context of family trips, picnics and so on. References are made to 'mam' and 'dad', and hence it is possible to see the operation of a 'family' frame at work in the story. The fallen tree (a 'family' tree?) is implicitly included as an honorary member of the poster's family, and thus, in a pragmatic sense, the identification of the tree with the writer's deceased father is strengthened. However, framing can also be deliberate, and this is more common with professionally produced discourse such as newspaper stories. For example, consider the way the Washington Post begins its account of the Sycamore Gap story:

On Thursday, the UK lost two national treasures. One was Michael Gambon, the actor who played Dumbledore in the Harry Potter movies, who died at 82 after a bout of pneumonia. The other was a tree.[7]

The coincidental death of a famous actor at the same time as the tragedy allows the writer to view the story through the lens of a 'celebrity' frame, whose meanings underlie textual elements such as:

the sycamore was likely *one of the most photographed* natural landmarks in the UK, if not the world. It even had *a starring role* in the 1991 movie Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves

While such a frame serves the purpose of giving internal coherence to the text, it also suggests a range of pragmatic meanings that range from strongly to weakly salient. For example, my hypothesis for the former would be that: *since this is such a famous tree, this is an important story and readers should care about it*. A less strongly salient meaning would be that *it is only because this tree is so famous that we should care about it at all*.

5. Analysis: Stories about the tree

Social media has been called 'perhaps the largest scale collective communicative phenomena in human history' (Blommaert & Varis 2015), and as an echo chamber of public opinion a social media site like Facebook[*] has distinct advantages for the analyst over older methods of data collection (Wilson et al. 2012). One of its affordances is to allow for rapid gathering of a range of opinions in response to a public event of this type. Replies posted to a member's question about what should be put in its place in the main expresss feelings of outrage, grief, etc., including: *A gibbet for the offenders; It's sad when any tree bites the dust*; *I hope the general public are informed as to punishment of perpetrators and names*. However, others resist this and try to see the funny side: *If you want a tree, plant it 30 years ago!*, or *How about a block of flats..ffs.*; *A Greggs, the only place left to open one*, etc. Others make ironic or indifferent comments: *Woodn't* (sic) *know it was just a tree..Millions around; Ffs it was only a tree!!*[8]

A possible pitfall with scanning a site like Facebook[*] as an index of an abstraction like 'popular feeling' is that its users are engaged in a range of pragmatic operations in which the sincere expression of personal emotion is not necessarily uppermost. Habitual users post on current stories as part of a daily routine: they comment on other members' posts, use emojis or stickers to signal responses,

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[7] Washington Post. Online at https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/energy/2023/09/29/sycamore-gap-hadrian-s-wall-tree-felling-is-a-parable/d5cbba36-5ebf-11ee-b961-94e18b27be28_story.html

[8] Comments from the Northern Echo post, Facebook[*]. Online at: https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=sycamore%20gap%20tree%20felled, retrieved 9/11/23.

engage with other members, and these patterns can be seen as signals of belonging to the virtual community of 'friends'. Discursive mechanisms of alignment are in operation, precisely those described by Martin (2004: 322–3), who says:

> We're positioned, through shared feeling, to belong to a group of people [..] who disapprove of behaviour of this kind [..] How does language negotiate feelings in order to make us belong?

This does not necessarily mean that users are expected to respond in the same way to an event; a range of posts are found, as we have just seen. 'Belonging' may be achieved simply by posting, and even flippant comments that go against the grain of the perceived consensus have a place in these imagined communities. It is noticeable that this type of comment is usually brief; a few words rather than a paragraph that outlines or argues a case. Longer posts tend to express feelings of sadness, typically in personal anecdotes like the following:

Table 1. **Dad charity walk story[9]**

1	We did our first charity walk for Brain Tumour Research after my beloved dad passed away. He
2	loved it up there, seemed right, nearly 70 of us walked that day, wonderful memories I will
3	never forget. My mam was 78 at the time, she said dad was with her while she walked. She
4	loved Sycamore Gap, we all stopped and took photographs. So sad it is gone but I know it will
5	grow stronger and every bit as magnificent as it was before

In this story mourning for the tree is superimposed over another narrative that mourns the poster's father, so that feelings for both are mingled. In fact, it is hard to disentangle the two narratives, unless the two words 'seemed right' are allotted the inferential reading: '*since my father had always loved Sycamore Gap, it seemed right, following his death from a brain tumour, to arrange a charity walk there*'.[10] If this is correct, then we can interpret: 'My mam [..] said dad was with her while she walked' (3–4) as meaning that the mother had a feeling of supernatural closeness to the departed. It is noticeable that evaluation refers to both these realms of feeling; for the tree and for the poster's father:

The feelings of sadness for the tree (4–5) are matched by hope for its future (5–6). Unlike the writer's father who is gone for ever, the inference is that another sycamore will soon flourish on the same spot. Perhaps, then, it is possible to infer that for this writer one sycamore is every bit as 'magnificent' as another, and that

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[9] Facebook*. Herding Hill Farm Touring site. Online at: https://www.facebook.com/herdinghillfarm, retrieved 12/11/2023.

[10] Competing with this, and thus contributing to a sense of ambiguity in the text, would be something like: *my dad seemed in good health during the walk*. Though this is impossible, since we know that the dad has 'passed away' (1), in such a short, informal discourse type as a Facebook* post it would be possible for the narrative to have skipped to an earlier time frame, perhaps a short time before his death (my dad *had* seemed right, i.e., we hadn't noticed symptoms of his illness). This interpretation makes sense of 'dad was with her while she walked' (3) which otherwise requires a supernatural explanation.

the sense of sadness we find in this tale derives from the circumstance that this tree grew in a place dear to the father's memory.

Table 2. **Dad charity walk, narrative structure**

Abstract	–
Orientation	Who? Dad (1), mam (3), 70 of us (2) When? After my beloved dad passed away (1–2) What? A charity walk Where? Sycamore Gap (4)
Complication	So sad it is gone (4–5)
Evaluation	He loved it up there (2) Wonderful memories (2–3) She loved Sycamore Gap (4) So <u>sad</u> (4–5) <u>stronger</u> and <u>every bit as magnificent</u> as it was before (5–6)
Result	(The tree will grow) *stronger..etc.*
Coda	–

The next story is more formal; a newspaper report of the felling:

Table 3. **Sycamore Gap tree story**

1	**Famous Sycamore Gap tree at Hadrian's Wall found cut down**
2 3	Police investigating after former tree of the year winner, estimated to be several hundred years old, felled.
4 5 6	A police investigation has been launched into the felling of one of the most photographed trees in the UK, the Sycamore Gap tree at Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland, which was found cut down on Thursday morning.
7 8 9	The world famous tree, voted English tree of the year in a Woodland Trust competition in 2016 and featured in the 1991 film Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves, is thought to have been deliberately felled.
10 11 12 13	Photographs taken on Thursday morning show it appears to have been sawed at the base of the trunk with a chainsaw. The sycamore tree, estimated to be several hundred years old, had previously stood in a small picturesque valley in Northumberland national park in the north of England.
14 15 16 17 18	In a statement, Northumberland national park authority said it "can confirm that sadly, the famous tree at Sycamore Gap has come down overnight. We have reason to believe it has been deliberately felled. We are working with the relevant agencies and partners with an interest in this iconic north-east landmark and will issue more details once they are known.
19 20 21 22	"Sycamore Gap was voted English tree of the year in 2016 in the Woodland Trust's awards and is much-loved by people from across the world. Northumberland national park authority would like to ask the public not to visit the site at this time whilst we work with our partners to identify what has happened and to make the site safe."
23 24 25	A Northumbria police spokesperson said: "We can confirm an investigation has been launched following damage to the Sycamore Gap tree in Northumberland. "Inquiries are ongoing to establish whether any criminal offences have been committed."

Here the emphasis is factual rather than emotive. Two frames seem predominant, a sort of 'celebrity' frame and a 'crime' frame, as the narrative analysis makes plain:

Table 4. **Sycamore Gap tree story: Narrative structure**

Abstract	Famous Sycamore Gap tree at Hadrian's Wall found cut down (1)
Orientation	Who? Police (2,4, 23–25) When? Thursday morning (6) What? Sycamore gap tree Where? Hadrian's Wall (1,5), Northumberland (6,12,14,20,23,24)
Complication	Photographs taken on Thursday morning show it appears to have been sawed at the base of the trunk with a chainsaw (10–11)
Evaluation	Famous Sycamore Gap tree (1); world famous tree (7); the famous tree (15) one of the most photographed trees in the UK (4–5) sadly (14) this iconic north-east landmark (17) voted English tree of the year (19) much-loved (20)
Result	the famous tree at Sycamore Gap has come down overnight (15)
Coda	Inquiries are ongoing to establish whether any criminal offences have been committed (24–25)

The crime frame is construed by the opening sentence: Police investigating (2). This refers back to the Abstract which outlines the terrain the story will cover – a 'famous tree' has been 'cut down'. This passive formula with agent deletion permits the inference that the identity of the perpetrator is the subject of the police investigation. By giving these meanings thematic preference (Halliday 1967) the writer establishes an interpretative lens that will govern the whole story, since analogous references occur at intervals throughout the text. The Complicating Action 10–11) refers to a criminal action, with hedging typical of the domains of criminal investigation and crime reporting: 'appears to have been' (10) strongly implies 'has been', but to assert the latter in the absence of a legal judgement would be problematic. The Coda stage, which sums up the story and returns the reader to the present, reiterates the police frame, via a journalistic crime cliché of 'ongoing inquiries' (24–25).

Evaluation, with several references to the tree's 'fame', its awards, its global popularity (19) and so on, provides support for the notion that another main frame in the text is that of 'celebrity'.

The two frames support one another, since it is manifest that it is precisely the tree's visibility as an 'iconic landmark' (17) that renders the act of cutting it down a sort of crime. It is worth pausing over the meaning of the Coda:

> Inquiries are ongoing to establish whether any criminal offences have been committed

This is the kind of matter-of-fact verbiage that is often found at the conclusion of a police story, typically some variation on 'a man is reported to be helping the police with their enquiries'. Here, however, by the term 'enquiries' (sic), the report does not mean that police are busy searching for the guilty parties to bring them to justice. Rather, the most salient meaning – indeed, this is hardly an implicature, but rather a meaning that corresponds to the denotational meaning of the sentence in question – is that they aim to establish if it was a crime to cut down the tree at all! In other words, the story raises the question of whether trees have rights, whether talk of the tree being 'murdered' might have some legal foundation, or if statements like the following are simply hyperbole:

> Hairy Biker Si King's 'beyond words' message for whoever 'murdered' Sycamore Gap tree[11]

The final story opens with a celebrity frame that was cited in the Methodology section above, but moves on to develop what could be called an 'environmental' frame, setting the tree's destruction in a broader context of depletion of the UK's green spaces.

Table 5. **Beloved Sycamore Gap tree story**

1	Beloved Sycamore Gap tree's butchering offers broader lessons[12]
2	Nature makes us feel good, so let's preserve, protect and restore our living world
3	On September 28, the UK lost two national treasures. One was Michael Gambon, the
4	actor who played Dumbledore in the Harry Potter movies, who died at 82 after a bout
5	of pneumonia. The other was a tree.
6	The Sycamore Gap tree stood proudly in northeast England next to Hadrian's Wall, an
7	ancient boundary that once divided Roman Britannia and Caledonia. Framed beautifully
8	by rising hillsides, the sycamore was likely one of the most photographed natural
9	landmarks in the UK, if not the world. It even had a starring role in the 1991 movie Robin
10	Hood: Prince of Thieves. But on the morning of September 28, the tree was found in two
11	pieces. It had been felled overnight in what the police believe was a deliberate act of
12	vandalism.
13	It has rightly been met with an outpouring of grief and anger. We have yet to find out
14	who committed the act or why, though a 16-year-old boy was arrested. There are two
15	things we should take away from the tragedy, though. The first is a reminder of nature's
16	importance in our lives. The second is a call to action: Nature's decline in the country
17	goes far beyond Sycamore Gap.
18	Reading the messages of those mourning the tree, it's clear just how much it means to
19	people. Some proposed to their partners there. Others scattered the ashes of their loved

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[11] Wales Online. Online at: https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/uk-news/hairy-biker-si-kings-beyond-27805806, retrieved 13/11/2023.

[12] Gulf News. Opinion. Online at: https://gulfnews.com/opinion/op-eds/beloved-sycamore-gap-trees-butchering-offers-broader-lessons-1.98483211, retrieved 13/11/2023.

20	ones nearby. For some, it was a place of healing after long illnesses and times of stress
21	or simply the background for many happy memories with friends and family. This isn't
22	unique to Sycamore Gap or the UK. Trees have given meaning to humanity for millennia,
23	whether the holy banyans in India, Japan's shinboku or the sacred groves found around
24	the globe.
25	Immersion in nature has been proven time and again to benefit our mental and physical
26	well-being. A study of 20,000 people by researchers at the University of Exeter
27	found that people who spent two hours a week in green spaces were substantially
28	more likely to report good health than those who didn't. The psychological
29	welfare of a population is linked to its proximity to nature and trees in both
30	urban and rural settings. Research has linked experiences in nature with
31	happiness, social cohesion, a sense of meaning, cognitive function, impulse inhibition
32	and children's school performance. So it's no wonder we are drawn to places like
33	Sycamore Gap.
34	Unfortunately, the same day of the massacre of the tree, a new report detailing the
35	state of Britain's natural landscapes was published. It should provoke the same
36	emotional outpouring.
37	The study found that the UK is one of the most nature-depleted nations in the world.
38	One in six species are at risk of extinction. Forty-three per cent of British birds are
39	threatened, with skylarks dropping 59 per cent in abundance since monitoring began in
40	1970. Pollinating insects, such as bees, have decreased by 18 per cent on average, while
41	more than half of our flowering plants, mosses and relatives have disappeared from
42	areas where they used to thrive. It's a sobering assessment of a countryside struggling
43	with the effects of intensive farming, unsustainable fishing practices and climate
44	change. Indeed, it's worth noting that the butchered sycamore tree, a non-native
45	species, once stood among many others.

Although as mentioned the story does use a celebrity frame, it is already clear from the Abstract that it points in a different direction, via the reference to 'broader lessons' (1). The sub-title includes a deontic proposition, locating the piece in the domain of argumentative reporting – a genre that Iedema et al. (1994) call 'expository' rather than that of 'narrative journalism' (Van Krieken & Sanders 2017):

> Nature makes us feel good, <u>so</u> let's preserve, protect and restore our living world (2)

It quickly shifts to an environmental frame, using the sycamore's story to promote three distinct discursive strands; firstly, that trees are important: 'Trees have given meaning to humanity for millennia' (22–3), secondly a string of sentences claim, in different ways, that 'Immersion in nature has been proven time and again to benefit our mental and physical well-being' (25–6), and finally that the act of vandalism towards the tree is symbolic of a wider pattern of environmental damage in the UK (37–45). As the story foreshadowed in the Abstract stage argues, it is because 'Nature makes us feel good' that we should protect the 'living world', and these details form part of the text's argumentative strategy. The instances of hyperbole such as 'butchering' (1, 44), 'tragedy' (15) and 'massacre' (34) serve the same rhetorical function. All three are dialogically provocative: as we saw from the Facebook[*] data above there are people, perhaps many, who feel that the whole story

represents an over-reaction to the fate of what is, in the last analysis, 'just a tree'. These readers will question the application of verbs from the semantic domains of violence (massacre), animal husbandry (butcher) and human disaster (tragedy) to what they likely see as that of petty crime, vandalism, etc.

In the Orientation stage (table 6) the inclusion of a category of 'non-human social actors' allows us to note the many references to these elements, which are matched by a comparable number of references to plural human social actors. Whether the references are to 'we/us/our' or to general collective nouns like 'humanity' (22), 'population' (29), 'people'(19, 27), it is plain that the main concern of the story is to trace 'our' relation with the natural world, represented here in the manifold references to non-human factors:

Table 6. **Narrative Structure**

Abstract	Beloved Sycamore Gap tree's butchering offers broader lessons (1) Nature makes us feel good, so let's preserve, protect and restore our living world (2)
Orientation	Who? Michael Gambon (3), a 16-year-old boy (13), we/us (2,13,15,16,25,32,41), the police (11), people (18–21,26–28,) children (32) *Non-human social actors*: the tree (1,6,8,9–10,18–21, 44–5), the holy banyan (23), Japan's shinboku (23), trees (22,29), British birds (38), skylarks (39), pollinating insects (40), bees (40) When? On September 28 (3) What? Beloved Sycamore Gap tree's butchering (1) Where? in northeast England next to Hadrian's Wall (6)
Complication	Nature's decline in the country goes far beyond Sycamore Gap (16–17)
Evaluation	Beloved Sycamore Gap tree's butchering (1) the UK lost two national treasures (3) Framed beautifully by rising hillsides (7–8) a deliberate act of vandalism (11–12) an outpouring of grief and anger (13) take away from the tragedy (15) many happy memories with friends and family (21) benefit our mental and physical well-being (25–26) good health (28) the massacre of the tree (34) the same emotional outpouring (35–6) It's a sobering assessment (42)
Result	The study found that the UK is one of the most nature-depleted nations in the world. One in six species are at risk of extinction (37–8)
Coda	–

In this story the Complicating Action (16–17) is used to switch the focus, away from the Sycamore Gap story towards the presentation of more data in support of

the writer's overall thesis. In Iedema et al's terms (ibid), this blends the genre of 'News Story' with that of 'Media Exposition'. A lengthy paragraph (25–32) gives details of the 'benefit' to 'our mental and physical well-being' afforded by 'immersion in nature', and this leads smoothly into the final paragraph outlining details of species loss in the UK, which now finds itself 'one of the most nature-depleted nations in the world' (37). Thus, the Sycamore Gap story has been absorbed into the general environmental argument which permeates the piece, as follows:

> SINCE Nature benefits our mental and physical well-being (25–6)
>
> AND SINCE The UK is one of the most nature-depleted countries in the world (37)
>
> THEREFORE We should preserve, protect and restore our living world (2)

Viewed in this light, the 'tragedy' of the Sycamore Gap tree loss is much less significant than the species loss outlined in the final paragraph, though it is important as a 'flagship' case study (Heywood 1995)[13] that brings the issues squarely into the mediasphere and hence also to public awareness.

6. Discussion

In an important article, cited in Stibbe 2015 (p. 167), Guardian writer George Monbiot discusses the possible environmental impact of applying monetary measures of value to nature. This is specifically discusssed in the case of a projected motorway development through an ancient wood near Sheffield where the developers, who appear to have government support for their actions, offer to replace Smithy Wood with 60,000 trees planted nearby. As he comments:

> Who cares whether a tree is a hunched and fissured coppiced oak, worked by people for centuries, or a sapling planted beside a slip road with a rabbit guard around it? As Ronald Reagan remarked, when contemplating the destruction of California's giant redwoods, "a tree is a tree"[14]

As we have seen, the notion that the sycamore in question in this paper was 'just a tree' has been discursively opposed to those who use narrative to characterise it as a 'tragedy', as a 'massacre', 'torture', 'murder' or in the equally hyperbolic formula of one police commissioner, 'stealing joy.'[15] People who share the former position will naturally not have participated in the 'emotional outpouring' over the sycamore's fate but rather wondered what all the fuss was about.

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[13] Flagship species have been defined as 'popular, charismatic species that serve as symbols and rallying points to stimulate conservation awareness and action' (Heywood 1995, in Verissimo et al. 2009).

[14] Reframing the planet. Online at: https://www.monbiot.com/2014/04/22/reframing-the-planet/, retrieved 07/11/2023.

[15] Guardian online: https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2023/oct/05/felling-of-sycamore-gap-tree-damaged-hadrians-wall-inspection-reveals, retrieved 15.11.2023.

However, from an Ecolinguistic perspective it is noticeable that, apart from those who express indifference or hostility towards those mourning over the sycamore, even some of those who do feel its loss do so in ways that align them more closely with what Naess calls 'shallow' rather than 'deep' ecological feelings and attitudes. He expresses the distinction as follows:

> 1. The Shallow Ecology movement. Fight against pollution and resource depletion. Central objective: the health and affluence of people in the developed countries.

> 2. The Deep Ecology movement: Rejection of the man-in-environment image in favour of the relational, total-field image. Organisms as knots in the biospherical net or field of intrinsic relations [..] The ecological field-worker acquires a deep-seated respect, or even veneration, for ways and forms of life. He reaches an understanding from within, a kind of understanding that others reserve for fellow men and for a narrow section of ways and forms of life. (Naess 1973: 95–6)

Shallow ecology is still ecology of a kind – it encompasses measures of unquestionable environmental benefit like differentiated rubbish collection, replacement of plastic with biodegradable materials in retail outlets, the switch to renewable energy and electric vehicles, the provisions of the Kyoto Protocol and other international treaties on the climate and environment. It is unquestionably pleasant for people to have trees and parklands, forests and groves for picnics, fishing outings and hiking – these things, as pointed out in the last story analysed, improve the quality of our lives – of those fortunate enough to live in what Naess calls the 'developed countries'. One can only speculate on Naess's likely response to the concept of a 'Tree of the Year' competition, surely more a manifestation of the excesses of first world media culture than of any genuine environmental feeling.

Naess's perspective requires us to recognise that all nature is not there to serve wo/mankind's every need, but rather that all forms of life contribute to an infinite net, each with their place and value. Closest to Naess's perspective from the data studied above could be Tolkien, who objected to the 'savage sound of the electric saw' because its victims were not 'just trees' but living beings, with their own kind of consciousness. In his fictional work he built an imaginative tree-world that goes far beyond even Naess's formula, but as his letters show, his feelings for everyday trees check up with some of the perspectives of Deep Ecology:

> I am (obviously) much in love with plants and above all trees, and always have been; and I find human maltreatment of them as hard to bear as some find ill-treatment of animals.

7. Conclusion

The International Tree Foundation echoes the ecological sentiments of the last story, arguing that we should respond with the same emotional response to the general loss of trees worldwide, that this is potentially a bigger picture:

And so we bemoan a lost natural treasure. And rightly so, because it served for so many decades as a symbol of patience and resistance, an unchanging point on the landscape. But we ignore at our peril the bigger picture: the unstoppable trends of global forest destruction, habitat loss and ecosystem breakdown.

As true as this is, it is hard not to feel that even such environmental messages are wide of the mark in terms of a deep ecological perspective. 'Ecosystem breakdown' is seen as a bad thing primarily because of what it will mean for us, not because of its impact on 'the biospherical net or field of intrinsic relations', on non-human 'ways and forms of life' – this is why we ignore it 'at our peril'.

In their different ways, many of the protagonists and participants in the various stories and narrative fragments cited in the paper express sincere feelings of regret and loss for the sycamore, and in many cases this is linked to manifest appreciation of its nature-rich context. Though in some cases they are mourning a relative, they are clearly also emotionally affected by the loss of the tree itself. However, what is missing, in the mediated responses to the Sycamore Gap episode, is a sense of respect for the tree itself – as a tree, not as 'more than just a tree' – in Naess's words, a feeling of 'veneration' or 'understanding from within'. This is quite different from an emotional response to the tree's celebrity status, its role as a heritage symbol, or to the idea that this tree had value because it was 'more than just a tree'. Clearly, on the evidence of this paper, we have a long way to go in this regard.

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Research article / Научная статья

Metaphoric gestures in simultaneous interpreting

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Abstract
The paper deals with the degree to which interpreters incorporate visible behaviors from the people they are interpreting into their own practice. Since metaphoric gestures objectify abstract concepts in visible form, it is worth exploring the degree to which interpreters replicate such gestures of those whose speech they are interpreting; this can indicate how much they are employing the original speakers' mental imagery connected with those abstract concepts. This imagery for the source domain of the metaphor ranges from highly iconic (high metaphoric) to low in iconicity (low metaphoric). The hypothesis is that interpreters use low metaphoric gestures rather than high metaphoric ones, due to the discourse type (interpreted speech). We performed formal visual and semantic analyses of ten-minute videos of interpreting a scientific lecture for the general public on a psychological topic from English into Russian. First, we analyzed the functions of the gestures in the source videos to identify metaphorically used gestures (e.g., depicting abstract ideas); then we studied the functions of the interpreters' gestures. The results indicate a predominance of low-level, schematic metaphoricity in the interpreters' gestures (e.g., simple ontological metaphors, as if presenting ideas on the open hand). Such results might be explained by the time pressure which leads to a decrease in mental imagery of the interpreters. We see a difference between the known role of gestures when speakers are formulating their own ideas (in thinking for speaking) and their role in simultaneous interpreting (when speakers are rendering others' ideas, rather than forming their own ones).
Keywords: *simultaneous interpreting, gesture, thinking-for-speaking, mental imagery, iconicity*

Метафорические жесты в синхронном переводе

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Аннотация

В статье рассматривается специфика проявления метафоры на невербальном уровне при осуществлении синхронного перевода. Анализируется отражение метафоры в мануальных жестах синхронного переводчика, а также сравнивается жестовое поведение переводчика с невербальным поведением говорящего на видео, которое предъявлялось для осуществления синхронного перевода, чтобы выявить, влияют ли жесты, используемые спикером в видео-источнике, на жестовое поведение переводчиков-синхронистов. В процессе исследования был применен формальный визуальный и семантический анализ 10 видео синхронного перевода научно-популярной лекции на тему психологии с английского языка на русский; продолжительность каждого видео составила около 10 минут. Анализ корпуса проводился в два этапа. Сначала были проанализированы функции жестов говорящего на видео, предъявляемого в качестве стимульного материала, для определения проявлений метафоры в жестовом поведении выступающего (например, при описании абстрактной идеи). Далее такие проявления были выявлены и в жестовом поведении переводчиков. Затем были проанализированы функции жестов, используемых переводчиками-синхронистами. Результаты исследования показывают превалирование схематических метафор в жестах переводчиков (как, например, простых онтологических метафор, воплощаемых в форме представления описываемой идеи на открытой руке). Данные результаты могут объясняться нехваткой времени при осуществлении перевода, что ведет к снижению ментальной репрезентации в мануальных жестах. Был сделан вывод о различии в роли жестов при формулировании собственных идей и их использовании в процессе синхронного перевода.

Ключевые слова: *синхронный перевод, жесты, выражение идеи, ментальная репрезентация, иконичность*

1. Introduction

Human communication has been regarded as something more than purely speech production for quite a long period of time. As part of the process of speaking, people normally not only produce sounds, which then form meaningful units, but also make movements which also bear meaning and add to the communication process. Such movements are known as co-speech gestures and their role in people's language production has been a subject of debate. There are different points of view, as there is evidence that such gestures not only help create meaning but also help others to understand what is being said. Some scholars state that gestures are used in order to support the verbal context (Drijvers & Özyürek 2017),

give extra information, clarify, and focus the attention of the interlocuters on some points, etc. (Dargue et al. 2019, Goldin-Meadow & Alibali 2013, Hilliard & Cook 2016, Hostetter 2011, Melinger & Levelt 2004). However, other researchers highlight the ability of gestures to help with speech production, which makes them important for the speaker. For example, gestures are used by blind speakers in front of other blind speakers (Iverson & Goldin-Meadow 1998) or when speaking on the phone (Wei 2006). There are also claims that it is likely that gestures were the first form of communication, before spoken, verbal language, language appeared (Corballis 2012). Gestures are used across all cultures and languages. They are one of the first means that babies use to communicate with people around them before they learn how to speak.

As gestures are a part of our natural speech and communication processes, they are not unique for each person. Many gestures are repeated in different contexts by different people. However, some gestures are more complex than others. Gestures which entail some form of metaphor are inherently depicting some entity, process, or relation, and in this regard, they are commonly more complex in form (see, for example, Cienki & Müller 2008) than gestures serving common pragmatic and interactive functions (as described in Bavelas et al. 1992, for example). The research question is: if the same information is being presented in different contexts (i.e., by the speaker in the source video and by the interpreters during their performance), will that influence gesture production? There is evidence, for example, that when one sees a person telling a story, one is likely to use the same words and gestures when retelling the story later as the original speaker did (Cassell et al. 1999, McNeill et al. 1994). We suppose that there is a possibility of gesture mirroring during the process of interpreting, i.e., the participants are affected by the nonverbal behavior of a speaker whom they see on the screen and repeat gestures after the speaker.

2. Metaphor and gesture

The notion of metaphor and its nature have been discussed in linguistics and other fields for decades. Metaphor can be described as a conceptual mapping from one domain to another (Lakoff 1993). Conceptual Metaphor Theory is an approach where metaphor is viewed as being based on connections and similarities between two domains of knowledge or experience, which can even be reflected in manual movements (involving depiction of imagery). Thus, language is not the only modality where metaphor can be represented: metaphorical expressions can also be realized in a non-verbal modality (Cienki & Müller 2008). According to Jakobson, metaphor and metonymy are cognitive and semiotic strategies that play an important role in structuring both verbal and non-verbal messages (Jakobson 1956, 1987).

A multimodal metaphor involves cases when the source and target of the metaphor are represented in different modes (Forceville 2009). Embodiment of a source domain of such a conceptual metaphor does not represent a random

movement, but rather it usually involves recurrent forms and form-meaning mappings (Calbris 2003, 1998, 2005, McNeill 1992, 2005, Mittelberg 2006, Müller 2008, Tong 2023).

When discussing metaphor in gesture, it is also of importance to mention the notion of metonymy. Metaphor and metonymy represent cognitive processes of conceptualization and association which are implemented in different forms: verbal and non-verbal. From this theoretical perspective, cognitive linguists debate about the differences between metaphor and metonymy. Whereas metaphor is grounded on cross-domain mappings, metonymy is based on the mappings from within the same domain (Barcelona 2000). Following Mittelberg and Waugh we assume that metonymy leads the way to metaphor: metonymic mapping between a hand movement and a described imaginary object is a prerequisite for the metaphorical mapping between the object and the abstract idea (Mittelberg & Waugh 2009).

Gestures co-occur with speech simultaneously or can anticipate, or even sometimes follow, the verbal output (a word or an utterance). Many verbal concepts, whether abstract or concrete, can be embodied in gestures, particularly metaphoric ones. For our study, we will follow the definition of metaphoric gestures introduced by Cienki and Müller: "…metaphoric gestures… [are] the ones which have the potential to engage an active cross-domain mapping, that is, the cognitive process of understanding something in terms of something else" (Cienki & Müller 2008: 485–486).

Co-speech gestures are present in all types of contexts and discourse. In the current study we explore gestures and their role in simultaneous interpreting (SI). SI entails decoding information from a source language and rendering it as quickly as possible in a target language. This means that several mental processes are active simultaneously, namely attention, perception, reasoning, and working memory (Dayter 2020, Gósy 2007). The Cognitive Load Model (Seeber 2011) and Effort Model (Gile 2009) portray SI as a process which includes four tasks: comprehension, language production, memory storage, and coordination. In order to complete all these tasks completely one needs to keep them in balance and to reduce cognitive overload. To do that, interpreters can use gestures, as they are regarded to be one of the means to deal with stress and cognitive load (Poyatos 1987/2002). For example, Kita et al. (2017) state that hand gestures have a self-oriented function, as they help people with the process of conceptualization, especially if it involves spatial concepts. In addition, gestures of speakers from source texts are also important for SI. In one of his works, Seeber describes how interpreters use gestures to search for additional information when it can be expressed via body or hand movements of the speaker (Seeber 2012, 2017).

The present work will concentrate on metaphoric co-speech gestures, as we regard them an important part of SI that can give an insight into the cognitive processes involved in the interpreting. The mapping of the domains reflected in the combination of movement, the shape of the hands, and the speech might help with processes of conceptualization which can influence and improve the interpreting.

3. Data and methods

3.1. The video data and methodology

To conduct our experiment, a special setting was created which allowed us to put the participants in conditions similar to what they experience during interpreting at work. For that, an interpreting booth was recreated in the laboratory where the experiment was filmed. To recreate such a booth, we used a table, a computer screen and a large projector screen put in front of the table which blocked the view of the rest of the room. To film the interpreting process, we used two cameras. A wide-angle camera was put in front of the interpreters under the computer screen and a large professional camera with a microphone was standing on a tripod behind the interpreter, to the right. Such camera positioning was used during previous stages of this study and proved to be the best way of filming the participants' behavior as it allows one to see nearly all hand gestures and other body movements very clearly and precisely. In addition, each interpreter wore eye-tracking glasses (Tobii Pro Glasses II) while completing the interpreting task. These glasses were used to track the eye movement of the participants when they were looking at the computer screen in front of them and they have a built-in camera which showed another angle, i.e., the speaker's perspective while engaged in the interpreting.

Ten videos of interpreting from English into Russian (ten minutes each) were analyzed (100 minutes in total) for the use of gesture, in addition to the ten-minute source video.

The experiment included several steps. During the very first stage the participants received a vocabulary list several days before the experiment in order to prepare for the interpreting session. The second stage was filming, during which the participants came to the laboratory, signed an informed consent agreement and then were asked to take a seat in the improvised booth. We asked them not to take anything with them for the purposes of the experiment so that they would not be distracted by any objects. In addition, the lack of a paper and a pen to write down words and numbers increased the cognitive load experienced during the process, and one of the aims of our study was to see how the interpreters would handle an increased cognitive load. Then, the participants performed the interpreting of two ten-minute popular science videos about psychology and psychological disorders, with one video involving a high number of gestures by the speaker (373) and the other in which the speaker gestured much less (90 gestures). For this analysis, we used the interpretations of the source video in which the lecturer produced a large number of gestures.

After filming, the videos from the three cameras used were joined to create one composite video using the program Adobe Premiere Pro. The final version was then put into a special software for annotating speech and gesture in audiovisual recordings: ELAN (https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan). The annotation was done with tiers that can be created in the program (see Figure 1). The following tiers were taken into account in the current study: the speech, in which we annotated what the

participants were saying; the source text, which included the speech of the speaker from the video; gesture phrases, which was used to annotate hand movements of the participants and categorize them into sub-tiers (adapter, pragmatic, representational, deictic) and comments in which special cases or questions were marked by the annotators.
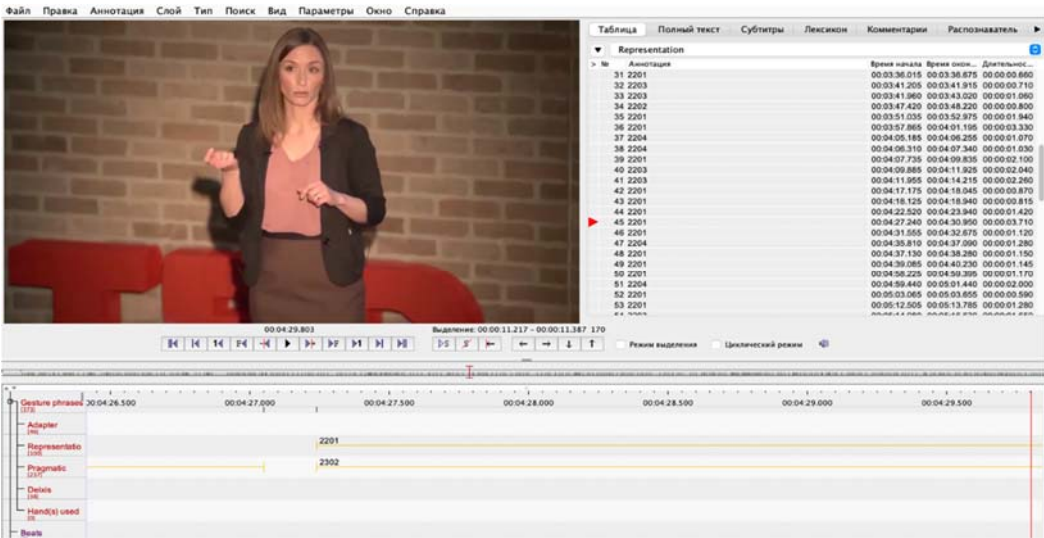
Figure 1. An example of annotation of the source video in ELAN
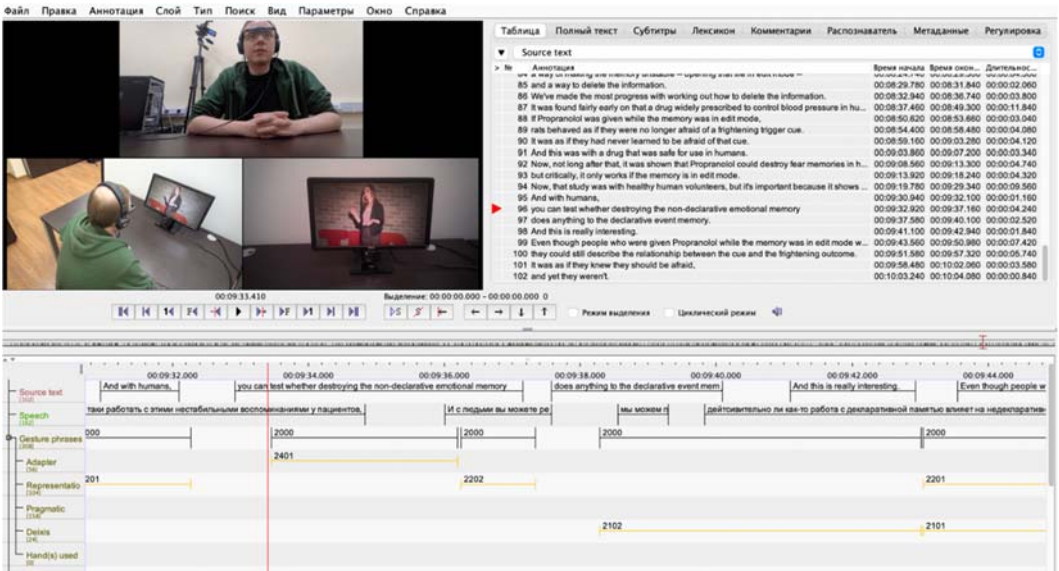
Figure 2. An example of annotation of the target video data in ELAN

To explore the question of metaphoric gesture mirroring, we annotated gestures both in the source (Figure 1) and target videos (Figure 2). After that, we extracted tiers with representational and pragmatic gestures from the source video and inserted them into ELAN files with the analysis of the interpreting to identify

cases of gesture overlap. Only those cases when the speaker's gestures started before those of the participants were counted (the overlapping in the beginning of the participants' gestures), as the interpreters need to see at least the beginning of a gesture in order to be able to repeat it.

3.2. Metaphoric properties of gestures

Gestures were analyzed per their form (Bressem 2013) and function. In the current study we followed the idea that gestures can be polysemantic in nature, i.e., that one gesture may serve not one, but several functions in speech simultaneously (Calbris 2011, Kok et al. 2015). There are four main categories that we used: pragmatic, representational, deictic gestures and adapters.

Pragmatic gestures are hand movements that have discourse-related properties, in order to engage in word searches, highlight or structure some parts of discourse, etc. (Dressel 2020, Fricke 2013, Ladewig 2014, Streeck 2009a). They can be also used when one expresses an attitude or evaluates the topic of the speech. Representational gestures convey semantic meaning by the form and/or movement of the hand(s). Such gestures share some physical properties of their referent (Müller 2014). Deictic gestures are used to create vectors to show the direction or location of some notion in space (Fricke 2002). Adapters are gestures without any semantic function. They are movements like rubbing one's own hands, scratching, adjusting one's clothes, etc.

In this article we regard only gestures with different levels of metaphoricity; for this reason, we explore only two major categories: representational and pragmatic gestures. As it was mentioned above, adapters do not involve any semantics, thus, they cannot form metaphors. Deictic gestures are regarded as instruments to create vectors and show locations, and for this reason they were also excluded from the analysis.

Each category has several subcategories. Representational gestures were divided into five subcategories, using an adaptation of Müller's (1998, 2014) modes of representation: holding, molding, acting, embodying and tracing. Pragmatic gestures were divided into six subcategories: discourse structuring, emphatic, contact establishing, expressing attitude, negation and word search. The forms are illustrated in the following examples.

Holding and molding gestures are used to describe the shape/boundaries of some object/notion and usually include some tension in the hand that is used for depiction (cf. Streeck's [2009b, Ch. 6] category of 'handling'). As can be seen in Figure 3, the participant is using her left hand to show the abstract notion of "*no connection*"/ "*нет связи*" by holding her left hand up, palm up, and fingers a bit crooked, as if the notion were in her hand.

Acting gestures are used to show some action/movement/process with one's hand (cf. Streeck's [2009b, Ch. 6] category of mimesis, depicting action). For instance, the interpreter in Figure 4 is using her hands to show the process of opening files, by turning her palms outward.

«… (нет) **связи**» / "… (no) **connection**"
Figure 3. Holding gesture

«… мы **открываем** файл…» / "…we **open** the file…"
Figure 4. Acting gesture

Embodying gestures represent objects/notions as if the speaker's hands were the given entity being mentioned. As it is shown in Figure 5, the interpreter is showing two categories, and these categories are represented via her two open hands, palm down. The distinction from the acting mode, described above, is determined in relation to the speech. In Figure 5, the interpreter is not talking about touching (which could be done with open hands), and the hand shape and movement are not iconically related to the verb mentioned ("divided"); rather, the two hands are held in the air with some effort (with tension in the extended fingers, and with hands elevated above the table) when mentioning "two categories".

«… делится на **две категории**…» / "… is divided into **two categories**…"
Figure 5. Embodying gesture

Tracing is used to outline an object/notion and show its shape or a path of movement. As it can be seen in Figure 6, when the interpreter is showing the degree, he puts his hand lower.

«… **насколько далеко** они должны быть…» / «… **how far** they are supposed to be…."
Figure 6. Tracing gesture

Pragmatic discourse structuring gestures have several forms, e.g., palms opposite each other, palms up away the body, etc. The main idea is that a part of discourse is being represented or manipulated in gesture (cf. Streeck's [2009b, Ch. 8] gesture function called 'speech handling') rather than some notion or object and its form (as in Figure 7).

Emphatic gestures are simple biphasic (back and forth) beat movements that do not add any semantic information to the speech (see Figure 8).

«… простой…» / "… simple…"
Figure 7. Discourse structuring gesture

«Давайте / "Let's   запишем» / write it down"
Figure 8. Emphatic gesture

Negation gestures usually have the 'away' movement in them, as if a speaker brushes off the information (Гришина 2015, Bressem & Müller 2014, Harrison 2014, Kendon 2004). In Figure 9, the participant is moving his left hand away from his body, palm down, when using the negation particle 'not'.

Word search gestures are used when one is in the 'tip-of-the-tongue' state and stimulates the process of lexical retrieval by using gestures (e.g., with "motor gestures": "simple, repetitive, rhythmic movements that bear no obvious relation to the semantic content of the accompanying speech" [Krauss et al. 2000: 263]). In Figure 10, the participant is moving his right hand from side to side while searching for the correct equivalent in the target language.

«… когда это **уже больше не нужно**» / "… when it's **not necessary anymore**"

Figure 9. Negation gesture

«… некоторые эээ элементы должны сохраняться» / "… some ehm elements should be kept"

Figure 10. Word search gesture

In this article we also divide gestures according to their metaphoric properties, i.e., that they metaphorically represent something in addition to the speech. There are two categories that we highlight: high metaphoric gestures and low metaphoric gestures. High metaphoric gestures are representational ones clearly involving at least one of the modes of representation: holding, molding, acting, embodying, and tracing. Low metaphoric are pragmatic gestures with one of the following functions: discourse structuring, negation, or word search.

We regard all representational gestures affiliated with verbal expression of abstract concepts as high metaphoric gestures as they involve comparison of the abstract ideas being verbalized with some physical forms depicted gesturally. This can be seen, for example, in the form of the handshape, the use of the hands to show borders (holding, molding, embodying, tracing) or via the hands' movement (acting). In McNeill's classification system, representational gestures are divided into iconic gestures, which depict physical properties of an object, and metaphoric gestures which shape abstract ideas into some concrete form. However, the author also states that iconicity, metaphoricity, deixis and temporal highlighting should be

regarded as different dimensions of one gesture rather than as mutually exclusive categories (McNeill 2005).

Low metaphoric gestures are regarded as such because of their vague resemblance to some process or notion that they possess in their form and/or semantics. For example, discourse structuring gestures are usually formed with two hands opposite each other, as if the speaker is shaping some parts of their discourse, presenting it to the listeners. The idea of presentation through holding discourse in one's hand gives such gestures metaphorical properties (Lapaire 2016, Müller 2004). In many European languages, gestures expressing negation involve movements of the hand with the palm facing away from the speaker (Bressem & Müller 2014). The idea of moving the concept that the speaker does not agree with away from him/her is regarded as entailing metaphor because the idea is not a physical object which can be moved. The last category, word search gestures, entails circular movements that bear the idea of a repeated movement, a thought in process, which stops when the correct word is found and uttered. Such categories of pragmatic gestures as emphatic, contact establishing and expressing attitude are not regarded as metaphorical at all, though they are still important for the purposes of the study as will be discussed below.

The idea of the greater or lesser resemblance of the hands with the source notion creates a metaphoric property in the types of gestures discussed above. In the current paper we explore if such gestures are numerous in interpreters' speech and whether their use can be traced back to the original lecturer's gestures.

In the example illustrated in Figure 11 we can see that the speaker in the source video explains the specifics of our memory and how we can get access to it. While describing the idea, the lecturer uses representational gestures with a holding function: first she performs the gesture using two hands and then switches to her right hand while uttering "…access to the content of those memories". The representational gestures are used by the speaker to describe different abstract notions, e.g., "access", "content of those memories". If we analyze the conduct of the simultaneous interpreter while translating this idea, we can observe that: 1) while describing the state ("We are often even unconscious") the participant uses a pragmatic gesture which serves the function of "Expressing attitude"; 2) in the utterances "…that this memory…" and "…that we have those memories" the interpreter switches smoothly to a representational gesture with a holding function. As we can see, both the speaker in the video and the interpreter use representational and pragmatic gestures while describing abstract notions. In this case, it is interesting to note that the interpreter uses a representational gesture which is similar in its function to the one performed by the speaker.

The hypothesis of the current study is as following: the interpreters will mostly use low metaphoric gestures rather than high metaphoric, as this type of discourse involves explanation of an abstract topic, which will influence their nonverbal behavior. The results of the analysis conducted to test it are presented below.

Source video

"(we often don't) have conscious | access | to the content of those memories"

Simultaneous interpreter

«Мы часто даже не осознаем,» / "We are often even unconscious…" | «… что эта память… » / "… that this memory…" | «… что эти воспоминания у нас есть» / "… that we have those memories"
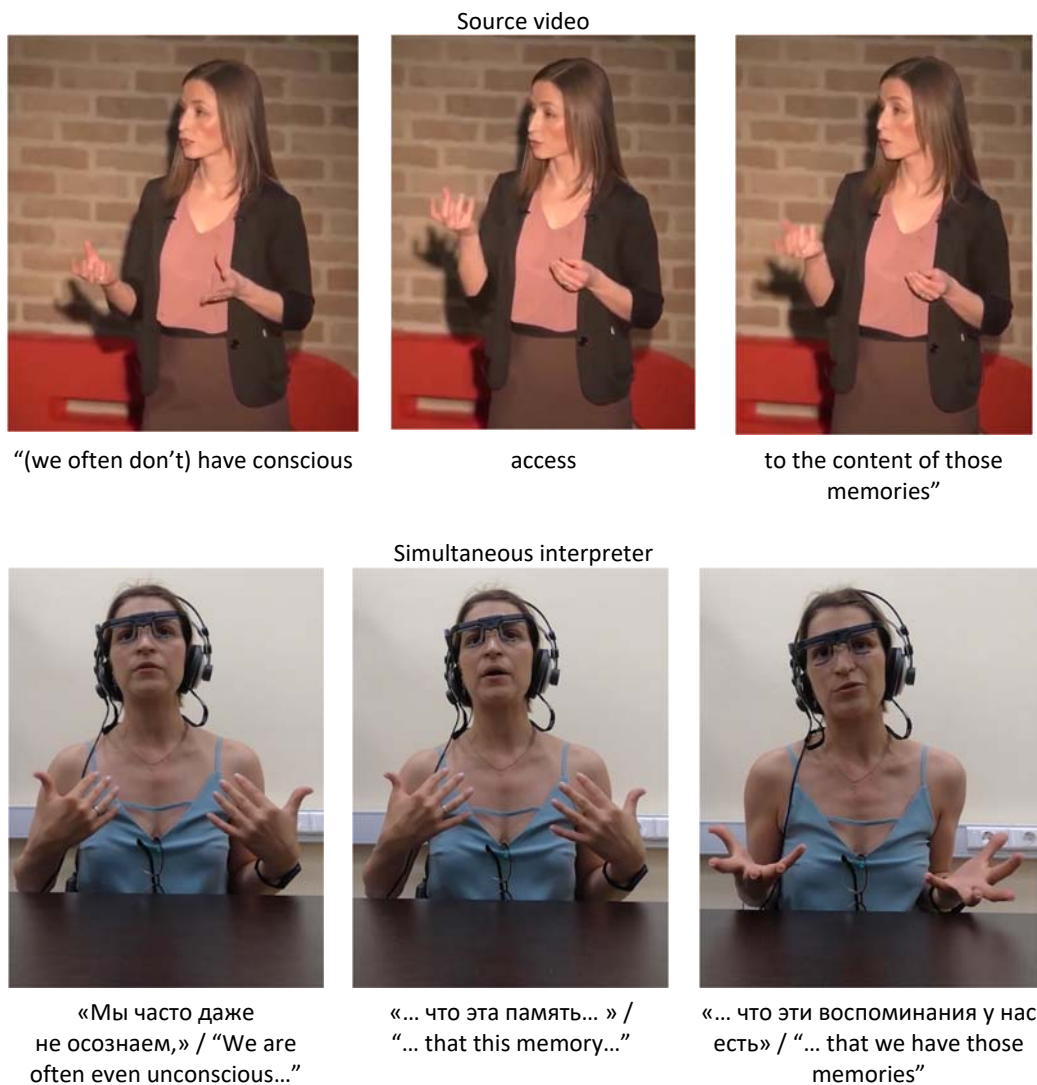
Figure 11. Comparison of source and target gestures

4. Results

The analysis of the source video (the stimulus for the interpreting) showed that the speaker in that video used many gestures, namely 373 gesture phrases in total. The comparison between the use of pragmatic and representational gestures shows the predominance of the first type: 237 vs 100 (Table 1). Such results might be dictated by the topic and the content of the speech, as the speaker explains terms and some scientific facts to the public, thus there is a tendency to organize the speech or to emphasize its parts. This claim is also supported by the fact that there is a predominance of pragmatic discourse structuring and representational holding gestures.

Table 1. **Gestures in the source video**

Representational gestures		Pragmatic gestures	
holding	57	discourse structuring	121
molding	11	emphatic	65
acting	20	contact establishing	19
embodying	12	expressing attitude	21
tracing	0	negation	8
		word search	3
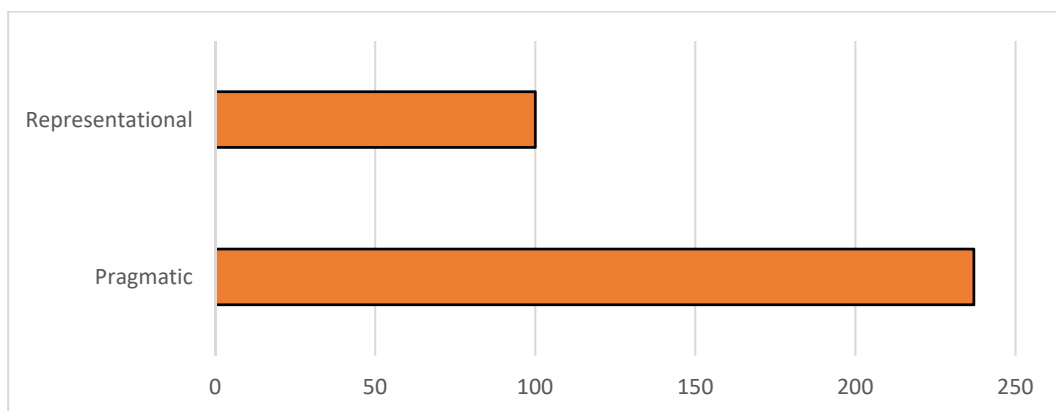
Figure 12. Gestures in the source video
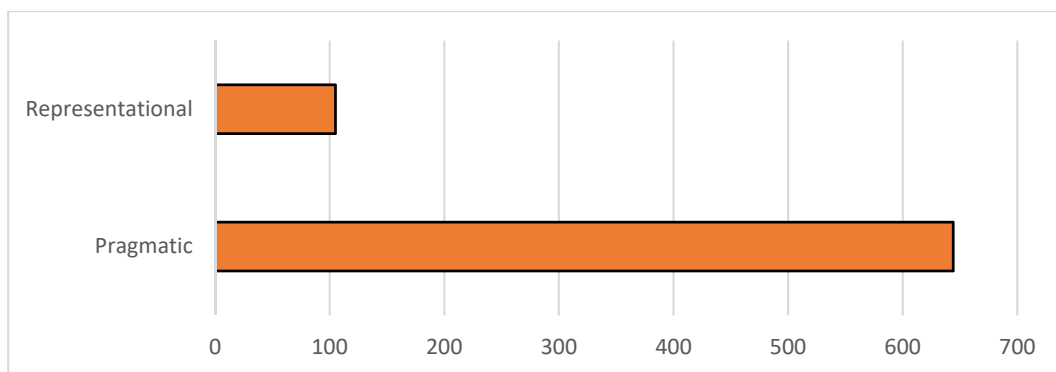
Figure 13. Gestures during interpreting

The analysis of the interpreters' nonverbal behavior showed that in total they used 644 pragmatic and 105 representational gesture phrases. The results support our hypothesis that interpreters tend to use pragmatic gestures with low metaphoric potential. As we can see, the amount of representational gestures is even lower, proportionally, in comparison to the amount used in the target video (Figures 12, 13). That might be explained by the fact that the interpreters are to translate someone else's speech rather than produce their own discourse aimed at explaining things to the audience. Thus, they use gestures in order to structure their interpreting rather than using gestures aimed at illustrating their own notions or ideas.

Comparing the analysis of the source video to that of the interpreters' behavior, the results show that the interpreters tended to use pragmatic gestures even when they saw representational gestures on the screen. As we can see from the Table 2 (see below), many times when the original lecturer used gestures of high metaphoricity, the interpreter used gestures with low metaphoricity (for discourse presenting) or with no metaphoricity at all (emphatic gestures). On the other hand, there are also a number of occasions when the interpreters used representational gestures despite the fact that the original speaker was performing pragmatic gestures (38 cases). In most cases, however, the participants used gestures similar to those of the person on the screen.

Table 2. **Gesture overlap**

			Speaker											
			Representational					Pragmatic						
			hold	mold	act	mbdy	trace	disc	emph	cont	attit	neg	wrd srch	Total
Interpreter	Representatio	hold	3	0	3	1	1	2	5	2	0	1	0	18
		mold	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	4
		act	2	0	2	0	0	7	3	1	0	1	0	16
		mbdy	2	0	1	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	10
		trace	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	8
	Pragmatic	disc	22	2	6	5	0	44	18	10	5	0	0	112
		emph	22	3	7	10	0	29	42	6	4	3	3	129
		cont	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	8
		attit	3	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	10
		neg	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	9
		wrd srch	2	1	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	0	0	13
		TOTAL	60	6	22	17	1	102	84	20	12	10	3	337

The analysis of each participant and their gesture profile reveals that though the number of gestures is different for each participant, there is a strong tendency to use pragmatic gestures over representational ones, as can be seen in the Appendix. Table 2 shows the results of pragmatic and representational gestures used without considering the correlation with gestures from the source video. As it can be observed, the use of gestures with high metaphoricity is scarce. The interpreters prefer gestures with low metaphoricity or without any metaphorical qualities at all.

5. Discussion

The analysis of 10 videos of participants interpreting a video lecture from English into Russian showed a tendency toward using pragmatic gestures with low or no metaphoricity at all. These results might be influenced by the task, as the cognitive load that the participants' experience might lead to the simplification of gestures. Representational gestures and their high metaphorical properties might be too difficult to produce immediately after the speaker, as such gestures are more complex in their form and require more cognitive resources than the participant can

use at the moment of interpreting. However, the results also showed some cases when the interpreters used representational gestures while the speaker was producing pragmatic ones. We assume that this could happen because such gestures were triggered by particular words or notions which were difficult to interpret and the participants used representational gestures to facilitate lexical retrieval (Morsella & Krauss 2004). Nevertheless, the interpreter does not have the time to absorb and process information in the same way as in experiments where listeners reported information after listening to a story and then produced gestures similar to those of the storyteller (Cassell et al. 1999, McNeill et al. 1994). In situations like those of the current study, however, the lack of time to absorb information could influence the kinds of mental representations or growth points (McNeill 1992, 2005, 2013, McNeill & Duncan 2000) that interpreters employ, from which speech and gesture arise.

Such results might also be influenced by another factor, which is the origin of the speech. The interpreting is neither speech nor thought that solely belongs to the interpreter, but it is someone else's speech. Thus, interpreters might not concentrate on the content of the speech or the speaker's behavior as much as on the interpreting, i.e., transferring information correctly from one language into another. This main task might be best accomplished when one is using gestures related to discourse, discourse structuring and emphasis, rather than representational gestures that correspond to separate notions or things. In this case, the use of a gesture can be dictated by the communicative intention rather than mental simulation (see *The Sketch Model* of speech and gesture production [de Ruiter 2000]). In addition, the analysis of the source video also revealed that the speaker predominantly used pragmatic gestures, especially those aimed at structuring discourse or emphasizing its parts. This predominance might be provoked by the type of discourse, as one of the primary aims of the talk was to share information and knowledge. In such situations people tend to use less complex or informative types of gestures (Gerwing & Bavelas 2004).

The hypothesis was also supported by the analysis of the individual profiles of the interpreters, as the results showed that all participants but one used pragmatic gestures far more frequently. The only participant who used representational gestures more frequently did not have many hand movements in general (only 8 gestures in total of the categories we coded).

6. Conclusion

The present study showed some peculiarities of gestural representation of metaphor performed by simultaneous interpreters. Usually, a simultaneous interpreter works in a special booth, thus there is normally no counterpart that sees their performance. That can have consequences for the behavior of interpreters, which is primarily aimed at lexical retrieval and speech production. The results of our research show that the simultaneous interpreters tended to use gestures with low or even no metaphorical properties. This can be explained in part by the settings of

their work, where the primary goal consists in producing the output which will represent the source text as well as possible. Given that SI is performed under severe time pressure, the interpreters mostly tend to use gestures for themselves, as opposed to producing them for an interlocutor (as there is no interlocutor present). This explains the predominance of pragmatic gestures, in particular discourse structuring and emphasizing gestures. Performing gestures normally involved in the presentation and emphasis of ideas may help the interpreter with their own speech production, regardless of the specific ideas that they are rendering at the moment (e.g., Cienki 2023, Lucero et al. 2014, Vilà-Giménez & Prieto 2020). It is different from producing gestures that relate to specific ideas involving particular imagery. This could explain why representational gestures with high metaphorical properties were not used that frequently; such depictive gestures demand more cognitive effort in order to engage with the specifics of the imagery being mapped from a metaphoric source domain. A problematic situation would appear, as the mental resources of the interpreters are already concentrated on a highly demanding cognitive task. Metaphoric imagery was thus found to be reduced in the gesturing of the interpreters studied in comparison with that used by the lecturer in the source video. This suggests a difference between the known role of gestures when speakers are formulating their own ideas (in thinking for speaking) and their role in simultaneous interpreting (when speakers are rendering others' ideas, rather than forming their own).

Further research will focus on the eye-tracking data that was collected. This might help us gain a better understanding of whether the metaphoric character of the interpreters' gestures (high versus low) depends on the verbal context in which they are used or on their being triggered by what the participants see on the screen. The semantics of the lexical units used with metaphoric gestures by the original lecturers might have had an impact on how gestures are used by the participants, especially when they needed to interpret complex abstract notions.

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Appendix

Table 1. **Individual profiles of the participants**

Participant	Pragmatic	N	Representational	N
MH-01M	2301	31	2201	6
	2302	27	2202	1
	2304	4	2203	1
	2305	2	2204	2
	2306	5	2205	1
TOTAL		69		11
MH-02M	2301	37	2201	1
	2302	69	2203	1
	2303	1	2204	5
	2304	1	2205	2
	2305	3		
	2306	1		
TOTAL		112		9
HM-03M	2301	17	2201	4
	2302	26	2202	1
	2303	6	2203	6
	2304	7	2204	3
	2305	6	2205	1
	2306	10		
TOTAL		72		15
MH-04M	2301	4	2201	1
	2302	3	2202	1
	2303	1	2203	1
	2306	3		
TOTAL		11		3
HM-05M	2301	1	2201	2
	2302	39	2202	3
	2303	1	2203	3
TOTAL		41		8
HM-06M	2301	46	2203	1
	2302	12	2204	1
	2303	2		
	2305	1		
TOTAL		61		2
MH-07M	2301	18	2201	5
	2302	10	2204	1
	2303	1		
	2304	9		
TOTAL		38		6
HM-08M	2301	33	2201	8
	2302	52	2203	11

Participant	Pragmatic	N	Representational	N
	2304	2	2204	2
	2305	8	2205	5
TOTAL		95		26
HM-09M	2301	1	2201	1
	2302	1	2202	1
	2305	1	2203	2
			2205	1
TOTAL		3		5
HM-10M	2301	41	2203	1
	2302	12	2204	1
	2303	1		
	2304	1		
	2305	1		
	2306	3		
TOTAL		59		2

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Research article / Научная статья

Translocalizing the space of old Nubia in digital narrative: Resemiotized chronotopes as markers of identity

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Abstract

Digitality is closely related to and expressed within analogicity, offering a sense of intersectional continuity between the online and offline realms. However, this poses a theoretical and conceptual challenge, particularly when addressing the heterogenous notion of contemporary diaspora as a phenomenon of online/offline and past/present co-constituency. To this end, this article advances a semio-chronotopic approach to reclaiming indigenous identities. It aims at decentring the concept of spatial dispersal by situating diaspora within a temporal continuum. The article investigates the Nubian Facebook* page *Al Nuba Café* in this concern. Deployment of the notion of resemiotization enables us to analyse narrative networks of Nubian diaspora as mediatized through digital space. It is found that Nubian online narrative shows a chronotopic condition of coeval alignment in which the two identity events before and after the displacement are kept conflated. The posts are found to blur the boundaries between the spatiotemporal there-and-then of the story and of the here-and-now of the storytelling world. The study concludes that Nubian digital tellings of diaspora are organized within a continuum of specific chronotopes that vacillate between past and present, spatial yearning and temporal nostalgia, statehood and diaspora, roots and routes, delineating an umbrella chronotope of the changing same. This semio-chronotopic conceptualisation of Nubian diaspora acknowledges the centrality of translocal temporality in its manifestation. Accordingly, the study argues that while space is considered the primary measure of diaspora in the analogue contexts, digital context emphasizes a rather the temporal dimension which dynamically participates in the reproduction of translocal diaspora experiences.

Keywords: *chronotopes, digital narrative, hybrid identity, resemiotization, translocal diaspora*

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* Компания Meta Platforms, которой принадлежит данный ресурс, признана экстремистской организацией и запрещена на территории РФ.

Транслокализация пространства старой Нубии в цифровом повествовании: ресемиотизированные хронотопы как маркеры идентичности

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Аннотация

Цифровая информация тесно связана с аналоговой, что проявляется в ощущении непрерывности между онлайн- и оффлайн-сферами. Это порождает теоретическую и концептуальную проблему, особенно когда речь идет о гетерогенном понятии «современная диаспора» как о феномене, одновременно представляемом онлайн и оффлайн с позиций прошлого и настоящего. В связи с этим в данной статье предлагается семио-хронотопический подход к возрождению самобытности коренных народов. Исследование нацелено на децентрализацию понятия пространственного рассредоточения путем рассмотрения диаспоры во временном континууме. В частности, нубийская диаспора исследуется как хронотопический набор признаков, которые проявляются в ресемиотизированной индексальности территориального перемещения этой диаспоры, имевшего место в прошлом. В статье исследуются посты на эту тему на нубийской странице Al Nuba Café в Facebook*. Использование понятия ресемиотизации позволяет проанализировать нарративные связи нубийской диаспоры, опосредованные цифровым пространством. Обнаружено, что нубийское онлайн-повествование демонстрирует хронотопическое совмещение событий до и после перемещения диаспоры. Нарративы стирают границы между пространственно-временным соотношением хронотопа «здесь и тогда» и «здесь и сейчас». По итогам исследования сделан вывод, что нубийские цифровые нарративы о диаспоре строятся в континууме конкретных хронотопов, которые отражают взаимосвязь между прошлым и настоящим, тягой к пространственному перемещению и временной ностальгией, государственностью и диаспорой, а также корнями и маршрутами, очерчивающими зонтичный хронотоп динамического понятия. С помощью этой семио-хронотопической концептуализации нубийской диаспоры обнаруживается центральная роль транслокальной темпоральности в ее дискурсивной реализации. Соответственно, в исследовании утверждается, что, хотя пространство считается основным мерилом диаспоры в аналоговых контекстах, цифровой контекст тяготеет к временному измерению, которое динамически воспроизводит опыт перемещенной диаспоры.

Keywords: *хронотоп, цифровое повествование, гибридная идентичность, ресемиотизация, перемещенная диаспора*

1. Introduction

Digitality is closely associated with mobility, hybridity and superdiversity in which communities, particularly ethnic and diaspora ones, constantly reorient themselves to its dynamic affordances, leaving behind traditional structures of belonging and renegotiating their fixed cultural and linguistic repertoires. This

requires adopting new approaches to examine indigenous manifestations, or as the concern of the current study, the timespace organization of how diaspora groups want to represent themselves. To this end, this article advances a semio-chronotopic approach to reclaiming indigenous identities. More specifically, the Nubian diaspora is explored as chronotopic repertoires which are evinced in the resemiotized indexicalities of past displacement. This focus on chronotopicity in identity repertoires is part of an 'emerging' theorizing of linguistics that "no longer relies on fixed and stable concepts like community, competence and language but opts for more flexible, fluid and multilayered concepts like sites, activities and (trans)languaging" (Kroon & Swanenberg 2019: 4). Significantly, this new approach to identity research intends to "…take the increasing complexity of the contemporary, mobile, superdiverse, networked, on/offline global society… as an *explanandum* rather than an *explanans*" (Kroon & Swanenberg 2019: 4, italics in the original). Differently put, adopting a chronotopic approach to explore sociolinguistic phenomena describes the fabric of their manifestations while relating them to other spatio-temporal social structures. Diaspora has been defined in a number of ways, but in this article, it is tackled through the lens of social technologies, 'networked', 'fluid' and 'hybrid' practices and representations (see Salama & Fawzy 2023, Fawzy 2023, Fawzy & El Shazly 2023). The article investigates the Nubian Facebook[*] (FB) page *Al Nuba Café* from this perspective.

Nubians are a racial, cultural and linguistic minority. The construction of the High Dam in 1963 later resulted in a full displacement of Nubians to Khushm Al-Qerbah in Sudan and Kom Ombo in Egypt. They used to live on the borders between Egypt and Sudan before the displacement. Egyptian Nubians lived in Lower Nubia between the first and the second cataract of the River Nile, whereas Sudanese Nubians inhabited the north of Sudan. Nubians represent an indigenous group who left behind their territory but was able to introduce and maintain their linguistic and cultural practices in their new territory of resettlement, mainly in Kom Ombo, Aswan. The Nubian population is divided now into three groups: Kunuz, Arabs and Fadijja. The Kunuz tribes live in seventeen villages, and speak the 'Matukiya/Kenzi' language. The Arabs inhibit five villages and speak Arabic. Finally, the Fadijja who are believed to be pure Nubians inhabited sixteen villages and spoke the Fadijji language. After their displacement, social, *economic*, and demographic factors enforce Nubians to know Arabic language. Both Kunuz and Fadijja speak Arabic since they receive their education at Arabic-language schools. They use Nubian only at home.

Previous studies on Nubians have focused on dialect geographies, language endangerment, representation of Nubians, and attitudes towards Nubian languages (see Abdel-Hafiz 2007, Rouchdy 1991). The Nubian context has been examined from various linguistic perspectives, the most prominent of which are the attitudes of Nubians towards the use of Arabic, pronunciation variables of certain sounds and lexical borrowing, status of Nubian languages and their maintenance. These studies have mainly relied on ethnographic questionnaires, surveys, interviews and field

observations. However, the studies reveal significant findings only on the offline realm of Nubia; while the digital manifestations of the Nubian identity are still under-researched. More specifically, these studies have focused on the socio-demographic characteristics of the Nubian diaspora rather than perceiving it as communicative practices or acknowledging the unfixed and dynamic aspects forming the digital Nubian identity. The Nubian language along with other social and cultural features of the Nubian community have been addressed as relatively fixed in time and space. To address this blind spot, the spatio-temporal structure of digital diaspora and the semiotics of digital narratives are central to negotiating Nubian narrative of displacement in this article. Exploring the digital narrative of Nubian diaspora, the current study focuses on the process of diasporization itself rather than on stable diaspora Nubian groups with fixed linguistic repertoires (see Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021). As such, the current study shifts the focus from locally anchored Nubian community to translocal digital representations. It examines how diaspora communities use digital technologies in their interactions (Androutsopoulos 2006, Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Brinkerhoff 2009, Heyd & Honkanen 2015).

The article thus aims at situating itself within the current debate on relating chronotopicity to identity work (Blommaert 2019, De Fina 2019, Fawzy 2022, Kroon & Swanenberg 2019, Li & Blommaert 2019) in general and at filling a gap in the literature of linguistic studies investigating the Nubian diaspora in particular by addressing the following overarching question and sub-questions:

1. How do Facebook[*] affordances translocalize the Nubian identity?
a. How do the *Al Nuba Café* posts bring past practices to the interactional here-and-now as relevant context – to a translocalized Nubian diaspora?
b. How do the resemiotized tempo-spatial indexicalities of past displacement enact hybrid and multilayered representations of Nubia?
c. What are the temporal tropes representing the Nubian experience of displacement?

To answer these questions, the article draws on the notions of ''resemiotization'' (Iedema 2001, 2003) and "the chronotope" (Agha 2007, Bakhtin 1981, Oostendorp 2007, Perrino 2007, 2015), to discusses the notions of diaspora, Nubian identity and displacement. Chronotopic analysis situates the Nubian FB page the *Al Nuba Café* within discourses of specific tempo-spatial juxtapositions. Concepts like "coeval alignment" (Perrino 2005) and "cross-chronotopic alignment" (Agha 2007) allow us to view the Nubian digitally mediated experience of displacement as a temporal semiotic phenomenon. Deploying the notion of resemiotization enables us to analyse narrative networks of Nubian diaspora as mediatized through digital space. Thus, the notion of "the digital production of displacement narrative" would be crucial in the context of the current study.

This paper is part of a larger project that explores the postdigital sociolinguistic characteristics of the Nubian community at the online/offline nexus (author et al. forthcoming). The project is divided into a research paper and a handbook chapter

in the upcoming Routledge Handbook of Language and Social Media (Tagg & Giaxoglou, forthcoming). For the sake of these projects, six Nubian villages that belong to both the Kenuz and Fadijja tribes, as representatives of the Nubian community resettled in Aswan, are ethnographically observed through repeated field visits. Since the author is not part of the Nubian indigenous communities, these projects have helped her to open a dialogue with the materiality of the Nubian culture and to become an indigenous-ally, which in turn, benefits the current article.

2. Chronotopes of narrative and the resemiotization of identity

Bakhtin's (1981, 1984) chronotope describes the inter-connected realisations of spatial and temporal relationships to provide a better understanding of the kinds of identities and values conveyed in a given literary work. The core argument of the Bakhtinian chronotope is that time and space are substantially connected; time becomes the fourth dimension of space. Time and space relate to each other in the sense that time is only perceived and has meaning in space, and movement in space is also a movement in time. However, the notion of the chronotope is used recently in the evolving theorizing of a sociolinguistics of globalization (Kroon & Swanenberg 2019), that is "a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" (Blommaert 2010: 1). This new chronotopic doctrine underlying sociolinguistic studies challenges earlier Labovian perspective of a sociolinguistics of 'stability' in which identity repertoires are examined as seemingly fixed in space and time (Blommaert 2010, Kroon & Swanenberg 2019). In this regard, the current study is informed by the notion that space (diaspora and displacement spaces) has both temporal and semiotic qualities that are related to identity works.

All semiotic representations are chronotopic (Agha 2007). Agha argues that semiotic representations have a 'temporal-spatial expressions.' That is, semiotic signs must appear as sign-tokens in space and time in order to be experienced. These sign-tokens relate the chronotopes they depict to the chronotopes in which they are experienced (Agha 2007: 322). Oostendrop (2017) points out that the Bakhtinian chronotopes of time, space and body provide a non-binary view of semiotic phenomena in a way that would "lead to a deeper theoretical understanding of semiotic transformations in all their complexity" (1). This notion is related to what Silverstein refered to earlier as a 'duplex chronotopic order' in which semiotic forms evoked in a given context of social interaction "are endowed with significance for social actors insofar as they orient to and/or contest immanent normative defaults established in the implied chronotope of multiply interdiscursive socio-space-time" (Silverstein 2016: 187).

Introduced within the discipline of social semiotics (Halliday 1978), resemiotization addresses the ways through which particular semiotic indexicalities become historicized, recontextualized, and mobilized in social practices (Iedema 2003). It highlights the shifts in the meaning making processes from context to context and/or from practice to practice. To this end, exploring resemiotization is

847

important in identifying the complex practices of social media (Leppänen et al. 2013).

Resemiotization focuses on the dynamic processes underlying semiotic signs (Iedema 2003, Oostendrop 2017). Exploring the resemiotized motifs of a given text allow identifying which particular semiotic resources, rather than others, are mobilized to function within specific social contexts. That is, resemiotization analysis helps us to answer the questions of "how, why, and which meaning become recontextualized" in particular social contexts (Iedema 2003: 40). Resemiotization underlines the movement of semiotic features from one chronotope to another. Through the resemiotization process, semiotic indexicals move across time and space, flowing from the past events to the present situation and vice versa (Iedema 2001, 2003). Informed by these notions, resemiotization is deployed in the current study to provide a better understanding of the digital representations of the Nubian displacement as a temporal phenomenon.

3. Data and methods

This paper examines Nubian narrative of displacement and belonging in the digital diasporic context of the FB group the *Al Nuba Café*. It explores the resemiotized contexts and chronotopic properties that are indicative of such narratives. In this regard, the notion of "digital diaspora" as an emerging phenomenon of diasporic and transnational communication (Heyd 2016) is central to the current discussion. Data collection started in September 2021 and continued until September 2022. The Nubian identity is viewed in the current article as operating within a sociocultural continuum that is shaped through interaction between and across different temporalities. To this end, the resemiotized indexicalities are traced in the analysis through the posts' translanguaging selections of emoji, memes, shared videos, and Nubian transliteration and/or translation practices. The total number of posts is 149. However, only posts that deal with the notions of displacement, past experience and the unique Nubian traditions are included in the analysis. Posts that carry different themes are excluded. Posts that are written in Nubian are discussed with old generation Nubians who have first-hand knowledge of the language to translate these posts.

Chronotopes are 'where dialogues happen' (Bakhtin 1981: 247). Of much relevance to the context of the current study, the chronotope is argued to unravel the dynamic dialogicity between the world of narration and the world being narrated. The tempo-spatial experiences of displacement and diaspora resemiotized in the *Al Nuba Café* are investigated as instantiating a dialogue between the world of narration and the world being narrated. That is, the chronotopes of the Nubian diaspora and displacement come to reconcile the relationship that exists between these worlds, reflecting on the temporal flow of spatial diasporization through the act of resemiotization.

The resemiotized practices add socio-space-time layers to the Nubian digital diaspora that are worthwhile investigating. To answer the research questions, the

study explores Nubian resemiotized indexicalities that operate on the level of "cross-chronotopic alignment" (Agha 2006, Perrino 2007). The analysis points to the alignment role of the resemiotized chronotopic motifs that bring together the past and present times of displacement and diaspora experiences.

Taking the concepts of the chronotope and resemiotization as theoretical backdrop, the current study departs itself from studies that take space only as the main element in defining diaspora where physical displacement from a homeland is a dilemma. Rather, this study also considers the temporal motifs manifesting the displacement experience, through which the temporal goes hand in hand with the spatial in understanding the process of diasporization.

4. Analysis

4.1. The chronotopes of performance and affect

This section analyses Nubian diaspora as a chronotope that highlights the performative manner of the Nubian community. The interactional text of Figure 1 focuses on the actions performed as reaction to the experience of displacement.

Figure 1. Posts about the trauma of the displacement

The linguistic structure of photo 1 caption is as follows: an Arabic phrase (translation: "Pictures about the displacement"), a group of emojis, a Nubian phrase (translation: "Enough enough (sadness) Nubians") and two emojis. The caption of photo 2 is written in Arabic, meaning: "this is the reaction of those who lived in

Old Nubia when they are reminded about the displacement"). The historical present of the first photo along with the old lady in the second photo, who is pictured as a witness of the displacement, conflates the past event of the displacement and the present feelings of sadness and oppression as if they were one.

The resemiotized group of old photos that depict the sadness and suffering of Nubians during the displacement infuses the sedimented values of the past experience into the present, temporalizing the space of old Nubia in the context of historical present. The dialectical relation between the *now-time* and *then-time* is visually evident in the second photo. Depicting the old lady as crying when reminded about the painful experience of the displacement represents the Nubian *suffering self* as if staying frozen in time. Photo 2 of Figure ,1 along with many other posts that can be said to re-live times of displacement emphasise this notion of the *atemporal suffering diaspora*. The underlined chronotope of performance tells us about the experience of displacement where the homeland is left behind in space but still proximal in time, constantly introducing the present-day past of displacement. Although the two events (the displacement and digital posting) are situated in separate chronotopes (past displacement event and current digital practice), the interactional text is organized within the *here-and-now* temporal frame.

Consider Figure 2 for another interesting use of the resemiotized historical present in the narrative of displacement.

Figure 2. Resemiotized historical present in the narrative of displacement

The post employs both present and past tenses. Historical present is used to tell a past story of a Nubian woman and her children immediately after the evacuation awaiting the ship that would transport them to their new place of displacement. Meanwhile, the uncoeval past is used to refer to the processes of the displacement itself and the building of the High Dam.

In the first part of the post devoted to the Nubian woman it seems that the time of the woman's story and the post's storytelling time are blurred; as if they belong to the same temporal frame. This representation of the displacement trauma and distress translocalizes the event, emphasizing the *atemporal* manifestation of the displacement experience which transcends the boundaries of the *there-and-then*. This, in turn, configures the trans-temporal chronotopic alignment in relation to the chronotope of performance, constructing complex layers of affiliation between both the *here-and-now* and *there-and-then* Nubia. Figure 3 further emphasizes this chronotopic alignment.

Figure 3. Zoomed in photo of the resemiotized newspaper

Resemiotization here makes it possible to align the spatio-temporal universe of the story (the denotational text) and the here-and-now storytelling event (the interactional text) as "coeval" as if they belong to the same chronotopic frame (Perrino 2007). Interestingly, the key social personae who inhibited the chronotope of performance are women.

The caption of these two photos is written in Nubian language meaning "Oh, my tender mother; oh my tender Shafoka (Nubian nickname)" and "the prettiest lady" respectively. Relying on the depiction of Nubian women in many posts can be argued to add to the representation of the digital Nubian diaspora, what Bakhtin (1981) calls "chronotopic values" through which time and space are "colored by emotions and values" (243). It can be then argued that the posts about experiences of dispersal and displacement correspond to Giaxoglou's (2018) notion of temporal "ecstatic sharing" which refers to "*a mode of sharing centered on the affective intensity of the here-and-now*" (13, original italics). These posts involve acts of narrative stancetaking in the space-time of instantons proximity, projecting intense

feelings of empathy and solidarity. This notion is expressed as well in the posts cherishing Nubian heritage and traditions, achieving cross-chronotopic alignment.

Figure 4. The representation of Nubian women as chronotopic value

Figure 5. A group of posts cherishing the royal Nubian ancestry

The FB posts of Figure 5 cherish their royal ancestry, according to Nubian belief, through the historical present by shifting into non-past deixis for reference to past heritage. Photo1 is a screen shot of a video about Kush, the oldest son of Ham and a grandson of Noah and the purported father of Nubians, as they believe.

The caption of the photo is an Arabicized Nubian phrase meaning "peace be upon you people of Nubia." The caption of the second photo is written in Arabic stating "Nubian pyramids, Kush civilization and Sudanese Nubia are numbered 240 pyramids". The post affirms that in ancient times there were no boundaries between Egypt and Sudan. Deploying the historical present relates past heritage to the affective passion of the here-and-now. Most of the heritage related posts carry tropes of coeval trans-temporal alignment by relying on the aesthetics of the historical present.

Significantly, resemiotizing the pictures of old Nubian heritage emphasizes the descension of Nubians from civilizations other than the ancient Egyptian. The posts allude to the Nubian civilization being older than the Egyptian one, an idea which is further emphasized by the emojis of the red heart and sparkles. The post stresses as well that Nubians descend from Sudanese ancestors. That is, they are not Egyptians. The resemiotization of past personae and heritage in the present diaspora context allows the FB group to align themselves with their ancestors. Such a positioning is chronotopic in that it represents a Nubian identity embedded in a different temporal frame from the Egyptian society.

4.2. Affective nostalgia: the chronotopes of statehood and distinctiveness

The narrative chronotopes organizing the Nubian online discourses of displacement are mostly attributed to the motifs of affectual nostalgia. Many posts use affective references to past traditions before the displacement to emphasize the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the Nubians. For instance, they highlight their unique and *different* wedding ceremonies, traditional clothes, folklore, special dishes and built environment. The group of posts in figure 6 illustrates this notion.

Figure 6. Group of posts highlighting different Nubian traditions

The first photo states "I liked that phrase and found it the best title. The Nubians used to eat what they grew and wear what they made. The Nubian lady used to spin what came from the sheep in a wooden yarn called karara, making threads and then collecting them to make clothes." Nubians' identity is situated in

the posts with a special focus on their distinctiveness. The use of the past tense emphasizes their nostalgic yearning for their past practices. The marked uncoeval alignment stresses the division of labour between their satisfaction and independence in the old days and dissatisfaction now. Carrying the same chronotopic motifs, photo 2 and 3 display respectively two popular Nubian dishes: "Mouloukhiya" (green soup made from finely chopped Jew's Mallow leaves) and "el-kabed" (thick bread).

Nubian ceremonies are of great indexical importance as well. Nubians enjoy rich ceremonial events, through which they cherish the tight bond connecting their community and their distinctiveness. This appears in the posts showing their wedding and henna[1] preparations which are unique and are totally different from other Egyptian governorates.

These types of posts significantly act online as a 'tropic emblem' (Perrino 2007) bringing past practices to the interactional here-and-now as relevant context to the Nubian identity. That is, the resemiotized tropes presenting their traditions before the displacement serve as a token for their identity, establishing a chronotopic connection between past and present selves. The culture specific tropes are mobilized as well in developing a nostalgic view of Nubia, achieving a collective sense of "displaced nostalgia" (Vanderbilt 1993). Remediating the chronotopes of displaced nostalgia through social media, the posts recruit younger Nubian generations for affiliation. The FB users are recruited as well to witness these cultural manifestations. The younger Nubian generation, along with the FB users, are discursively recruited to serve as denoted characters in the story, achieving "participant transposition" (Perrino 2007). this transposition achieves a "cross-chronotopic alignment" of the displacement experience as users are involved in interactional history of traditions. The technique of "tropic temporalization" (Perrino 2007) achieved by the resemiotization of nostalgic past practices and traditions and the deployment of displaced coeval and historical present to frame past events mobilize users' reflective stance on the past displacement event and the distinctiveness of the Nubians. This notion is manifested through the digital affordances available to users, such as Comment, React, Share along with using other translanguaging practices. Accordingly, it can be argued that the affective nostalgia to past traditions evokes not just a chronotope of collective identity; rather it is a chronotope of *connective* identity that connects diasporic subjects who are oscillating between here-and-there and FB users. The digital affordances of the FB along with their resemiotized tradition tropes translocalize their Nubian identity

Figure 7 is another interesting example of the trans-temporal tropes associated with the Nubian chronotope of traditions.

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[1] A pre-wedding ceremony that takes place the day before the wedding for the bride and her closest female friends and family members. In this ceremony, the female guests sing, dance and apply henna designs to their hands and feet.
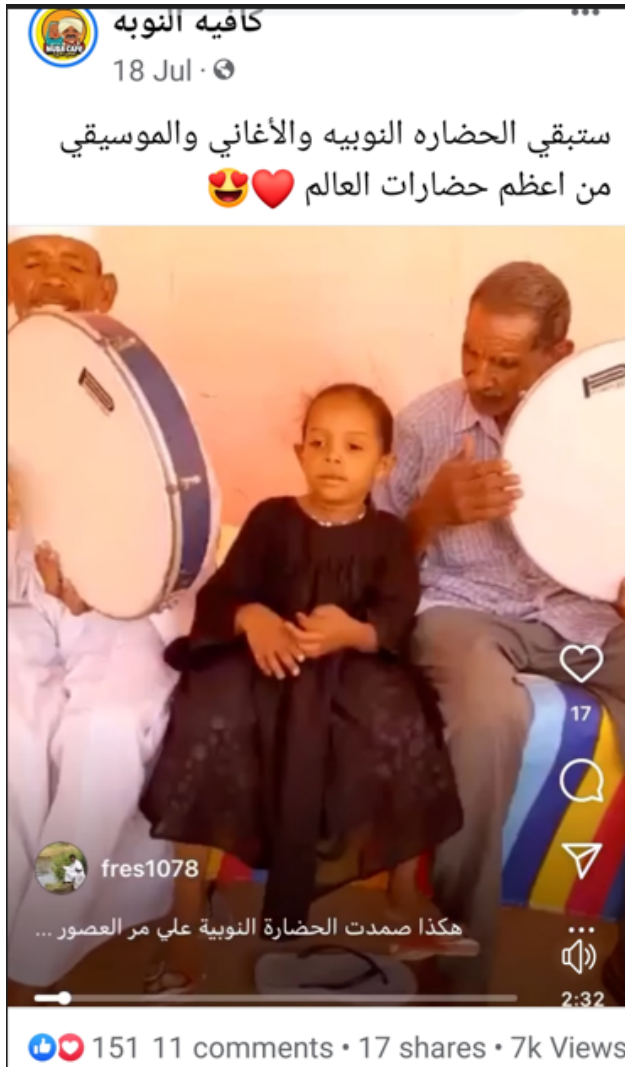
Figure 7. **A young Nubian girl as an index of future generations**

The post states that "[t]he Nubian civilization, its songs and music will remain one of world's greatest civilizations." It includes a video of a child girl singing old Nubian songs with a caption stating "this is how the Nubian civilization has survived through the ages." The young Nubian girl, an index of future generations, inserts future temporality to the Nubian folklore, emphasizing the continuity and defiant character of the Nubian civilization.

The translanguaging styles of the traditions posts, which underline as well the nostalgic reference to old Nubia, are significant in highlighting the distinctive character of their identity. The *Al Nuba Café* posts deploy a plethora of emojis that index Nubian ethnicity (e.g. flag, modified skin toned men, crocodile, crown, red triangle) and evaluative stance (heart to signify love, and broken heart to signify yearning to old Nubia). Figure 8 presents the most used emojis by the FB group:

Figure 8. The most used emojis by the FB group

The emojis index Nubian iconic emblems that highlight their indigenous and distinctive origin. These emojis are small informal cues that release dense indexical motifs of translocalization.

Just as their ceremonies, clothes, folklore and food reflect their indigenous presence, their resemiotized spatial repertoires are of significant chronotopic value. Chronotopes of old Nubian nature are resemiotized as a particularly evocative source of Nubian distinctiveness. Sharing motifs of their built environments chronotopizes a space-based identity that closely relates itself to old Nubia. This notion is further illustrated in the following section dealing with the chronotope of the road.

4.3. The chronotope of the road: Routes and roots

The motifs of the chronotope of 'the road' (see Bakhtin 1981) in the context of the *Al Nuba Café* can be argued to establish spatiotemporal dialogues between Nubian indigenous past and diasporic present, highlighting the dialectical tension that exist between them. Before further explaining this point, it is worth noting that the two notions of diaspora and indigeneity essentially differ from each other; the former foregrounds the concepts of mobility, hybridity, and uprootedness, while the latter centres around belonging, authenticity, and rootedness (Gopinath 2018, Kalra,

Kaur & Hutnyk 2005). That is, the relation between indigeneity and diaspora is a dialectical relation that identifies the difference between them as a "tension between *roots* and *routes*" (Reed 2015, author's italics) where manifestations of indigeneity are productively enabled by the experiences and possibilities of the diaspora (Desai 2011). As such, deploying the chronotope of the road would be beneficial in explaining the dialogical intersection of these concepts in the instance of the Nubian diaspora.

Of much relevance to this discussion is the FB posts resemiotizing Nubians' post-displacement architecture. It acts as a significant motif of the road chronotope, emphasizing the notion of a Nubian state within the Egyptian state and highlighting their Nubian agency with its clear impact and presence in Kom Ombo's built environment. Nubians decorate both the inside and outside walls of their houses with symbols of the old Nubian ecosystem – the most significant are palm trees, the Nile River, birds, and the sun – to reproduce and revive the aesthetics of their lost land.

Much of the *Al Nuba Café* posts share photos of their old and new built environment, their home architectures and graffiti thus staging a dialogue between their current diaspora condition and their past indigenous presence. The group shares posts that display the architecture of the Kenuz villages: Gharb Aswan and Gharb Suhial where Nubians capitalize on the spatial repertoires of Old Nubia to create touristic attractions, emphasizing a sense of space-based identity (see figure 9).

The FB posts emphasize that Nubians still summon spatial composition elements from their old land. Thus, their architecture is a spatial marker through which they distinguish themselves from their Upper Egyptian neighbours' built environment. Their belonging and authenticity are instantiated through superdiverse online context of mobility and hybridity in which they are intersected.

The notion of spatio-temporal mobility (routes) as a motif of the road chronotope is significantly evident as well in the posts' translanguaging techniques of hashtags and code mixing. Figure 10 illustrates this notion.

This post includes underpinning hashtags that affiliate the posts with the Nubian Heritage Day commemorated on the seventh of July. It is worth noting that self-authentication is practiced in this post and other similar posts through multilingual hashtags that bring together English, Arabic and Nubian. Significantly, these multilingual posts along with the accompanied multilingual hashtags foster translocal interactions.

The hashtags function as translocal manifestations of self-authentication, positioning and belonging. They use English, Arabic, and Nubian to include a wider base of FB users while stressing their authentic Nubian identity. Correspondingly, the hashtags can be argued to perform glocal identities in the translocal and superdiverse space of FB. These multilingual practices instantiate a translocal process of *glocalization* through which the *Al-Nuba Café* negotiates dynamic scales that traverse the global and the local, "with the local appropriating elements of the

global that it finds useful, at the same time employing strategies to retain its identity" (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007: 143).
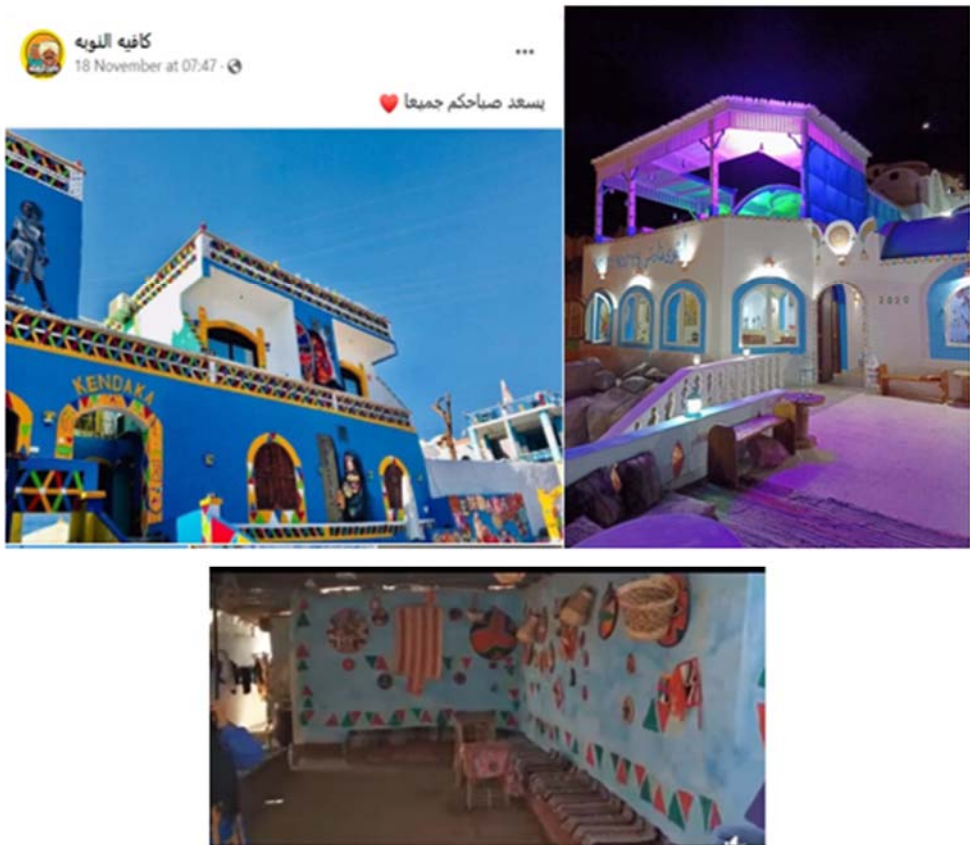
Figure 9 Nubians' post-displacement architecture

Figure 10. **Reviving the Nubian Heritage Day through multilingual hashtags**

Considering the arrangement of the post languages, it can be argued that Arabic and English become the contextualization and the semiotic cushioning strategies used to unforeignize the Nubian. Seeking a wider base, such multilingual parentheticizing indicates a higher degree of trans-spatio-temporal manifestations.

5. Discussion

Focusing on the digital affordances available to online diaspora communities shifts the focus from socio-demographic properties to communicative practices. Differently put, the focus is then on the process of diasporization itself rather than on stable diaspora groups with fixed linguistic repertoires (Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021). Digital affordances and the superdiversity features characterizing online technologies are argued to offer a kind of "identity repertoires" (Blommaert 2005) that enact a multilayered and hybrid online community. Informed by this, Nubian diaspora is examined in the current article as being manifested through digital linguistic practices and semio-chronotopic repertoires. This view connects diaspora to spatio-temporal narrative and semiotic practices available to online communities, adding a translocal dimension to the notions of diaspora and displacement.

The resemiotized posts of heritage and traditions are seen as an unchanging relic of the past. They bring past practices to the interactional present as relevant context to the Nubian identity. The resemiotized indexicalities are found to be closely associated with temporal topes that associate some past diaspora practices with the here-and-now of the present. Resemiotized indexicalities of food, ceremonies, and built environment introduce the Nubian identity as a symbolic construct that is appropriated within culturally specific practices (see Bilá & Ivanova 2020, Eslami et al. 2023 for identity formation in interaction), constructing a sense of temporal continuity among the past, the present, and the future. Correspondingly, the online Nubian identity is found to be fluid and interactive in essence, where the entailed resemiotized "TimeSpaces" are kept anew, manifesting timeless patterns of identity representations. A stratified identity structures are then evident. It is through the *Al Nuba Café* resemiotized indexicalities manifested in multimodal posts, multilingual hashtags, interdiscursive videos and many other translanguaging practices that the superdiverse and hybrid features of the Nubian diaspora identity are asserted. Differently put, manifestations of translocality are unpacked by temporal entanglements which reemphasize the *atemporal* reshaping of Nubian identity. These entanglements are found to transcend the local boundaries of the here-and-now.

The chronotopes of performance, affect and the road foreground a temporal dimension of diaspora that is associated with a coeval aligned expressions of a displacement in space and proximity in time. Defined through the lens of these chronotopes, borrowing the words of Peeren (2006: 73), Nubian diaspora "is characterized by the way in which dispersed communities connect themselves to each other and to the homeland by forging relationships across space and time

through a shared performative (habitual and mnemonic) construction of time-space: a shared chronotope." The underlined chronotopes can be argued to be habitual as evident in the motifs of gender, mnemonic as expressed in the tropes of heritage, displacement experience, nostalgia, and indigeneity.

The study has concluded that Nubian digital tellings of diaspora are organized within a continuum of specific chronotopes that offer a constant identity reprocessing vacillating between spatial yearning and temporal nostalgia, statehood and mobility, past indigeneity and present diaspora, delineating an umbrella chronotope of the changing same. That is, the digital Nubian identity is manifested in the participants' narrative as a "continuous becoming that is predicated on the various constructions of time-space encountered and performatively enacted by the subject" (Peeren 2006: 75). The FB page of the *Al Nuba Café* along with its digital affordances conflate the two chronotopes of story and storytelling of the past displacement events through the employment of tropic forms of alignment.

The online Nubian identity is defined by translocality. The digital mediation of the displacement experience translocalizes the event, emphasizing an atemporal manifestation of the displacement experience which transcends the boundaries of the there-and-then. This, in turn, configures a trans-temporal chronotopic alignment in relation to the underlined chronotopes. This is illustrated in translocal identity management running in the posts and exemplified in the underlined chronotopic motifs and the affordances of multilingualism, hashtags and translanguaging. The *Al Nuba Café* can thus be interpreted as the "third space chronotope" (Peeren 2006) of the diaspora journey between home displacement and host destination, past and present, digital and analogue and roots and routes. The Nubian online identity is thus argued to be enacted by multilayered and coexisting chronotopes rather than with homogeneous and compatible ones.

6. Conclusion

This article situates itself within the literature of post-Labovian work that detaches itself from the conventional narrative of personal, denotational experiences and examines narrative in interactional contexts. The adopted framework allowed us to dig into the complexity of identity in online diaspora contexts. It helped to explore the Nubian community beyond mere demographic parameters investigated in a traditional sociolinguistic sense. More specifically, the synergy established between the notions of ''resemiotization'' (Iedema 2001, 2003) and "the chronotope" (Agha 2007, Bakhtin 1981, Oostendorp 2007, Perrino 2007, 2015) makes it possible to shift the focus from a localized and fixed Nubian identity to a translocal and mobile identity, in which various spatio-temporal frames are kept interacting with one another.

The current article has examined how the digital diasporization process of the Nubian identity is constituted by narrative oriented in spatio-temporal chronotopes. That is, the focus of the study is on the ways the resemiotized chronotopic orientations informing the Nubian identity work are mediated in the digital

narrative. The analysis has shown that although the Nubian homeland is left behind in space, it is still proximal in time in their digital narrative. Accordingly, the study argues that while space is considered the primary measure of diaspora in the analogue contexts (Senft 2017), the digital context emphasizes a rather temporal dimension which dynamically participates in the reproduction of diaspora experiences. The chronotope helps in decentring the concept of spatial dispersal by situating diaspora within a temporal continuum that cannot be cut down into strictly separate entities. Nubia diasporic identity is then represented as continuous becoming.

The analysis has yielded that resemiotized narrative, with its historical emphasis, proves beneficial in highlighting the chronotopic indexical layers of meanings associated with the diasporic Nubian identity. It has also investigated how digital semiotic indexicalities deploy narrative chronotopes to create links between time and Nubian diaspora. The resemiotized past events along with the aesthetics of historical present indexicalities transform the displacement experience into a chronotope.

The article contributes to the body of identity work that proposes deploying chronotopicity as a new approach to the exploration of context in studies of culture and identity, especially in times of globalization and superdiversity. Furthermore, it makes a contribution to the literature on diaspora identities by developing a view of Nubian diaspora that is predicated upon not only a compulsory displacement from their places but also upon a proximal attachment to their past (temporal).

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Research article / Научная статья

Internal migration and changes in language repertoire among Sindhi youth

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Abstract
Today many young members of the Sindhi community are migrating from villages to cities in Pakistan, where the national language, Urdu and the co-official language, English, dominates. This study investigates the daily language patterns of transplanted Sindhi speakers and the impact of such patterns on their mother tongue. Furthermore, as these speakers frequently switch from one language to another due to exposure to multilingualism in urban settings, this study determines the dominant language being used by young Sindhis in their mixed discourse, compared to the discourse of older Sindhis. Reasons for adopting other languages in academic institutions and home-settings were also investigated. A qualitative case study was conducted to obtain detailed responses about the linguistic choices of twenty young Sindhi speakers. Two Sindhi families were also observed to study the language choices across generations in home-settings, and semi-structured interviews were conducted to determine reasons for the mixed languages which emerged. The data were analysed using frequency analysis for linguistic choices and thematic analysis of the daily life discourse. Results show that the young Sindhis in the city of Karachi are using dominant languages Urdu and English in their daily life and have higher proficiency in Urdu and English as compared to their mother tongue Sindhi. Moreover, there are several social, economic, and cultural reasons for switching from one language to another among the younger Sindhi generation, in contrast to the older Sindhi generation.
Keywords: *language shift, internal diaspora, language patterns, translanguaging, Sindhi*

Внутренняя миграция и изменения в использовании языков синдхской молодежью

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Аннотация

Сегодня в Пакистане многие молодые синдхи мигрируют из деревень в города, где преобладают национальный язык урду и официальный язык английский. В данном исследовании рассматриваются повседневные речевые модели переехавших в город носителей языка синдхи и влияние таких моделей на их родной язык. Кроме того, поскольку в городских условиях наблюдается многоязычие, приводящее к частому переключению с одного языка на другой, данное исследование определяет доминирующий язык, используемый в смешанном дискурсе молодыми синдхами и синдхами старшего возраста. Также исследуются причины использования других языков в академических учреждениях и в домашней обстановке. Чтобы получить подробные ответы о языковом выборе, было проведено качественное тематическое исследование, в котором участвовало двадцать молодых носителей языка синдхи. Также для выявления выбора языка общения между представителями разных поколений в домашней обстановке осуществлялось наблюдение за двумя семьями синдхов; были проведены полуструктурированные интервью для определения причин возникновения смешанных языков. Данные были проанализированы с использованием частотного анализа лингвистического выбора и тематического анализа повседневного дискурса. Результаты показывают, что молодые синдхи в городе Карачи используют в повседневной жизни доминирующие языки урду и английский и имеют более высокий уровень владения этими языками по сравнению со своим родным языком синдхи. Более того, среди молодого поколения синдхов, в отличие от старшего поколения, существует ряд социальных, экономических и культурных причин для перехода с одного языка на другой.

Ключевые слова: *языковой сдвиг, внутренняя диаспора, языковые модели, транслингвизм, синдхи*

1. Introduction

This study focuses on everyday discourse of young and older Sindhi speakers in the internal diaspora and reasons for possible language shift. David (2000, 2001a & 2001b) has reported how Sindhis in the external diaspora have shifted to dominant languages. However, as reported in Abbasi et al. (2020a) diverse language patterns are used by younger Sindhi generation in comparison to older Sindhi generation. Therefore, focussing on both younger and older Sindhis in the

city of Karachi, this study seeks to analyse language patterns of both age groups and explore reasons for these language patterns in in the internal diaspora.

Sindh is the historical home of the Sindhis. The Sindhis are a socio-ethnic group originating from Sindh which today is a province in Pakistan. In the wake of the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 and even prior to the partition, Sindhi-speaking Hindus had made their home in India and in numerous other countries. Studies conducted on Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia, Singapore, London, (David 2000, 2001a & 2001b) and Hong Kong (Detramani & Lock 2003) identified a shift away from the habitual use of the heritage language in the Sindhi diaspora.

In contrast, a study on the Sindhi Muslim community in the homeland of Sindh, Pakistan reveals high ethnolinguistic vitality (David et al. 2017). Today many young members of the Sindhi community are moving to cities in Pakistan where Urdu and English are quite popular among the masses, as Urdu which is the national language is used as a Lingua Franca. Rahman (2000: 41–42) states that "Urdu is a symbol of national identity while English is the source of employment". In this study, we examine the language choices of Sindhi youth who have moved away from their hometown and are working and studying in the city of Karachi.

As these Sindhi speakers are exposed to three languages, Sindhi (in the home domain); Urdu (in social and educational domains) and English (in the educational domain); they (Sindhis) code-switch from one language to another and often code-mix words from Urdu and English in Sindhi (Abbasi & David 2020). Over the years, analysis of the discourse on language patterns has been based on code-switching (CS) and code-mixing of two languages (Mugheri et al. 2021). However, the younger Sindhi generation, due to the exposure to three languages, is moving among three languages. Such an intermixture can be termed translanguaging (Canagarajah 2011, Garcia & Wei 2014, Slembrouch 2018, Simpson 2017, Wei 2018).

Codeswitching occurs in bilingual or multilingual settings. In urban areas, speakers often acquire languages to meet different community needs. Therefore, such speakers can use multiple languages to convey and share their thoughts and emotions with each other. There are several terminologies used to describe language change patterns of bilingual/multilingual speakers in a speech community. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), code switching is a language pattern that involves the use of two language varieties in the same conversation. Muysken (2000) used the term code-mixing to refer to intrasentential CS. In code-mixing, a sentence structure consists of lexical insertion, code alternation and congruent lexicalization. 'Insertion' indicates single lexical items being inserted into the frame provided by the matrix language (ML). Alternation implies change of both the ML and lexicon within continuous utterances by the same speaker; while congruent lexicalization means that the "the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages are inserted more or less randomly" (Muysken 2000: 8).

The Matrix Language-Frame Model (MLF) of Myers-Scotton (1993) emphasized the notions of matrix and embedded language. The 'matrix language' is the dominant one in supplying the morphosyntactic frame of bilingual utterances, while the embedded language has an auxiliary function, in supplying selected content morphemes. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), there are two types of code-switching i.e. classical and composite switching. Classical code-switching involves "morphosyntactic frame from one language: namely Matrix language" (Kheir 2019: 480), while in composite code switching, speakers provide the "morphosyntactic frame from more than one of the participating languages, resulting in a composite Matrix Language Frame." (Kheir 2019: 480).

Myers-Scotton's proposed Matrix Language turnover hypothesis (1998) is of relevance to this study, as it links language shift to an intermediate phase of a changeover between matrix and embedded language. During this changeover phase, both languages play the role of matrix languages but gradually the former embedded language increasingly plays the role of a matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1998).

Similarly, the term translanguaging stresses the complexity and creativity of code-switching and mixing (Canagarajah 2011, Garcia & Wei 2014, Slembrouck 2018, Wei 2018). Wei (2018) and Canagarajah (2011) emphasize that translanguaging often seems to be a major form of linguistic behaviour among multilinguals, rather than a temporary space for the meeting of two or more separate languages. Furthermore, such behaviour does not imply that all the languages in the mix are fully known to the speaker. The lexis and occasional phrase from a language being acquired may nevertheless prove useful or attractive to the user. For instance, Jørgensen's (2008) study showed how polylingual norm in some Turkish families maximized linguistic heterogeneity through the use of the languages available at the speakers' disposal.

Canagarajah (2011: 401) emphasises in his work how multilingual speakers treat the diverse languages that treat the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system. However, this takes us back to the point that Mesthrie (2001) [1] raised about the degrees and directionality of "unmixing" in different domains and registers or styles. Code-switching as a term has two meanings: (a) as a general cover term for the phenomena under study and (b) as a specific term distinguishing it from code-mixing (Stell 2005). It is traditionally accepted (Mesthrie 2001) that code-switching in the specific sense is clear and explainable in terms of external factors (e.g., a topic, the repertoire of an addressee, speaker hierarchies), whereas mixing involves informal interaction between interlocutors and is linguistically ragged as it involves swaying back and forth. However, the insights of Poplack (1980) Myers-Scotton (1992 &1993), Muysken (2000), Auer (2019) unpack the complexities of code-mixing and code-switching. In this study,

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[1] Mesthrie, R. 2001. Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics. Elsevier Science, Regional Sales Office, Customer Support Department, PO Box 945, New York, NY 10159-0945.

the term translanguaging encompasses the mixing and merging of lexical items and syntactical structures from three languages: Sindhi, Urdu, and English.

Studies conducted on language patterns of bi/multilingual Sindhi speakers have so far focused on language shift and maintenance and attitudes towards language shift and maintenance in the external diaspora (David 2000, 2001a & 2001b). None of the previous studies to the best of our knowledge has focused on the dominant language patterns in young Sindhis in comparison to older Sindhis in Karachi in Pakistan's Sindh province. Therefore, the present study focuses on the internal diaspora of Sindhis and explores the dominant language patterns used by young Sindhis as compared to older Sindhis. This study contributes to the existing literature by investigating language patterns, daily discourse of two intergenerational Sindhi families and reasons for language patterns and mixed discourse in the urbanized city of Karachi.

Objectives of the study are:

- To investigate the dominant language and discourse among young Sindhis in Karachi.
- To investigate the dominant language and discourse among older Sindhis in Karachi.
- To know reasons for different language practices and mixed discourse among Sindhis in Karachi.

Therefore, the study aims to answer the following questions.

- What is the dominant language and discourse among young Sindhis in Karachi?
- What is the dominant language and discourse among older Sindhis in Karachi?
- What are reasons for different language and discursive practices among Sindhis in Karachi?

2. Literature review

Language shift in multilingual societies and the globalized world is a common phenomenon (Eslami et al. 2023, Zabrodskaja 2021). Nesteruk (2010) explored the language behaviour of young immigrant European children in USA by interviewing their parents through semi-structured interviews. The study explored parental attitude, transmission strategies, and barriers to transmission and language maintenance and adjustments to language shift and language loss. Findings reported that parents had positive attitude towards language and cultural preservation as they utilized children's books, media (cartoons & videos), and folktales in their local language to promote and preserve their heritage language. Similarly, ethnic day-care centres, schools, and community centres play an important role in promoting the language. As far as the language transmission is concerned, the presence of ethnic friends and grandparents provides an opportunity to the speakers of the heritage language to practice their language. The heritage speaking house-working

mother also maximises the chances for young children to learn the heritage language; although most of the parents reported that they use the native language, yet some parents emphasized using and learning the English language. Regarding language adjustments by parents, the study provides the case of Russian parents who rely on individuals, family, and community resources to promote the heritage language and are fluent bilinguals. Similar findings were provided by Zabrodskaja (2021) who reported that there were multiple factors responsible for language maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in different contexts; these can be internal or external or both. However, the study also reported families from Ukraine who were unsuccessful in promoting their heritage language due to the lack of ethnic resources.

In multilingual societies, code-switching and code-mixing can involve a complex language mixing (Benchiba 2008, Kheir 2019, Zabrodskaja 2021). Soomro and Larina (2023) work on address terms by multilingual speakers in Pakistan display complex use of codeswitching terms for addressing. This complex language mixing has linguistic items from two or three languages and identifying the dominant language in such a discourse can be oftentimes a difficult task. Researchers have used different terminologies for analysing and identifying this complex mixing. Auer (2019) defines this process as multi-layered switching where there is an intermixture of multiple languages. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1992) uses the terms code alternating and code shifting but relies upon the degree of ethnic language in code-switched discourse in ascertaining the extent of language shift or maintenance. Myers-Scotton (1992) provides an elaborative 'Markedness Model' which can help identify and analyse code switches as more or less marked or unmarked code choices. Wei (1994) analysed the bilingual behaviours, specifically code-switching strategies used by individual speakers for different interactions, and language choices of three generations of a Chinese speech community in Tyneside, north-east of England and found that the older generations and parents communicated in Chinese most of the times while occasionally shifting to English mostly to indicate turn-allocation and repair initiators. In contrast, the members of the younger generation communicated in English when interacting with their peers. However, they sometimes switched and borrowed chunks and phrases from Chinese language mainly depicting insertion sequences.

Kuang (2002) focused on one Malaysian Chinese family who could speak their mother tongue Hokkien along with other languages, such as Cantonese, Mandarin, English, and Malay. She argued by providing numerous utterances of various family members that code switching of multiple languages occurs within a single discourse for many reasons –like home language for making clarification, Hokkien for showing emphasis and English for displaying authority. Hence, in a multilingual context, code-switching of multiple languages often results in mixed discourse.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) discussed a case of bilingual practices of a teacher and students using Gujarati and English in a classroom in the Great Britain. Code switching between vernacular British English and Gujarati/English mixing

register resulted in mixing of discourse. Mesthrie's (1992) study showed how the language (Gujarati) is subject to heavy lexical insertion from the society's dominant language, English. Blackledge & Creese (2010) considered this to be a mixed register characteristic of informal in-group usage. It might be labelled as colloquial British Gujarati; however, since its grammar is largely that of Gujarati as a matrix language with English vocabulary embedded in it. In other contexts, this variety itself is subject to code alternation with English – that is syntactic switching between English (with only English lexemes) and colloquial British Gujarati. This usage may be said to involve switching as well as mixing. In terms of Mesthrie's (2001) overview of code-switching, "unmixing" is relatively complex and difficult to identify. Unmixing involves demarking the lexical, phrasal, and syntactic boundaries. In the above scenario, unmixing can be possible in the direction of English; however, unmixing towards Gujarati shorn of its British English lexis is less possible in colloquial contexts, warranting the possibility of it being a mixed code/register. However, it would be interesting to see what kind of Gujarati is used in formal and religious speech making. Mesthrie's (2001) experience in Cape Town suggests that in this domain speech makers are indeed able to unmix Sanskritised rather than Anglophile register.

Sindhis in Karachi are not only bilinguals but also multilingual speakers of Urdu, English, and Sindhi. In urban areas like Karachi, they have frequent contact with the mainstream language (Urdu) and medium of instruction (English) language and tend to code-switch, code-mix, and insert lexical borrowings to facilitate communication in any of these languages. The present study in view of the linguistic patterns used in daily life aims to explore the choice of language and dominant language in the discourse of young and older Sindhis to determine whether such circumstances result in language shift or not.

3. Data and methodology

A multiple qualitative case study was conducted to focus on young Sindhi speakers, their language patterns, and reasons for changing patterns within their family. A multiple case study is used to focus on the cases that involve similar issues and problems (Creswell 2015). As this study focuses on young Sindhis' language patterns and reasons for such patterns, multiple cases were selected to compare the information provided by participants. The target population for this study was young native Sindhi speakers (aged between 18 and 24 years) who had migrated from their hometowns for educational purposes and were exposed to a multi-ethnic and multilingual context, where they socialised with different language groups in an academic institute. Hence, they needed to learn and use a language of wider communication. Data were collected using a purposive sampling from twenty participants. Purposive sampling is conducted to get detailed information about the problem and helps in understanding the case effectively; it relies on the selection of participants based on an objective or criteria for enrolling participants in a research study (Creswell 2015). The participants who were selected a) had been residing in

Karachi for more than 5 years, b) were aged between 18 and 25 years, c) and were enrolled in an undergraduate degree program at an academic institute and spoke three languages: Sindhi, Urdu, and English. It was not difficult to include these participants in this study as the academic institute which had been selected for the study, had students from diverse ethnic and educational backgrounds.

Data were collected in two phases. First phase data for language patterns and self-reported proficiency in different domains was collected from twenty young Sindhi speakers using a sociolinguistic profile, which contains information about language proficiency and language use in different domains (Fishman 1991). For second phase, after analysing the responses in the sociolinguistic profile, observation and interview were conducted. The participants who were selected and included in the study for the second stage were those whose parents reside in Karachi and who permitted observation of their daily discourse. Therefore, after analysing their choice of language, interviews and observations were conducted with them and their families. After formal consent and frequency analysis of the initial data, two younger Sindhi speakers along with their families (two families) voluntarily became research assistants to help observe and record the discourse in real settings. Within the families, data were collected from 02 male parents (Older Sindhis aged 40 years and above), 02 female parents (Older Sindhis aged 40 years and above) and 02 younger Sindhi speakers. The discourse was recorded after the formal consent in the home and education domains for twelve hours (eight hours in the home domain and four hours in the education domain).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the members of the families to elicit naturally occurring multilingual speech. Informal discussions with the six participants were recorded for twelve hours (eight hours with older participants and four hours with younger participants) in the mother tongue (Sindhi) and when needed to accommodate language preferences of younger participants, researchers switched to Urdu and English. The interviews sought to explore reasons for changing language patterns and mixed discourse in the participants' daily life.

The data have been analysed using frequency analysis for language patterns and thematic analysis for observations and interviews. The observed data were reported in the form of extracts. These extracts were read and reread to do coding, develop broader categories, and ultimately placing together the segments of the text that co-related with a theme (Nesteruk 2010). Once the data are compiled, for triangulation, the analysed data are shown to the participants for verification (Patton 2002). The younger Sindhi participants confirmed the data and its accuracy in the extract; hence confirming the credibility of the data. For ethical purposes, a consent was signed by the participants before observations and interviews, and it was assured that the data would be used for research purpose, and their identity would not be disclosed.

4. Findings

4.1. Dominant language choices of Sindhi youth

A sociolinguistic profile provides information about the four skills of language and language use in different contexts (Abbasi & David 2020a). Table 1 shows the language patterns of the speakers.

Table 1. **Language Proficiency of Young Sindhis**

Domain	Sindhi	Urdu & English	Mixed
Home	30%	20%	50%
Other Domains Neighborhood, market, university, media etc.	5%%	90%	5%

Table 01 shows that 30% of the participants use the Sindhi language, while 20% switch to Urdu and English. However, 50% of the participants reported that they used a mixed variety like Urdu-Sindhi, Sindhi English, Urdu-English or a combination of the three in their home domains with their parents and siblings. While responding to the question related to language use in other domains (neighbourhood, market, university media etc), almost 90% (18 participants) reported they used Urdu in the 'other domains', such as in a market, classroom, social gatherings, workplace, canteen, restaurant, and social media. In fact, on social media, the medium of conversation with family and friends was Urdu.

Participants also self-reported their proficiency in Sindhi reading and writing as poor. As for the spoken discourse, 25% of the participants said they used the Sindhi language in their home, 12.5% said they could partially communicate in Sindhi, while 12.5% could only understand it (i.e., they were passive or receptive bilinguals). Moreover, remaining 50% of the participants said that they could communicate more fluently in Urdu and English than in Sindhi. No participant reported reading a Sindhi newspaper and listening to a Sindhi television channel. Almost (90%) all of them rated their speaking and writing proficiency as good in English and Urdu. From this frequency analysis, it appears that the young Sindhis who reside in the city have low proficiency in writing and reading in Sindhi.

4.2. Dominant language discourse among Sindhi speakers

The second aim of the study was to determine the language choices of the Sindhi community in different settings. Data in extracts 1–3 demonstrate a mixed discourse of younger and older Sindhis. Codes are used for different family members in the extracts. G2FAs and G2FBs mean father parents' discourse in the extracts 1–3; G2MAs and G2MBs refer to mother parents' discourse in extracts 1–3. Moreover, GY2As and GY2Bs are codes for younger Sindhis' discourse, and the 'friend' word denotes a Sindhi speaking friend of younger Sindhis in extract 1–3. The data have been transcribed using the conventions of Roman transcription and symbols in Sindhi and Urdu as used by Pakistani linguists. Hence, to differentiate

and identify the discourse patterns, different types of fonts have been used. Italics have been used for Sindhi, Bold for Urdu, and Roman for English in Extract 1–3.

4.2.1. Discourse among younger and older Sindhis

The generational code-switching patterns observed in the data follow the patterns of prior studies (Myers-Scotton 1993). The overall analysis of extract 1 shows that the older generation uses Sindhi, and that within a single clause, Sindhi is the matrix language where the verb and object are from the Sindhi language, while the other lexical items are from English or Urdu. As in the first utterance in extract 1 line 1 Sindhi matrix (as shown by verb and auxiliary plus pronoun) become one clause. However, English lexical insertion of "federal public" or "education-related: examination test" lexical items are added to the utterance. In this example the older respondent used English as the embedded language.

Extract 1

Extract 1 Communication and Language between Older and Younger generation while discussing about Education.

Speaker G2FAs: Male Older Sindhi G2FYAs: Male Younger Sindhi

[English word Times New Roman, Urdu bold and Sindhi Italicised]

1 G2FAs: *Chha tvn* federal public *Jv* examination test *DynDy*?

[Will you give Federal public examination test?]

2 G2YAs: Test **tu mushkil nahi hota, sochna paRay ga.**

    [Test is not difficult; I should think about it]

3 G2FAs: Test *ta ASan Aa*, **bus** current affairs *jyy* knowledge **ho**

    [test is easy, but one should have knowledge of current affairs]

4 G2YAs: **Bilkul;** yes

    [Of course, yes]

5 G2FAs: *PaRa* **tayyari** institute *Khaa* **karna**

    [But do preparation from an institute]

6 G2YAs: **tekh,** indeed.

    [Okay, indeed]

7 G2FAs: test **mei~** common sense *Aa,* English and composition; you will do it.

    [Test is about common sense]

8 G2YAs: Pass **karna** issue **nahi**; **bus** material **mil jaye**; **toh** it will be easy.

    [Passing the exam is not difficult, but if one gets the material so it will be easy]

Older generation (G2FAs) also uses Sindhi as a matrix language in the utterance signalled by active system morphemes *ta* and the auxiliary verb followed by the lexical insertion of the English word *test*. As indicated in Extract 1 (Line 3, G2FAs), the utterance starts with an English subject *test* in which a Sindhi verb *ta* (auxiliary verb 'is'), and a Sindhi object *ASan Aa* 'easy' are used, and the second

clause starts with an Urdu lexeme *bus* 'but' followed by an English noun phrase *current affairs*, a Sindhi verb *jyy* 'is', an English object *knowledge* and ends with an Urdu lexeme *ho* 'should'. Urdu is syntactically active for this clause with heavy lexical insertion from English (almost relexification – meaning that the grammatical sequence is Urdu, with the slots being filled by English words). Hence, a single clause contains an Urdu lexeme, an English phrase, a Sindhi auxiliary verb, an English phrase, and an Urdu lexeme in the utterance. The sentence structure has complex intermixing of Sindhi, Urdu and English words which makes the identification of a lexeme, phrase, and clause difficult, whereas in simple intermixing there is often lexical insertion of loan-words from the two languages (English and Urdu). Hence, the older generation i.e., a father parent in this utterance more frequently uses a mixed variety with lexical borrowings from English and Urdu in a natural Sindhi matrix sentence to facilitate the young Sindhi speakers to better understand the utterance due to their exposure to a range of multilingual contexts.

Comparatively, the younger Sindhi speakers shift to Urdu and English (the matrix languages) by reducing the use of Sindhi lexical items and phrases in their utterances. As in the first utterance in extract 1 line 2, a younger Sindhi speaker (G2Yas) says "*Test tu mushkil nahi hota, sochna paRay ga*" 'Test is not difficult, I should think about it'. There is an English lexical insertion which is a polyvalent part of colloquial Urdu. The younger Sindhi speaker uses Urdu as the matrix language clause in their utterance because Urdu is used as a common lingua franca in academic institutes.

The first Sindhi family mostly used Urdu syntax as a matrix with some English lexical insertions (*test, yes, pass, interview, and issue*). As an example, in Line 8 (by G2YAs), the first two clauses signalled by semi-colons have Urdu as a matrix language. It is noticeable that the educational-related, lexical vocabulary is mostly taken from the English language (*pass, issue, material*). The last clause resumes the Urdu syntax (with a discourse connector *toh* which means 'so'), but the insertion of an English "S" clause tails off the Urdu syntax. In Muysken's (2000) words, this is code alternation. Moreover, this complies with Myers-Scotton's (1993) concept of an island – i.e., a stretch of exceptional material in the embedded language, in this case necessitated by having started the clause with the pronoun "it". (Pronouns frequently impose a constraint against switching (Poplack 1980). In contrast, a discourse connector like *toh* or even its equivalent in English, ('so'), which is syntactically external to the clause imposes no such constraint, and in this case, the speaker does indeed switch to another language.

4.2.2. Discourse of young Sindhis

In Extract 2 G2YBs uses a mixed code with his Sindhi speaking friend in the university where Urdu, English and Sindhi lack grammatical integration and there are clear patterns of an alternational hybrid code. There is no clear distinction at the clausal level about the dominance of one language rather three languages are

inter-mixed forming a new pattern which is composed of translanguaging of Urdu, Sindhi, and English vocabulary, phrases, and clauses. As in Line 1 Extract 2 the utterance by a young Sindhi speaker began with an English phrase followed by an Urdu verb, intermixed with an Urdu and Sindhi adjective which is used to emphasize feelings and ends with an English phrase. Therefore, a simple SVO utterance has become complex, where Urdu is intermixed with Sindhi for emphasis. Similar utterances are quite common among the young, as shown in the same extract. These utterances show the pattern that within a single multilingual utterance there is a frequent shift towards English and Urdu lexical items rather than Sindhi lexical items. Moreover, in complex multilingual utterances, Urdu and English phrases are more often used, and there is a shift away from the Sindhi language as observed in the extract 2.

Extract 2

G2YBs: Male Younger Sindhi Friend: Male Younger Sindhi

[English word Times New Roman, Urdu bold and Sindhi Italicised]

1 G2YBs University **mein** life buhat *Dukeh aa*

       [Life is so difficult in university]

2 Friend **Bilkul***sahe galh aa*

       [Of course, true it is]

3 G2YBs Teacher *sakht Aa* number *dadah***muskil se** gain *kran pawanda*

       [Teacher is strict, gaining the marks is a tough task]

4 Friend**: Yahan toh system he aisa ha dost**, **wrna** Paisa kaya tahan

       [The system is like this friend otherwise give bribe]

5 G2YBs..*hiteh dunya fastAa…asan Keh* fish catch **krne hoge** but *ustaad kehte habajoh na.*

       [Life is too fast and we have to catch the fish but teacher say don't run]

6 Friend **Dost fikar na Kar**; Allah *malik aa*; *beya* semester *beh guzre wenda*

       [Friend do not worry, God is with us, and this semester too shall pass]

7 G2YBs **hum society per** impact *kehro tha deyo* … **yeh dekhna pare ga** long term **mei~….**

       [What impact are we creating on the society? we have to see that]

8 Friend **Dost fikar***na kr*, jobs available ha *asan sabneyn jee laye* bus *mehnat kayo ta sabasanjo aa*

       [Friend, do not be concerned, jobs are available we just need to work hard]

9 G2YBs Hazir **bhai**… *Halaon* compensatory class mei~

       [Okay brother, let's go to the compensatory class]

10 Friend *Halaon tha* compensatory *watahar*

       [Okay lets go to take the compensatory]

4.2.3. Dominant language variety among older and younger Sindhis

In Extract 3, different utterances are provided by the speakers [Speaker G2FBs a father; speaker G2YBs, a nephew; and Speaker G2MBs, a mother]. Although the

father (Speaker G2FBs) uses Sindhi, but English and Urdu lexical items are frequently inserted. However, Sindhi is dominant in the mixed register. The nephew from the younger generation (speaker G2YBs) uses Urdu with a mix of English words. Hence, the older Sindhis (both father and mother) use a mixed variety while communicating with the young Sindhi speakers perhaps to facilitate conversation, while Speaker G2YBs (a nephew) shifts to Urdu with English words inserted in the discourse. These patterns show that the nephew (a young Sindhi speaker) in this conversation shifts away from his mother tongue (Sindhi) and prefers to use English and Urdu by adding clauses and lexical items from the two languages rather than Sindhi lexical items when communicating with older native Sindhi speakers.

Extract 3

Speaker A: Male Older Sindhi Speaker B: Male Younger Sindhi Speaker C: Female Older Sindhi
[English word Times New Roman, Urdu bold and Sindhi Italicised]
1 Speaker G2FBs: Hammad **Rvzv Aa**?
2 　　　　[Hammad are you fasting?]
3 Speaker G2YBs: **Nahi.** 　　　　　　　　　　　　　[No]
4 Speaker G2MBs: Hammad **kese roza rakhe ga**? 　　　[How will Hammad fast?]
5 Speaker G2FBs: *jeya zamano***rakhta ha** in the holy month 　[As the society fasts in the holy month]
6 Speaker G2YBs: **par yaha~ bohat garmi he**, university **bhi jana hota he**
[But it's too hot here, we must go university as well]
7 Speaker G2MBs: **phir kya sara din** AC me **guzaro gay**?
[Then you will spent the whole day in AC?]
8 Speaker G2FBs: *ThyKh poth*; University *ha*
[Okay son, University is on]
9 Speaker G2YBs: **asal me yaha~ bohat garmi hoti he; phir aap ko** university me classes **bhi leni hoti he**; it becomes hectic.
[Actually, it's too hot here and then you have to take classes in university as well, so it becomes hectic]
10 Speaker G2FBs: **par beta** water to **nahi milay Ga University** me?
[But son you won't get the water in university]
13 Speaker G2MBs: 　　　　　　　　　　　[**tum kya Khaao gi**?
[What will you eat?]
14 Speaker G2FBs: gosHt and naan* {*a cultural food item} 　　[beef and naan]
15 Speaker G2YBs: **nahi uncle;** I have already eaten Chines 　[No uncle, I have already eaten Chinese]
16 Speaker G2FBs: Thiik 　　[Okay]

Table 2 shows the analysis of the data in the form of frequencies. A detailed analysis has already been provided in *Extracts 1-3* above.

Table 2. **Frequencies of Syntactic Language Patterns**

Clause content	Speaker 1 (older) Male	Speaker 2 (older) Female	Speaker 3 (younger) Male	Speaker 4 (younger) Female
Sindhi clause without mixing	20	16	04	03
Mixed clause showing alternation of syntax **	-	-	02	02
Mixed clause with Sindhi structure (and lexical insertions)	13	08	04	07
Mixed clause with Urdu structure (and lexical insertions)	05	02	23	21
Mixed clause with English structure (and lexical insertions)	01	-	12	07
Urdu clause without mixing	03	-	16	09
English clause without mixing	-	-	20	22
Other/unclear/unsure	-	-	-	-

Differences in code-switching patterns between 2 older generation and 2 younger generation members were illustrated by dominant codes per clause in table 2. The data in the table showed that the older Sindhis frequently used Sindhi clauses. Similarly, the young Sindhi speakers frequently used mixed clauses with Urdu and English structure. This could be due to exposure to foreign and local languages in the urban context. Moreover, the older Sindhis hardly uttered complete English clauses and merely used Urdu clauses in their discourse. Comparatively, the older Sindhi female speaker used more Sindhi sentences than Urdu and English in the utterance. Moreover, the younger Sindhis used mixed structures with English and Urdu with greater frequency as compared to older Sindhis.

Overall, the analysis of the interactional practices shows that the older Sindhi participants use a mixed code, but Sindhi lexical items dominate. In contrast, the younger Sindhi participants produce a mixed discourse which includes the three languages Urdu, English, and Sindhi, though their Sindhi discourse tends to have fewer lexical Sindhi items. This use of a mixed code is facilitated by older Sindhis and Sindhi friends of younger Sindhis. Thus, in the urban areas, young Sindhi speakers are producing a mixed code. A new code of communication is identified, and it is a hybrid code that involves mixing of Urdu, Sindhi, and English. However, the hybrid code is so complex that it is difficult to identify lexical and phrasal level utterance of a single language, as already highlighted in the extracts (See Extract 1-3). Another trend identified is that the younger participants are shifting away from their mother tongue and in the hybrid translingual code Sindhi lexical, phrasal, and clausal choices are minimal as compared to Urdu and English. Perhaps over time, young Sindhis living in a multilingual city like Karachi, will become more proficient in the dominant languages and the mother tongue might over time disappear from their spoken discourse resulting in language shift.

4.3. Reasons for changing language patterns among Sindhis in Karachi

These findings emerged from the interview data and provided reasons for adopting new language patterns and mixed discourse and shift to more dominant languages.

4.3.1. Migration to the city and significance of Urdu

The Sindhis migrated to the city due to educational and economic reasons. The parents reported that as they migrated to Karachi, "*they had to leave their ancestral homes, villages, and their parents (grandparents of younger Sindhis) and adopted urban lifestyle*". G2Fas (Father: Older generation) says: "*mujhe achha laga, taliim aur bachhay bhi khush* [I feel good for my children's education, and they were happy too). While narrating the significance of the Urdu language in the urban area, the participants (G2MBs & G2FBs) emphasized that the basic education system was in Urdu; and even in English schools Urdu was emphasised as G2FBs said "*aur bachhay bhi Sindhi nahi boltay thay balakay urdu ki taraf 879ail hogaye thay, taliim bhi unki urdu me ho rahi thi, grammar school thay kuchh, English Grammar school lekin un me ziada bol chaal urdu me hi thi* [And kids do not speak Sindhi and they shifted to Urdu, because basic education was provided in Urdu and English in their school and most of the communication was in Urdu in the school]. In short, the younger generation adopted Urdu and English in different language use contexts and shifted away from the habitual use of their language.

4.3.2. Intergenerational language transfer

Most of the participants while discussing the importance of intergenerational maintenance of the ethnic language admitted they facilitated the transfer of the dominant language as parents were working professionals and grandparents resided in villages, so they did not get many opportunities to transmit heritage language like telling folktales in Sindhi, reading stories or grandparents communicating in Sindhi. The parents also reported that there were few language resources like G2Mas said "*jab bchon ko khelana hota, video ya cartoon dekhana hote toh who Sindhi mein available nahe the pehle*" (when they want to engage or show videos to their child, it was not available in the local heritage language)". Similarly, G2Fas said "there were no local language centres in Karachi to teach the Sindhi language". Hence, Urdu was the language frequently used in society and education centres, and therefore parents facilitated this shift to Urdu. Another reason for encouraging the use of Urdu was exogamous marriages (Abbasi & David 2020b). In such cases a neutral language was adopted. One of the participants said:

> "*bas easy lag raha tha, bachho~ ne urdu bolna shuru kiya, unki maa tou Punjabi thie~, me~ sindhi tha aur zaahir he bachho~ ne jab school me paRhna shuru kiya, gali me ya mohallay me ziada tar urdu hi bolne lagay tou urdu ko hi unho~ ne apna liya. Tou ham ne bhi ziyada munasib nahi samjha ke zor*

daal do~ ke sindhi siikhe~ ya zor daale~ ke Punjabi siikhe~. Urdu ko hi un ki mother tongue rehne diya".

[It felt like kids started speaking in Urdu and their mother was Punjabi although I was a Sindhi speaker. Of course, the kids started communicating in Urdu in school and neighbourhood because of the presence of the Urdu community, so the kids adopted the Urdu language as their preferred language and we did not emphasise the learning of Sindhi or Punjabi, so they made Urdu as their mother tongue].

The younger participants stated that their siblings and parents talked to them in Urdu; so, they also used Urdu.

In mixed marriages and in an urban setting (Abbasi & David 2020b, David 2008) where other languages are more powerful, children from such exogamous marriages will tend to use a language of wider communication, such as Urdu.

4.3.3. Status and value of the Sindhi language among the Sindhi community

The language patterns reflected the status of languages among the two families who were shifting to Urdu and English; yet it was important to explore the Sindhi families' attitudes towards the Sindhi language. G2Fas narrated: "*hamare bche Sindhi nahe bol rehe ha, lekin phr bhe society me~ Sindhi bole jaate he, offices, shadio~ aur ab toh Karachi me~ buhat ziada Sindhi rehte he, 1990s mein itne nahe the*" (Our children cannot speak the Sindhi language, but it is still spoken in society, offices, and social events. Today, there are more Sindhis in Karachi than in 1990s). Similarly, G2MBs said: "*hamare bache Sindhi bolne ke koshish krte he, lekin university mein nahe bole jate esleye I English aur Urdu per focus krte he; lekin phr bIwoh apne culture se hum ahang he*" (Our children try to speak Sindhi, since it is not spoken in educational institutes, they focus on English and Urdu but still they are aware of the Sindhi cultural values).

When asked about the Sindhi culture, most young Sindhis were aware of the cultural cuisine, weddings, rituals, and events. Some of them even participated in the Sindhi cultural events in their academic institute. While visiting the house of the participants, the younger participants showed their traditional Sindhi cap (Topi) and a Sindhi cultural shawl (Ajrak). Hence, the younger Sindhis were proud of their cultural values and participated in social events. However, to assimilate to city life they had shifted to Urdu and English.

5. Discussion

The present study analysed the language patterns and composition of the language used by twenty selected Sindhi respondents in Karachi, Pakistan. It investigated reasons for the dominant language use in their mixed discourse, with a view to exploring the phenomenon of language shift in the Sindhi community.

Daily life language practices are the strongest indicator of language maintenance (Fishman 1991, Nesteruk 2010); however, these trends are changing

in this study. The language patterns showed that only 30% speak Sindhi at home, while 20% use Urdu and 50% used mixed discourse (borrowing words from Urdu and English). Similarly, 90% reported that they used Urdu in social domains. Fishman (1991) reported that home is the place where heritage language can be spoken frequently and preserved, however, this study showed that the language patterns were changing, and younger Sindhis relied on the dominant languages (Urdu and English) rather than their heritage language. Nesteruk's (2010) study showed that educational and community centres, educational resources, role of mothers, society and grandparents were highly significant in promoting a heritage language. In this study, it was reported by the parents that there were no significant language resources and language centres available, hence the reading and writing skills in Sindhi were not developed. Mothers were professionals and spent less time with children, while grandparents resided in distant villages. Therefore, as reported in this study the young Sindhi participants in Karachi did not read and used social media in their heritage language. Hence, their syntactic patterns were bound to change as reported in the observation and interviews. In this study, Myers-Scotton's (1993) intergenerational code-switching patterns have been followed; the older Sindhis maintained their heritage language and facilitated language shift among younger Sindhis by assuming a positive attitude towards the dominant languages in society and using a mixed discourse.

The language used by the younger Sindhi speakers reflected a complex phenomenon of polylanguaging in which three languages are used simultaneously within a single utterance, making the lexical, phrasal, and clausal boundary difficult to identify. Auer (2019) termed this phenomenon as translanguaging (complex language mixing which has been observed in the discourse as shown in extracts 1–3). The phenomenon has also been denoted as alternational mixing (Muysken 2000) where there is no grammatical integration and insertional mixing (Muysken 2000) where words from one language are inserted into another at lexical level, however, phrasal, and clausal boundaries are identical. This is like what Blackledge and Creese (2010) reported in their study of classroom discourse, where Gujarati and English mixing reproduced a new code as the linguistic boundaries were not identical. Gujarati was subject to lexical insertions from societal language (English). Similar findings were reported among Bhojpuris in Mesthrie (1992). The same findings have been reported in this study as well in the discourse of young Sindhis which have lexical and phrasal insertions in a single utterance from Urdu and English to the extent that the lexical boundaries are blurred, and a new code has been formed of a mixed variety of three languages.

Similar findings were reported by Wei (2008) among Singaporian Chinese where such mixing happens and results in multilingual code between Hokkien, Teochew, Mandarin, Malay, Cantonese, English, and Singlish. Meeuwis and Bloomaert (1998) call this phenomenon as 'multilayered switching', while Haque (2011), associated such language practices among three Indian families in Europe speaking three to five languages with 'truncated multilingualism' where

participants shifted from one language to another according to specific domains using limited lexical chunks from different languages in their discourse.

Similarly, when inquired about the status, value, and intergenerational transmission of the Sindhi language, the participants reported that internal migration, educational needs, and social mobility are some of the reasons for adopting Urdu language. The older Sindhis admitted that they facilitated the shift of the Sindhi language to Urdu, so that their younger Sindhis could learn to live in the larger Urdu speaking society. However, they had introduced their children to their heritage culture, and were aware of the Sindhi traditions and values.

Hence, the present study explores a situation where the language patterns are shifting, and discourse is built upon a hybrid of three languages which has no clear boundaries.

Such extensive code mixing and switching using more than two languages can be designated as translanguaging. As patterns identified in this study show a merging of the three languages, but the extent of use or non-use of Sindhi suggests a shift away from the ethnic language, at least for members of the speech community who reside in Karachi. Lexical shifting in many utterances appears to be the first step towards language shift, and perhaps with time, language attrition and finally language loss.

6. Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal that the older Sindhis in Karachi are facilitating the language change process. Older Sindhis are not promoting the use of the Sindhi language in the home domain and are using mixed discourse. This results in mixing of the three languages especially Sindhi-Urdu-English lexical and phrasal insertions. This shift is attributed to lack of resources, language centres and the social settings where Urdu and English predominate.

The younger Sindhi respondents are exposed to multilingual practises in a multilingual setting; they frequently switch from one language to the other. The older and younger participants communicate in a mixed variety with lexical, phrasal, and syntactic insertions from Urdu and English. As a result, a new code, with minimal use of Sindhi lexical items has emerged. When comparing the discourse of the older with younger Sindhi speakers, the younger respondents are tilted towards the mainstream languages Urdu and English.

Such a process would ultimately lead to language shift and language loss among the younger Sindhis, and the language may not be transferred to coming generations. Therefore, significant steps must be taken by the community members and Sindhi language experts to produce language resources in the Sindhi language using print media and social media. Books should be published in the Sindhi language that introduce young children to Sindhi alphabets, it is also worthwhile to open the Sindhi language centres in Karachi that can offer to teach vocabulary and writing skills to children. These centres should be open in different areas of the city.

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Research article / Научная статья

Towards a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model: The case of Uber-Blog-mediated advertising discourse order of 'Saudization'

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Abstract
This study proposes a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (for short, MHM) as a methodology that extends the analytic scope of Ricoeur's (1973, 1976, 1981) classic hermeneutic theory of text interpretation towards examining multimodal texts. The model has been empirically tested by examining the advertising discourse order of 'Saudization' as channelled via the Saudi Uber Blog's multimodal text. A twofold social semiotic praxis has been theoretically incorporated into the distanciation-appropriation dialectics underlying the interpretation of multimodal texts *in potentia*. First, a multimodal cluster transcription (Baldry & Thibault 2006) has been utilized in enhancing the description of distanciated text sense as a holistic configuration of clusters across different communicative modalities with interacting semiotic modes (*intra-textually*). Second, an interpersonal-meaning analysis of multimodal participants (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) has been employed in enriching the explanation of appropriated text reference (*extra-textually*). The empirical site used for validating the MHM is the Uber-Blog-mediated multimodal text designed by Saudi Arabia-based Uber Company. The multimodal transcription of textual clusters has demonstrated how the text sense thematically revolves around the macro topic of 'Saudization' across verbal, visual, and pictorial modalities with material and semiotic modes, viz. linguistic, graphological, anthropic, sartorial, spatial, natural, and technological. The multimodal participant analysis has explained how the referents of (i) a model Saudi Uber driver, (ii) the Saudi Public Transport Authority, (iii) Saudi driver-partners, and (iv) Uber app collectively contribute to the recontextualization of 'Saudization' from a governmental discourse to an advertising discourse order realized in the multimodal text under analysis.
Keywords: *advertising, discourse order, multimodal hermeneutics, multimodal cluster transcription, Saudization, social semiotics, Uber Blog*

На пути к мультимодальной герменевтической модели: «саудизация» рекламного дискурса в Uber-блогах

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Аннотация

В исследовании предлагается мультимодальная герменевтическая модель (МГМ) как методология, расширяющая аналитические возможности классической герменевтической теории интерпретации текста (Ricoeur 1973, 1976, 1981). Модель была эмпирически проверена на материале рекламного дискурса «саудизации», а именно мультимодального текста саудовского блога Uber. Данная социально-семиотическая модель инкорпорирована в диалектику дистанцирования-присвоения, потенциально лежащую в основе интерпретации мультимодальных текстов. Во-первых, для более совершенного описания отдаленного смысла текста как целостной внутритекстуальной конфигурации кластеров в различных коммуникативных модальностях с взаимодействующими семиотическими модусами была использована мультимодальная кластерная транскрипция (Baldry & Thibault 2006). Во-вторых, для более полного объяснения текстовой референции был применен анализ межличностного взаимодействия мультимодальных участников (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Эмпирическим материалом, используемым для проверки МНМ, послужил мультимодальный текст Uber-блога, разработанный базирующейся в Саудовской Аравии компанией Uber. Мультимодальная транскрипция текстовых кластеров продемонстрировала, как смысл текста тематически выстраивается вокруг макротемы «Саудизация» через вербальную, визуальную и изобразительную модальность в ее материальных и семиотических формах, а именно – языковых, графологических, антропных, пространственных, природных и технологических. Мультимодальный анализ участников показал, как в контексте Саудовской Аравии референты – (i) образцовый водитель Uber, (ii) Управления общественного транспорта, (iii) водители-партнеры и (iv) приложение Uber – коллективно способствуют переносу «саудизации» из государственного дискурса в рекламный, который реализуется в мультимодальном тексте.

Ключевые слова: *реклама, дискурсивный порядок, мультимодальная герменевтика, мультимодальная кластерная транскрипция, саудизация, социальная семиотика, Uber Blog*

1. Introduction

There has always been a scholarly need for a methodology that extends the analytic scope of Ricoeur's (1973, 1976, 1981) hermeneutic theory of text interpretation towards examining multimodal texts. The present study is an attempt at propounding such a methodology, whereby the term "multimodality" (e.g., Granström et al. 2002, Norris 2004, 2012, Bateman 2008, Kress 2010, O'Halloran

& Smith 2011, Gibbons 2012, Jewitt et al. 2016, Bateman et al. 2017, Salama & Fawzy 2023a, Rasmussen & Van Leeuwen 2024) is utilized in a way that informs Ricoeurian hermeneutics and proposes a novel empirical method of research, that is, a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (henceforth, MHM). However, I give credence to Deppermann's compellingly cogent caveat that multimodality amounts to "a label which is already well worn and has become fuzzy by its use in various strands of semiotics, discourse and media analysis" (Deppermann 2013: 2). In order to move methodologically beyond this caveat, I follow the tradition of Bateman et al. (2017) by beginning with laying the foundations of a hermeneutic approach to multimodality. This should be clearer as I proceed further towards presenting Ricoeur's (1976, 1981) theory of text interpretation, with a particular focus on the distanciation-appropriation dialectic, and then correlating it with a form of multimodal text hermeneutics (see section 2).

Thus, with such a methodological correlation, I may conduce and subscribe to a historical shift from the traditional focus of hermeneutics on language (and its centrality of verbal communication) in "pre-digital technologies" towards an eye-opening focus on "language in interaction with other resources in the digital age where communication involving language, images, and videos is commonplace" (O'Halloran 2015: 391). Indeed, by introducing the MHM method in the digital age, I build on, and further develop, the account of the "selected approaches to text-image relations" provided by Bateman (2014: 151–163). In Bateman's account, such selected approaches are reported to model multimodal relations on (1) accounts of cohesion; (2) grammar; (3) discourse semantics; (4) accounts of rhetoric; and (5) speech acts, interaction and action. Adding to the foregoing list, I intend the MHM methodology as yet another selected approach that is capable of modelling the multimodal relations featuring in an advertisement (mediated by the official Saudi Uber Blog) on Ricoeur's distanciation-appropriation model of hermeneutics (see subsection 2.1).

Crucially, in the present study, the MHM methodology is introduced as a theoretical and practical endeavour to bridge a standing gap in the research area of digital-age multimodal hermeneutics. Indeed, despite the presence of relevant and disproportionately scant literature in this research area (e.g., Blom 2020, Boden & Eatough 2014), there remains nonetheless a scholarly lacuna therein. Such a lacuna can be ascribed to the fact that Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory has not been hitherto enhanced to the point of accommodating a social-semiotic reading of the hermeneutics of multimodal texts as well as the technologically mediated intersection of their multiple discourses and the interaction order in space and time known as "semiotic aggregates" (Scollon & Scollon 2003: 167). This has increasingly become a methodological challenge, especially in view of the prodigious amounts of Internet-mediated multimodal data (Jewitt et al. 2016, Alexander & Rhodes 2014, Pütz 2020), or more generally, the multimodal Internet (Benson 2017), and genre networks (Pérez-Llantada & Luzón 2023).

The present study is intended to counter the foregoing methodological challenge by proposing a new form of MHM-informed analysis. It is theoretically predicated on integrating an analytic praxis of social semiotics (namely, Baldry & Thibault 2006, Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b, Kress 2010, Nørgaard 2019) into Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory of interpretation. The data used for empirically testing the validity of the MHM methodology is the Saudi Uber-Blog-mediated multimodal text and its advertising discourse order of 'Saudization' (for a detailed account, see section 3). It should be made clear that our understanding of advertising is founded on Richards and Curran (2002: 74) basic definition: "Advertising is a paid, mediated form of communication from an identifiable source, designed to persuade the receiver to take some action, now or in the future."

The above definition (cf. Goddard 2002, Myers 1999, Cook 1992) serves as a practical conceptualization of advertising activity as being literally inseparable from mediated communication, commercialization, design, persuasion, and action. Speaking of the mediated data suggested for this study analysis, the multimodal interface of blogging and advertising has always been such a fruitful area of empirical research. In his fifth-edition preface to *Ads, Fads, and Consumer Culture*, Berger (2015) attends to blogging in the arena of advertising industry:

> Advertising companies are extremely interested in what bloggers say about new movies, video games, and other products to gain added insights into consumer behavior and are using "loyalty cards" to create brand advocates and mining data about consumer preferences wherever they can find it. (Berger 2015: xv)

Obviously, then, the consumer behaviour – in our case, the Saudis' positive or negative attitude towards signing up to the Uber app and becoming "Saudi driver-partners" – is considered a pivotal concern in advertising.

Thus, despite the availability of monomodal micro-pragmatic and multimodal discourse-analytic research on the sub-/genre of institutionally promotional blogs (see section 1), there seems to be a paucity of research that utilizes the explanatory edge of multimodal hermeneutics in terms of the sub-/genre's polysemiotic advertising communicative modalities and their different modes of expression. Another facet of the problem can be ascribed to the lack of this type of sub-/genre-oriented research on institutional blogs that advertise particular services *through* ideologically recontextualized socio-political practices (for an exhaustive account of "recontextualization," see section 3). This may explain why the present study targets the Saudi Uber Company's blog and its recontextualization of the practice of "Saudization" at different semiotic levels of promoting the company's driving services. In a bid to address the two facets of the problem outlined above, the current study proposes the MHM as a methodology whereby certain theoretical and practical insights may contribute to the solution of such a two-faceted problem.

The HMH methodology operates towards the data analysis at two stages of uncovering the multimodal text sense and reference as corresponding to Ricoeur's dialectic of distanciation and appropriation, respectively (see section 2).

Distanciation, on the one hand, is directed into revealing the overall sense of the text as an object dissociated from the intention of the text producer/rhetor – in our case, the Saudi Uber Company. At this distanciation stage, analytic focus is laid on methodologically transcribing and describing *what the text says* in terms of the multimodal clusters of its objectified whole; the stage takes the form of an initial naïve understanding of the multimodal text under investigation by means of incorporating Baldry and Thibault's (2006) method of multimodal inter-/cluster analysis. Appropriation, on the other hand, comes as the stage complementary to distanciation, and is focused on the text reference to an exterior of active participants (text producer and recipients) and the recontextualization of these participants' *referents* in new (digital) contexts. This stage is methodologically oriented towards integrating participant analysis at both visual and verbal levels of multimodal communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).

The present study hypothesizes that *the MHM methodology can enhance the descriptive-explanatory toolkit of Ricoeur's theory of text interpretation as well as its dialectic of distanciation and appropriation*. As indicated above, the social-semiotic praxis of analysing multimodal data is brought to bear on proving this hypothesis on a rather empirical level. This is procedurally feasible by means of utilizing this methodology (MHM) in analysing the blog-mediated recontextualization of 'Saudization' in the advertising discourse of Saudi Uber Blog.

Two research questions need to be addressed for the sake of theorizing and applying the MHM, and thus proving the above-formulated hypothesis:

(1) How can a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM) contribute to Ricoeur's theory of text interpretation?
(2) To what extent is the MHM empirically applicable to multimodal data with recontextualized socio-political practices?

Towards addressing the two questions, the study unfolds in the following structure. Section 1 reviews the literature relevant to the analysis of blog-mediated texts and discourses. Section 2 introduces the MHM as a methodology. Section 3 sketches out the research data and methodological procedure. Section 4 presents an MHM-informed analysis of the multimodal advertising text mediated by Saudi Uber-Company's blog. Section 5 concludes by providing a summary of the main research point and a discussion of the study findings.

2. Review of literature

The review of literature on the genre (and sub-genres) of blogs varies with methods and approaches utilized with different research foci, including verbal micro-pragmatic analysis of corpus data and multimodal discourse analysis of various domains. Let us begin by reviewing the former type of literature on blog-specific corpus pragmatic analysis, then move to the latter type of multimodal

discourse analysis of the same genre. Lutzky and Kehoe (2016) analysed a corpus of blog posts and the comments made thereto; the data scope included the *Birmingham Blog Corpus*, covering the period 2000–2010. The authors studied the "oops" form and its pragmatic functions in terms of the Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) of apologies. The study has reached new insights that substantiated the observation that, in the context of dynamic technologies, language is an adaptable phenomenon.

Drawing on the same corpus data of blogs, Lutzky and Gee (2017) investigated the comments on blog posts related to the opening sequences of words in these comments. The study has opened new horizons for examining blog-specific uses of speech acts whereby bloggers were demonstrated to do things with words in a type of digital discourse. Also, Hyland and Zou (2020) showed how the discourse community of researchers reworked their articles as academic blogs; the authors were concerned with analysing the phenomena of metadiscourse-featured frame markers in two corpora of 50 blog posts and 50 journal articles. The study has contributed to understanding how academics' linguistic choices of frame markers and their metadiscourse features could define various rhetorical contexts and stage recontextualization from research articles to blogs.

Moving to the other type of literature on blogs from a discourse-analytic perspective, Bolander (2012) provided an account of the research on blogs with the observation that the sub-genres of blog remained dominantly personal or diary-typed Internet products (Herring et al. 2004, Blood 2002, Krishnamurthy 2002). However, afterwards, research on institutional blogs began to emerge in a way that widely varied and covered different domains, particularly academia and science (e.g., Iriart et al. 2022, Bondi 2022, Freddi 2020, Zou & Hyland 2019, Kuteeva 2016, Luzón 2018, 2013, 2012). Crucially, the literature relevant to purely institutional blogging with promotional interest seems to be scarcer than that associated with personal, academic, and scientific blogs. One representative study of the former type of research is offered by Tomášková (2017), with a focus on the sub-genre of university-website blogs. The study has methodologically followed multimodal discourse analysis to demonstrate how institutional blogging amounts to being an embedded sub-genre whose interplay of text-image forms/functions is internalized in university websites.

Now, it is time to present the MHM as a methodology for enriching the research area of analysing blog-mediated texts and discourses at both theoretical and practical levels.

3. Towards a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM)

The coming two subsections comprise what I present here as a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM). The first subsection elucidates Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory of text interpretation, particularly its distanciation-appropriation dialectic. The second proposes the social semiotic underpinnings of the MHM at two text levels of sense and reference.

3.1. Ricoeur's theory of text interpretation:
The distanciation-appropriation dialectic

Ricoeur (1976) offered a significant distinction between the 'sense' of a text and its 'reference': the reader's critical understanding of text follows the text's movement from 'sense' to 'reference'; that is, "from what it says to what it talks about" (1976: 87–88). But, essentially, for this movement to obtain, Ricoeur put forward two essential concepts in his hermeneutic theory, namely, distanciation and appropriation. First, to begin with distanciation, Ricoeur (1976: 93) conceived of "distanciation" as a process of "atemporalization" whereby there arises a fundamental presupposition for enlarging the horizon of the text as an object. Indeed, Ricoeur (1981: 145) connected distanciation with "any objective and objectifying study of a text." It is through the mediating function of this objectified/objective entity (text) that the fusion of two horizons has become possible: the reader's world horizon being fused with the writer's world horizon.

Second, speaking of appropriation, Ricoeur (1976: 43) proposed to detach the text from his/her author: "To appropriate is to make 'one's own' what was 'alien'." Indeed, in order for appropriation to materialize, text objectification should precede. According to Ricoeur (1981), then, appropriation directly relates to distanciation, or text objectifications: "appropriation is dialectically linked to the objectification characteristic of the *work*. It is mediated by all the structural objectifications of the text; insofar as appropriation does not respond to the author, it responds to the sense" (Ricoeur 1981: 105, italics in original). Thus, appropriation can be said to be a reaction to the text sense, which would in turn emerge as a corollary of the text becoming an object distanciated from the author.

However, here, emphasis is laid on what Ricoeur (1981: 147) calls "appropriation of meaning": a concept which he argues to be fitting "the actualisation of meaning as addressed to someone." Thus, appropriation of meaning creates text reference to the reader as an exterior to the text. This hermeneutic process takes shape with the reader/analyst first decontextualizing the text sense – by means of distanciation – and then recontextualizing its objectified referential meaning (referents) in a new situation – by means of appropriation. It follows, then, that the shift from distanciation to appropriation can be reckoned to parallel the shift from sense to reference – or, to echo Ricoeur's early statement, *the movement from what the text says to what it talks about*.

3.2. Multimodal text hermeneutics

3.2.1. Multimodal text sense and reference

Speaking of multimodal texts, one may theoretically posit that the 'object' emerging from different modalities (verbal and visual) be distanciated through objectifying such modalities and detaching their design features from the text designer/rhetor. This can be recognized as being concomitant with what Ricoeur describes as the naïve, initial stage of understanding. It is the stage pertinent to the

sense of a multimodal text, or what this text *says* through combining different communicative modalities and the semiotic modes comprising such modalities. At this point, there is a methodological imperative for differentiating the terms 'modality' and 'mode' as technically employed in the present model. On this point, let us gain insights from Kress's (2010) understanding of the multimodal message as a realization of the principal semiotic modes that can simultaneously be encoded in one sign, viz. writing, image, and colour. Building on this, one may view semiotic modes as being the material constituents of a modality with a particular message or message-part.

Indeed, the constituent relation between a communicative modality and its modes can be assumed to have two dimensions, material and semiotic. This is precisely what Bateman et al. (2017) argue for in their report on the theoretically agreed-upon accounts of "semiotic modes":

> All accounts of semiotic modes that have been put forward in the literature tend to agree on one point: on the one hand, modes appear to have a material dimension, relating back to the sensory channels that are used to perceive them but, on the other hand, they also exhibit a semiotic dimension, i.e., the material used is given some kind of significance by its users. (Bateman et al. 2017: 113)

Thus, a modality can be said to materialize any message via different semiotic modes. For instance, a pictorial modality of an image may potentially consist of a configuration of anthropic, sartorial, colour, natural, technological, etc. modes; or, alternatively, a verbal modality may well comprise different semiotic modes, linguistic, graphological, spatial, and so forth.

According to the MHM, the initial stage of understanding multimodal texts is guided by the principle of modality-mode association, especially with the integration of Baldry and Thibault's (2006) multimodal cluster transcription and inter-cluster description. Indeed, as exhibited in Figure 1, Ricoeur's distanciation-bound stage of naïve understanding can be methodologically enriched via the foregoing integration of cluster transcription. According to Baldry and Thibault (2006: 11), clusters are defined as "groupings of resources that form recognisable textual subunits that carry out specific functions within a specific text." Further, crucially, the method of cluster transcription attends to identifying inter-cluster relations in one and the same text in terms of the different clusters. It should be noted that each cluster is ideally associated with a communicative modality, e.g., pictorial or verbal, which would, materially and semiotically, consist of different modes, e.g., linguistic, spatial, visual, audial, sartorial, or olfactorial.

As part of the MHM, then, the naïve-understanding stage is presented as a distanciated cluster transcription of what a multimodal text *says* in terms of the textually holistic sense; this holistic sense stems from the way clusters are thematically and/or generically transcribed and linked inside the text across communicative modalities and semiotic modes. As visually schematized in Figure 1, inter-cluster relations are marked via a quadruple system of arrow-based notation.

The same notation system appears in Table 2 as the key to understanding the visual arrows marking inter-cluster relations in the multimodal transcription analysis in Table 1. Further, equally important is the dialectic coalescing distanciation and naïve understanding of the objectified, decontextualized text sense – as demonstrated via the double-head arrow connecting the two elements in Figure 1.
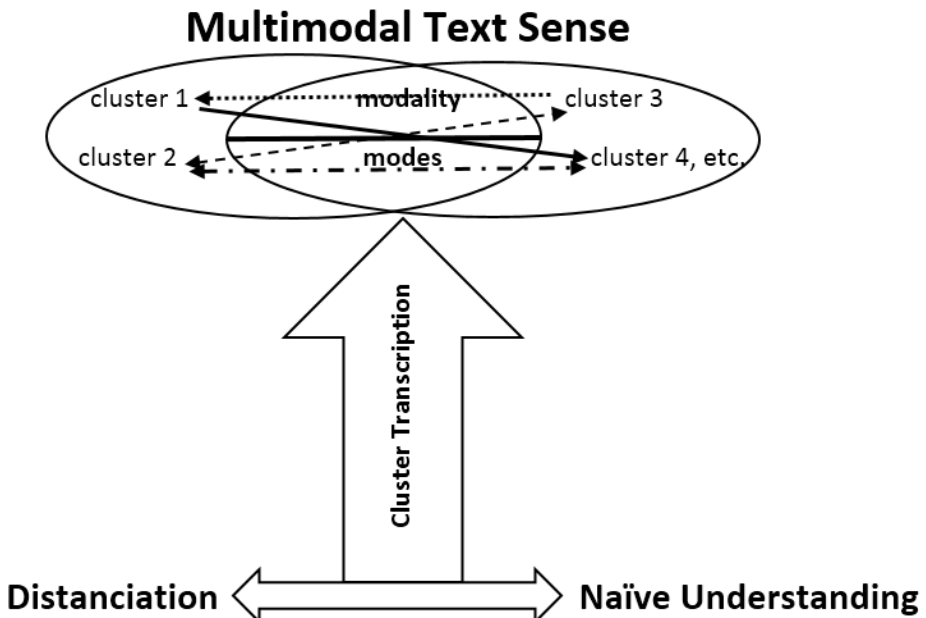
Figure 1. Cluster transcription and distanciation of multimodal text sense

The MHM's second stage of critically explaining the multimodal text reference is schematized in Figure 2. The stage procedurally begins with a *description* of what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006a: 362) technically term "represented participants," e.g., the people, the places and things, mentioned in the verbal message or depicted in the images comprising the text as a whole. This type of (represented) participants is different from – albeit complementary to – the "interactive participants." The latter type of participants is defined as "the people who communicate with each other" through multimodal texts; or, contextually, the producers and readers/viewers of multimodal texts. As per the MHM, once interactive participants are incorporated in the hermeneutic scope of analysis, the text reference begins to actively surface due to meaning appropriation – or the recontextualization of referential meaning – of the given referents of participants. Only then, at this point of hermeneutic analysis, should critical understanding of the multimodal text follow (see Figure 2).
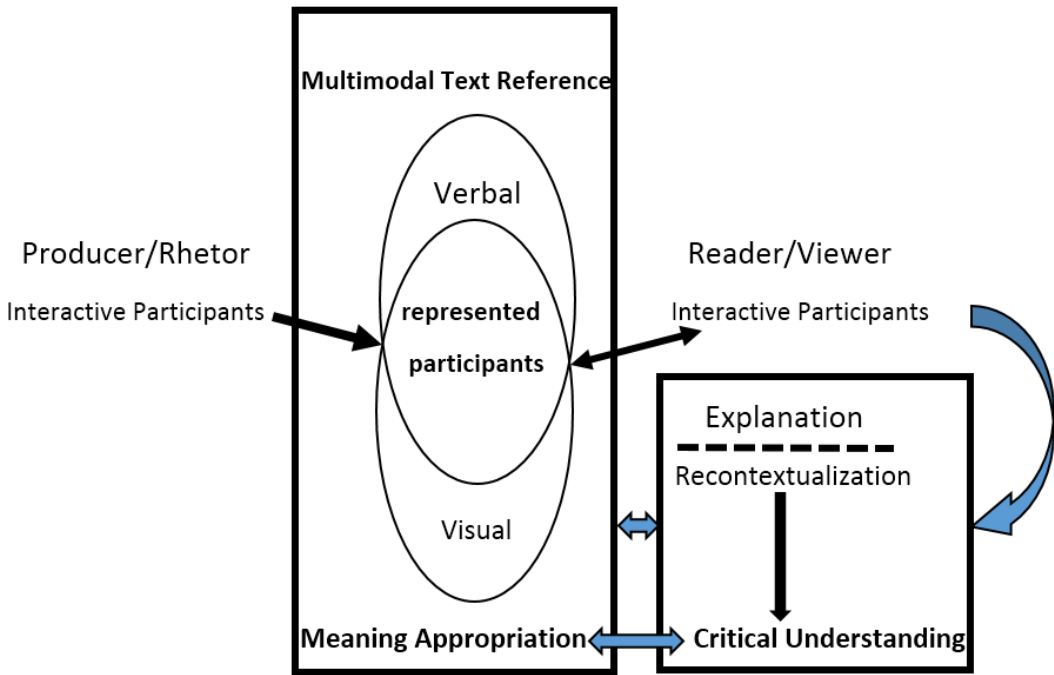
Figure 2. Explanation and meaning appropriation of multimodal text reference

At this juncture of proposing the MHM model and before discussing the model's second stage, I shall elucidate the terminological sense of "recontextualization" as theoretically used here. Following the same line of thought by Van Leeuwen (2008), I adopt Bernstein's (1981, 1986) conceptualization of the term "recontextualization" in relation to educational practices; that is, describing how knowledge is produced in the "upper reaches of the educational system" (Bernstein 1986: 5), and then embedded in the "lower reaches" and objectified in a "pedagogical recontextualized field (PRF)" (for a full discussion and illustration of Bernstein's PRF, see Salama 2022). Thereafter, such a form of embedded, objectified knowledge is "made to serve the contextually defined purpose of a 'discourse order'" in Foucault's (1981) sense as "a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice" (Van Leeuwen 2008: 6). The Foucauldian term "orders of discourse" has been introduced and thoroughly developed by Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003) in the realm of critical discourse analysis (CDA). An order of discourse is a particularly apposite term in explaining the recontextualization process. This is reasonably understandable in view of Fairclough's crucial threefold development of the term: (i) an order of discourse is defined as "a network of social practices in its language aspect" (Fairclough 2003: 25); (ii) such a discourse order is typically associated with particular institutions (1992: 9, 1995: 12); (iii) this order is functionally oriented towards "the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (interdiscursivity)" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 16). Note that it is in the same spirit of Fairclough's theoretical development of the term "discourse orders" that

the MHM will analytically consider the discursive practice of advertising in the blog-mediated multimodal text – that is, as being a semiotically hybrid advertising discourse order in the institution of Saudi Uber Company (see section 4).

The MHM's second stage concretizes the meaning appropriation of represented participants, but as related to the extra-textual interactive participants of text producer and reader/viewer. Analytically considered at this stage of appropriation is the potential relations between active participants. It is a critical process that constitutes text reference in the form of *potentially recontextualizable referents* (of relevant participants) in newly emerging digital contexts; such a process is enacted via the explanation stage undertaken by the reader/analyst towards securing critical understanding (Figure 2). Indeed, practically serving the explanation stage is Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006b) perceptive distinction between represented and interactive participants as well as the gamut of analysis they afford for explaining participant relations intra-/extra-textually (see the distinction above and Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006b: 114).

But, although Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006b) argument is restricted to the image and its pictorial modality, there is space for extending the same argument about participant relations to verbal modality. The latter type of modality typically has lexicogrammatical resources for referring either to the addressee 'thou' as an active participant outside the text, or to the addresser 'I/we' as an active participant located extra-textually. This may explain why the term-complex 'Multimodal Text Reference' is employed in Figure 2. Also, in Figure 2, this relational explanation of represented and active participants is visually presented in two forms: (i) the unidirectional relation of a single-headed arrow between the interactive text producer and the represented participants inside the multimodal text; and (ii) the bidirectional relation of a double-head arrow between the intra-textual represented participants themselves and the (critical) reader/viewer/analyst situated extra-textually.

Now, towards establishing the stage of explaining the reference of multimodal text, there needs to be a social-semiotic praxis whereby the participants inside and outside text as well as their relations can be analysed. This is the fulcrum of the coming subsection.

3.2.2. Hermeneutic multimodal explanation

Following the well-established approach of social semiotics (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001, 2006a, 2006b, Kress 2010, Nørgaard 2019), I present a hermeneutic multimodal explanation here, then extend the same model to the data analysis (section 4). This explanation is theoretically predicated on Halliday's (1978) social-semiotic view of language. Since text reference is the mainspring of the model's explanation stage, I intend to confine this hermeneutic stage to the multimodal text's interpersonal resources.

It should be made clear, however, that here focus is strictly placed on those interpersonal meaning-making resources that interactively feature the relations

between participants inside and outside the text relative to the transcription/description of sense or the explanation of reference (respectively, Figure 1 and Figure 2). These resources comprise two mode-based categories: (i) the linguistic-mode categories of Mood and Polarity/Modality and (ii) the visual-mode categories of participant's gaze, frame size, and angle (horizontal vs. vertical).

First, apropos the interpersonal linguistic-mode categories of Mood and Polarity/Modality, they are known in Hallidayan linguistics as the grammatical systems of interaction. Mood appertains to the role participants assume for themselves in a communicative exchange. Halliday argues for two kinds of exchange performed by participants: exchange of information and that of "goods-&-services" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 106–140). Nørgaard (2019: 49) gives a brief account of the prototypical speech functions realized by the grammatical system of Mood: (i) giving information through declarative sentences, (ii) demanding information through interrogatives, and (iii) demanding goods-&-services through imperatives. Polarity and Modality, on the other hand, relate to the interpersonal meanings pertaining respectively to the yes-no opposition in propositional content and the "intermediate degrees," or various kinds of indeterminacy falling in between yes and no such as "'sometimes' or 'maybe'" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 146–147).

Second, as concerns the interpersonal visual categories of participant's gaze, frame size, and angle, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006a) offer a succinct account of these categories' essential significations in image. According to them, the direct gaze of represented participants both addresses the viewers – and thereby creates a "visual 'you'" – and constitutes an "image act"; that is; "the producer uses the image to do something to the viewer" (366). The two authors describe image act as a sort of "demand": "the participant's gaze (and the gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a: 366). Other image participants provide no direct gaze, and thus address viewers indirectly and position them as the subject – and not object – of look. In this case the image is presented by the producer as an "offer": the image "'offers' the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation […]" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a: 367).

Also, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006a), a componential element of image interactive meanings is frame size as signifying social distance. There is a "choice between close-up, medium shot and long shot," where such a choice suggests "different relations between represented participants and viewers" (369). Interestingly, then, the image producer creates interpersonal relations of social distance between the represented participants and image viewers. Thus, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006a: 371) argue, it is through these different frame sizes that people can be portrayed "as though they are friends, or as though they are strangers," mainly through the imaginary relation the image producers create via such frame sizes between represented participants and viewers as interactive

participants. The last interpersonal aspect of image meaning in Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006a) account is "angle." The account here is focused on the two chief types of angle in images, viz. horizontal and vertical; and the social meanings of involvement and power, respectively. The image producer chooses to take the horizontal angle either on an oblique plane of the represented participants or alternatively on a frontal plane of them with two subsequent differences in meaning, detachment and involvement.

Now, in preparation for the data-analysis section, I set out a description of research data and methodological procedure in the coming section.

4. Methodology: Data and procedure

The present section unfolds in two subsections. The first one presents the research data under investigation in terms of their modal features and communication medium as well as the rationale for its selection for analysis, the bearings the data has on Saudization, and the issue of data limitation. The second subsection provides space for the MHM-specific methodological procedure organizing the actual multimodal hermeneutic analysis of the Uber-Blog-mediated text.

4.1. Data: Multimodal text, Saudization, and limitation

The data used for empirically testing the validity of the MHM methodology is the Saudi Uber Blog[1], with the socio-political practice of 'Saudization' cross-modally featured throughout the data's design and compositional layout. Uber Blog, being an online advertising website (officially owned and run by the Saudi Uber Company), has techno-semiotically recontextualized the concept of 'Saudization' for persuading the blog's Saudi viewers/visitors into consuming the Uber Company's advertising discourse order (see the terminological senses of "recontextualization" and "orders of discourse" in subsection 2.2.1).

The current socially constructed knowledge of 'Saudization' consists largely in a program adopted by the Saudi government and directed at "gradually replacing expatriate workers with Saudi employees" (Ramady 2010: 352). But the practice of 'Saudization' itself has increasingly become associated with different types of discourse, namely and prominently, political and economic. The political discourse linked to the practice can be argued to be what Al-Dosary and Rahman (2005: 495-496) describe as the ruling government's political motivation of Saudization, that is, "to eliminate possible unrest from the middle class." According to them, whereas in the past such a middle class used to receive sufficient jobs and benefits from the public sector, recently the Saudi government has not been able to offer the same jobs and benefits mainly due to "budgetary constraints" (Al-Dosary & Rahman 2005: 496). Only here does the economic discourse type of Saudization take a

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[1] The link to the blog launched by Saudi Arabia's Uber Company is available online: https://www.uber.com/en-SA/blog/saudization-en/ (accessed on: 24.10.2023).

concrete shape in certain semiotic practices. These practices are collectively embodied as a fundamental shift in the way the private sector, alongside its resources and infrastructure, operates. Consequently, Saudization began to have a considerable impact on "recruitment and retention in the banking sector in Saudi Arabia from the perspective of branch managers and Human Resources (HR) managers of Saudi banks" (Azhar et al. 2016: 2).

Indeed, the governmental practice of 'Saudization', with its concomitant political and economic discourse types, is subject and open to be de-contextualized from the governmental upper reaches and then embedded in the lower reaches of any discourse order. In light of the above account, then, Saudization is assumed to be an advertising discourse order that has been recontextualized in the current Saudi Uber-Blog-mediated text. As demonstrated in the analysis section, this assumption is evidently traceable across the main modalities, verbal and visual, employed by the institutional text producer, Saudi Uber Company.

Crucially, at this juncture, I admit one limitation regarding current research data: only one blog-mediated multimodal text advertising Saudi Uber Company is utilized for the empirical validation of the MHM methodology. That said, my choice of this particular (multimodal) text is reasonably motivated by a number of considerations. Firstly, as demonstrated in the analysis section (section 4), the text, although limited to being one unit of analysis, is reckoned to be modally complex in terms of its verbal-visual semiotic design and layout; secondly, the text is rhetorically rich in its multimodal message, in that it presents the advertising discourse order of Saudization as a "persuasive topical device" (see Salama & Fawzy 2023b); thirdly, the text's communication medium of institutional blog is interesting insofar as the different voices – individual and collective – are cross-modally co-articulated in such a way as to call for practically applying the hermeneutic principle of horizon fusion (see subsection 2.1). All three above considerations may redeem the demerit of data limitation, especially if an in-depth form of MHM-informed multimodal hermeneutic analysis is up for grabs!

4.2. Procedure

The procedure adopted in the present study towards data analysis hinges on the MHM methodology as theoretically outlined above (section 2). The current procedure operates at two MHM-bound stages of distanciation and appropriation. Let us take each in turn. The first stage of distanciation is descriptive in essence and is enriched by multimodal transcription. It is through this sort of transcription that the blog-mediated text under analysis is presented as an ensemble of modalities in interactive partnerships. Each modality (visual or verbal) is demonstrated to comprise various and diverse semiotic modes (linguistic, spatial, sartorial, etc.). Such an ensemble is displayed and annotated in a tabular format (see Table 1), where the multimodal text sense can readily be described in terms of a form of naïve understanding (see Figure 1).

The second stage of appropriation is essentially critical and is directed towards securing a hermeneutic multimodal explanation. The stage is marked by an analytic shift from *describing* the multimodal text sense towards *explaining* its referential scope of what the text talks about. On a hermeneutic level, at this stage, the critical reader of the text is called upon to tease out an explanation of the recontextualized advertising discourse order of 'Saudization' in connection with verbal and visual participants (see Figure 2). Certain interpersonally-oriented verbal and visual analytics is enlisted in the critical understanding of the referents recontextualized in the newly emerging digital context of the blog-mediated text under consideration. At the verbal level of interpersonal meaning, the linguistic-mode categories of Mood and Polarity/Modality are employed as part of Hallidayan functional linguistics (Halliday 1978, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). At the visual level of interpersonal meaning, the categories of participant's gaze, frame size, and angle (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b) are utilized with a view to revealing the pictorial meanings of the represented and interactive participants in the multimodal text as well as explaining the participants' recontextualized referents as part of the advertising discourse order of 'Saudization'.

Brought together, the two foregoing procedural stages of distanciation and appropriation can be said to methodologically guide and orchestrate the coming section of analysing the target data.

5. A multimodal hermeneutic analysis of Uber-Blog-mediated 'Saudization' as an advertising discourse order

For the sake of empirically validating the applicability of the Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM), I draw upon the semiotically complex and rhetorically rich text described above (section 3.1). The text is available online as a multimodal advertisement that has been launched by the Saudi Uber Company on its official blog (Uber Blog) on April 30, 2017. In line with the two-stage procedure above (section 3.2), the analysis has a corresponding twofold structure: (i) a multimodal-transcription-aided distanciation of significant clusters recognized as relevant objects in the semiotics of text and (ii) a critically-oriented appropriation of the multimodal meanings associated with such objects. Both analytic strands are focused, respectively, on describing and explaining the advertising discourse order of 'Saudization' semiotically realized across the text's different modalities and their respective modes.

5.1. Distanciating and transcribing the cluster-specific objectifications of blog-mediated Saudization: A naïve understanding

The text as a whole is displayed in Figure 3. This whole, to follow Ricoeur's principle of distanciation, can be *objectified*. Indeed, according to the MHM methodology, the first step towards objectifying this text is to perceive it as an assemblage of multiple communicative modalities, which are composed of various semiotic modes, e.g. linguistic, spatial, anthropic, sartorial, etc. (see section 2).

Figure 3. The 'whole' multimodal text mediated by Saudi Uber Blog

This is conducted through the detailed multimodal cluster transcription presented in Table 1 and the analysis of the text's holistic sense as derived from examining the individual cluster's communicative modalities as well as their respective semiotic modes and the relations holding between and among the clusters themselves.

To initiate the multimodal transcription of the text's structural objectifications, it is essential to reproduce the parts of the whole text appearing in Figure 3 in the form of cluster realizations communicated via modalities that comprise different semiotic modes (see Table 1). Cluster 1 (The Blog's title bar) is communicated through a verbal-visual modality whose modes are complexly structured as linguistic, spatial, colour, and layout. Perhaps this boils down to the fact that such a cluster exhibits self-categorizations of both the text as a genre, or blog, and the Uber Company's logo-specific colour contrast of white and black. That is why this particular cluster is visualized to link to all remaining clusters constituting the multimodal text through the solid arrows radiating to them in Table 1. As exhibited in Table 2, these cluster-linking solid arrows mark generic interrelations. The bar linguistically indicates the medium of blog ("Uber Blog"), its technological affordances ("Explore"), and addressive message ("Sign up"). Crucially, at the level of modes, the bar's colour contrast of black and white reproduces the standard logo colour of Uber Company. Further, the same colour contrast seems to feature the linguistic and the spatial modes in a harmonious configuration: naming the genre and specifying its technological affordances are unified in colour, but ostensibly contrasted in space and colour with the framed addressive message "Sign up." These semiotic modes may be interpreted as attention grabbers within the blog's overall mode of layout, particularly in relation to the advertising-toned message "Earn" in its spatially salient position under the identifying label "Uber Blog."

With cluster 2 (The Uber Company ad's main title), the advertising discourse mediated by the blog begins to communicatively materialize via a purely verbal modality with a tripartite mode structure: linguistic, graphological, and spatial. The interplay of all three semiotic modes is significantly telling in this cluster design. The linguistic message seems to be spatially titular in the layout, simply because of the typographical features it exhibits: the large font size and style as well as the message's top central position on webpage. Content-wise, the message states the two-event macro topic of the whole text: "Supporting Saudization and Providing Economic Opportunities." The second event is a corollary of the first: economic opportunities for Saudis can be provided as a logical consequence of the Saudi Uber Company's support of the Saudization practice. Obviously, being the ad's title, cluster 2 reflects the ad's macro themes of the text: driving and supporting Saudization (as part of the government's economic discourse order of providing jobs and benefits only and strictly to the Saudis).

Table 1. **A multimodal cluster transcription of the Saudi Uber-Company text**
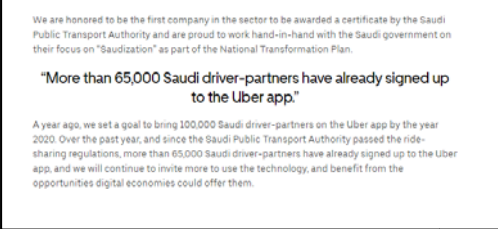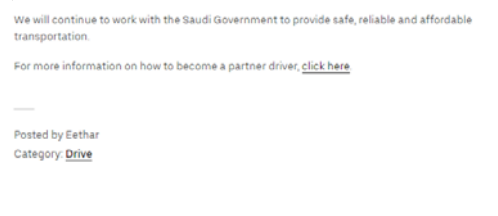
Blog's Top Part	Blog's Bottom Part
Cluster 1. The blog's title bar	*Cluster 4. The ad's main body text*
• Communicative modality: verbal-visual • Semiotic modes: linguistic, spatial, colour and layout	• Communicative modality: verbal • Semiotic modes: linguistic, graphological, spatial
Cluster 2. The Uber-Company ad's main title	*Cluster 5. An ethnically diverse image*
• Communicative modality: verbal • Semiotic modes: linguistic, graphological, spatial	• Communicative modality: pictorial • Semiotic modes: anthropic, sartorial, technological, spatial
Cluster 3. An image of a Saudi partner-driver	*Cluster 6. The ad's closing*
• Communicative modality: pictorial • Semitic modes: anthropic, sartorial, natural, technological, spatial	• Communicative modality: verbal • Semiotic modes: linguistic, graphological, spatial

Table 2. **Key to the arrow notation system of visualizing inter-cluster relationships in Table 1**

Arrow	Type	Inter-cluster relationships
→	single-head/solid	Generic/medium relations
·····►	single-head/dotted	Thematic/topical relations
◄ ─ ─ ►	double-head/dashed	Communicative-modality relations
◄ · ─ · ─ ►	double-head/dotdash	Semiotic-mode relations

Moving to cluster 3, one can observe the pictorial modality of an image presenting a Saudi-dressed participant in a car with its left door open and appearing as a side scene. This modality is semiotically composed of anthropic, sartorial, natural, and technological modes. Whilst the semiotic co-deployment of the anthropic and the sartorial produces the persona image of a Saudi driver, that of the technological and the natural produces the car and the sunray framed by the car itself – as a technological artefact. The double-head dashed arrow radiating from cluster 3 to cluster 5 indicates the identical communicative modality of the two clusters. Both are communicated via the pictorial modality, yet with a crucial difference: whereas the pictorial modality in cluster 3 iconizes individual one-person participancy, collective ethnically diverse participancy is iconically pictorialized in cluster 5. (The issue of modality participant analysis will be addressed in the coming subsection.) Notably, too, the pictorial modalities of clusters 3 and 5 consist of four basic semiotic modes in text, viz. anthropic, sartorial, technological, and spatial. The interplay of these modes creates semiotically unified wholes. That is, persons are featured in identity-marking codes of dress (Saudi-national, foreign, Saudi-military); the same persons are spatialized in juxtaposition with the technological devices of car, flipchart, and architecturally designed lightening.

Cluster 4 (The ad's main body text) is purely verbal in communicative modality; this is quite compatible with the rhetorical structure of the ad itself as a genre, wherein the linguistic semiotic mode typically enables the interactive meaning associated with the message. Further to the linguistic mode, graphological and spatial modes contribute semiotically to the overall design of cluster 4. There seems to be a prima facia spatial configuration of a tripartite composition of beginning, middle and end, with the middle made graphologically salient on account of the bold font and "double quotes". The last cluster, cluster 6, bears the closure function of the ad and comes into the semiotic being of a verbal modality whose modes are identical to those comprising clusters 2 and 4. This aspect of mode compatibility is visually marked with the double-head dotdash arrows linking the three clusters in Table 1. Notice, also, in conformity with the arrow notation presented in Table 2, other significant inter-cluster relations are marked in Table 1. For example, the relations of communicative modality are linked by the double-head dashed arrows such that (1) the verbal-modality clusters are related (namely, clusters 2, 4, and 6) and (2) the pictorial-modality clusters are connected (clusters 3 and 5). Thus, the arrow-specific notation system (suggested in Table 2) serves to re-group modally homogenous clusters in a way that reveals the modality-and-mode-relevant sense.

Additionally, following the same notation system, generically and thematically relevant clusters are visually connected through the single-head types of arrow: (1) the solid arrows indicate how cluster 1 signifies the genre and medium of communication insofar as the present text is concerned and (2) the dotted arrows thematically link relevant clusters in text. Point 2 merits some elaboration here.

Thematically relevant clusters reflect the cross-modal continuity of the macro topic of text. More specifically, as shown in Table 1, cluster 4 develops and details the macro topic of 'Saudization' and its micro topic of 'economic opportunities' as linguistically featured in cluster 2 – perhaps a trace of the advertising economic discourse order of 'Saudization'. Also, the same macro topic ('Saudization') in cluster 2 is pictorially iconized and indexed in the images appearing in clusters 3 and 5 at both individual and collective levels, respectively.

Now, it is time to shift analytic focus to the critical-understanding stage whereby the actual referents associated with the macro topic ('Saudization') and its relevant micro topics can be specified *extra-texually*. This is precisely what the coming subsection seeks to offer.

5.2. Appropriating the multimodal meaning of 'Saudization': A critical understanding

At this stage of analysis, there is a shift of analytic focus from the present multimodal text sense to its reference, or *from what the text says to what it talks about*. In order to explain the present text reference, the critical reader needs to explain the appropriation of this sense of 'Saudization' as a recontextualized discourse order in relation to the referents of verbal and visual participants.

Thus, let us define the interactive participants in the multimodal text at stake. In Figure 4, the presence of the contrastively white-coloured label "Uber Blog" on the left-hand side of the black bar indexes a technological medium that is utilized by the world-known Uber Company as a blog designer. Also, the designer marks in a contrasting white colour the blog status via the invitation-encoding sign "Sign up" on the right-hand side of the same black bar. But, notably, this blog is spatially bound to the locale of "Saudi Arabia" as verbally positioned immediately below the blog's main title. As regards the blog's main title, it evinces the central theme of the blog designer: "Supporting Saudization and Providing Economic Opportunities." This constructs a reference to the text-target interactive participants, that is, Saudis and the Saudi Government. Thus, both participants are the referential objects of Uber Company's observation.

Figure 4. The interactive participant of Uber Company and the theme of 'Saudization'

The image in Figure 5 presents the viewers with a model Saudi Uber driver-partner. The participant in the image is not gazing at the viewers, and thus the blog designer creates the represented participant as an offer, being the object of viewers' look. However, the participant's gaze is not devoid of action; it can be said that the human participant's smiling face reflects his happy, expansive mood, which purports to be an act of invitation: inviting Saudi viewers to share the represented participant the same experience of *becoming* an 'Uber driver-partner'. This kind of invitation is reinforced even more naturally through the sunray depicted in juxtaposition to the participant's smiling face. It can act as a natural sign of hopefulness and bright career in the context of current visual proposition. In terms of the image's frame size, the designer seems to have consciously chosen the close-up as a pictorial index of an intimate relation with the target interactive participants visiting the blog and viewing the image. Moreover, the frontal angle keeps the viewers involved with the visually represented participant of the Saudi Uber driver-partner.

Figure 5. Appropriating the referent of a model Saudi Uber driver-partner

Another significant pictorial modality of the text under analysis is the image appearing in Figure 6, which has featured earlier above in Table 1 as cluster 3 in the overall multimodal transcription of text sense. But this time the analysis targets the explanation of the referents associated with the represented participants appearing in visual design. Here, a seemingly heterogeneous set of represented participants are visualized in particular design features that establish certain referents exterior to the text – *extra-textually*. Based on the verbal modality input, one can see through a relation among three sets of represented participants in the image. The first set comprises two participants representing Uber Company; the

second includes two governmental participants representing the Saudi Public Transport Authority; and the third makes up seven Saudi citizens, who seem to be associated with the Saudi Uber Company, and thus viewed in institutional partnership with the two participants representing the company.

Figure 6. Appropriating the institutional referents of Uber Company and the Saudi Government

Applying the same interpersonal resources of visual analysis to the three sets all together, one can witness the represented participants' direct gaze – barring one military participant – at the viewers (interactive participants). This renders the current image demanding in socio-semiotic function; that is, the text producer intended the image to be a demand: demanding something from potential viewership. Obviously, the Saudi non-military participants in the image are dispersed all through the visual scene amidst the other two sets' members. This may signal the imposing thematic presence of 'Saudization' practice. But, crucially, the Uber Company appropriates all the institutionally depicted participants here in a way that conduces to the recontextualization of this thematic practice of 'Saudization' towards advertising the company itself via a government-supported discourse order.

The same recontextualizing discourse order has been further enhanced by the advertising company's utility of other image interpersonal resources in Figure 6, namely, frame and angle. Let us begin with angle, and then move to the more significant resource of frame size and its distance effect. First, the Uber Company blogger elects to take the frontal angle of the represented participants in a way that encodes a message of involvement with the viewers: "what you see here is part of our world." Thus, the current angle-spaced involvement aids the blog designer in

appropriating the referents of viewing Saudis, and contextualizing them as consumers of the company's advertisement in the present digital context of blogging.

Second, frame-wise, the represented participants in the image are depicted in long shot, which signifies the process of setting the whole scene by placing the participants in the verbal context given in Figure 7 – as part of the same digital context. All institutional participants are linguistically encoded here in such a way that the "we" is the opening interactive participant cued in text; the inclusive pronoun denotes the institutional collective identity of Uber Company. Such an interactive participant is textually associated with the Saudi-Public-Transport-Authority participant – exterior to the Company, yet textually pertaining to it – whose official governmental status has promotionally contributed to the legitimation of the company: the latter participant being awarded a certificate by the former, again as part of the advertising discourse order verbally signalled in the phrasing "their [the Saudi government's] focus on 'Saudization'". Further, the remaining verbal co-text of the image centres on the human participant "Saudi driver-partners" and the technological participant "Uber app."[2]

We are honored to be the first company in the sector to be awarded a certificate by the Saudi Public Transport Authority and are proud to work hand-in-hand with the Saudi government on their focus on "Saudization" as part of the National Transformation Plan.

"More than 65,000 Saudi driver-partners have already signed up to the Uber app."

A year ago, we set a goal to bring 100,000 Saudi driver-partners on the Uber app by the year 2020. Over the past year, and since the Saudi Public Transport Authority passed the ride-sharing regulations, more than 65,000 Saudi driver-partners have already signed up to the Uber app, and we will continue to invite more to use the technology, and benefit from the opportunities digital economies could offer them.

Figure 7. The verbal co-text of the image depicting the institutional participants of Uber Company and the Saudi Government

Notably, too, throughout the verbal co-text in Figure 7 contextualizing the image in Figure 6, there exist linguistic patterns of Mood and Modality. For analytic purposes, I opt to discuss both Mood and Polarity first, then move to Modality. As concerns the interpersonal systems of Mood and Polarity, the dominant pattern

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[2] The technological participant "Uber app" as well as the institutional participants of "Uber Company" and "the Saudi Government" are considered here to have the same *actorial* status in text as that of any human/individual participant, e.g., "Saudi driver-partners." This assumption derives theoretical validity from Latour's (1996: 369) Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), which does not limit itself to human individual actors, but extends the words "actor/actant" to non-human or non-individual entities.

adopted by Uber Company (as text producer) is the declarative Mood and positive Polarity, which jointly give rise to affirmative statements with an interpersonal meaning of trust *bonding* advertiser and advertisees. Virtually all *intra-textual* sentences, here, are of the same discursive nature, or *semiotically structured* in the same vein. This semiotic structuring affords Uber Company the discursive role of an institutionally self-assertive advertiser with confidence in the quality goods-&-services offered to the advertised Saudis exterior to the text.

By way of illustration, the most important and typographically highlighted affirmative statement in the text reads: "More than 65,000 Saudi driver-partners have already signed up to the Uber app." Here, affirmatively, Uber Company announces a statistically substantiated fact about an estimated number of the human participants of Saudi driver-partners as having already signed up to Uber app. At this point, Modality expressions barely appear in text except for inclination: "[…] and we will continue to invite more to use the technology, and benefit from the opportunities digital economies could offer them." According to Halliday, this sort of inclination meaning is encoded in a modulated proposal with the speech function of offer. Thus, with this in mind, Uber Company advertises a determined and serious offer of employment for Saudis to sign up to the Uber app and *become* 'partner-drivers'.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to propound the Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM) as a methodology for undertaking a multimodal hermeneutic analysis of semiotically complex data. It is through the theorization and application of such a methodology that the two research questions posed in the Introduction have been addressed: 1) how can a Multimodal Hermeneutic Model (MHM) contribute to Ricoeur's theory of text interpretation? 2) to what extent is the MHM empirically applicable to multimodal data with recontextualized socio-political practices?

Towards addressing the above questions, the MHM has integrated a two-faceted social semiotic praxis into Ricoeur's (1973, 1976, 1981) theory of text interpretation. First, Baldry and Thibault's (2006) multimodal cluster analysis has been adopted to enhance Ricoeur's method of distanciating the text sense as a holistic configuration of text parts (*intra-textually*). Second, a multimodal participant and interpersonal analysis has been utilized at both visual (mainly, Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a, 2006b) and verbal (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) levels of explaining Ricoeur's text reference (*extra-textually*). Regarding the second integrated facet, the interplay of verbal and visual participants, alongside the interpersonal meanings underlying their verbal co-text, is anchored in both Halliday's social semiotic view of text modalities and the developments advanced by social semioticians with their focus on the visual grammar of text (prominently, Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006a 2006b). Indeed, the two dimensions of participant analysis, verbal and visual, have been co-deployed towards uncovering the referential meanings (referents) associated with the multimodal text exterior.

As argued above, Ricoeur's theorization of the distanciation-appropriation dialectic is the bedrock for the MHM, but with some multimodality-adduced modifications. Distanciation, a process describing the structural objectifications of text sense, is confined to extrapolating a naïve understanding of the text as an object detached from authorial intentions. Here, one important finding of the current study emerges: Ricoeur's hermeneutic stage of text-sense description of objectifications need be fruitfully extended in its analytic scope. This has been methodologically feasible by means of utilizing multimodal inter-/cluster transcription (Baldry & Thibault 2006).

The case study employed in the data analysis above has empirically provided for this finding; the analysis has demonstrated how the detailed multimodal cluster transcription of the Saudi Uber Blog-mediated text – as exhibited in Table 1 – enabled and facilitated the investigation of clusters in their communicative modalities (linguistic and otherwise). This has in turn elucidated Ricoeur's notion of structural objectifications inside text as a single configuration of its multimodal holistic sense. The descriptive analysis of the six clusters has revealed how the practice of 'Saudization' is a macro topic around which these clusters revolve through the interplay of visual, verbal, and pictorial modalities as well as the different semiotic modes comprising such modalities. Equally important has been the inter-cluster descriptive accounts provided in substantiation of the macro-topicity of 'Saudization'; this descriptive aspect was formally operationalized via the arrow-based notation system displayed in Table 2, and visually marked between and among the relevant clusters at different levels of genre and medium, themes, communicative modalities, and semiotic modes in Table 1.

The other significant MHM-specific finding in the present study appertains to Ricoeur's notion of "appropriation" as a process of explaining text reference – or what the text talks about, rather than what it says. The finding consists in revisiting this notion ("appropriation") as a recontextualization of participant-bound referents, which was demonstrated to secure a critical understanding of the text in relation to its producer and recipients. This finding was realized at the explanation stage which has been methodologically buttressed by a social semiotic analysis of two types of participant across both pictorial and verbal modalities: (i) represented participants as appearing in images and text parts and (ii) interactive participants as producers and recipients of such images and text parts. The MHM has been concerned with explaining the relations holding between such participants across the two modalities. Principally, as stated earlier, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006a, 2006b) approach has been utilized for its interpersonal resources at the visual level of analysis, namely, gaze, frame, and angle. Additionally, Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) interpersonal resources have been tapped at the linguistic level of analysis, specifically, Mood and Polarity/Modality.

Empirically, it has now become clear that the textual site for data analysis in the current study has been selected with an analytic interest in the socio-political phenomenon of what is presently known as 'Saudization' – being a recontextualized advertising discourse order utilized for promotional purposes of Saudi Uber

Company. With this in mind, I opted for an advertising multimodal text mediated by the Saudi Uber Blog's verbal and pictorial modalities (and their componential semiotic modes); these modalities are structured and composed with design features and a layout rhetorically oriented towards 'billing' Saudis to become and act as Uber driver-partners. In line with the HMH, the second stage of explaining text reference has extended the analytic focus beyond the multimodal text towards revealing the subtle relations between the participants, represented and interactive. Ultimately, the chief interactive participant of Uber Company as a text producer has actively appropriated decontextualized referents and then recontextualized them in the company's advertising discourse order, both politically and economically.

Acknowledgments

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Research article / Научная статья

Discursive designing of autobiographical memories in speech ontogeny: Longitudinal survey

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Abstract
Autobiographical memories have been investigated, experimentally rather than in real interactional settings. This study explores the role of language in mental processes through the linguistic explication of memories in discursive practices in early ontogenesis. It considers the ways and means of early oral memories evolvement in the interdisciplinary paradigm. The goal is to identify the mechanism of early discourse formation in recalls. The data were collected from the multimedia corpus CHILDES Transcript Browser with speech transcripts of German-speaking children from three to seven years old and were subjected to communicative, pragmatic, cognitive and discursive analyses. Adults' verbal discursive strategies and tactics were examined to explicate the mnemonic content of children's narratives. We identified the pragmatic orientation of stimulating statements of adults and described the linguistic features of a child's mnemonic utterances. It has been found that the main discursive strategies of adults prompting children are: the strategy of discursive socialization, the strategy of dialogic narrative with its further transformation into a mnemonic narrative and information extraction from memory. As a result, the psycholinguistic (verbal) model of the ontogenetic generalization of childhood memories typical for German-speaking communication partners was developed. The model includes six stages according to the age of a preschooler. It displays the evolution of the surface structure of mnemonic utterances-recollections, which make up the framework of primary autobiographical narrations. This research fills in the niches in discourse studies, in ontogenesis and in the primary and secondary text models. The findings may have practical application in corpus and empirical studies.
Key words: *autobiographical memory, recollections, mnemonic activity, speech ontogenesis, narratives, discursive strategies and tactics*

Дискурсивное конструирование автобиографических воспоминаний в речевом онтогенезе: лонгитюдное наблюдение

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Аннотация

До настоящего времени ранние автобиографические воспоминания изучались не в условиях реальной коммуникации, а экспериментальным путем. В данной работе исследуется роль языка в мыслительных процессах, связанных с языковой экспликацией воспоминаний в раннем онтогенезе в дискурсивных практиках. Рассматриваются способы и пути формирования ранних устных воспоминаний в междисциплинарной парадигме. Цель исследования – выявить механизмы становления раннего устного дискурсивного рассказа-воспоминания. В качестве материала использованы данные мультимедийного корпуса CHILDES Transcript Browser с транскриптами речи немецкоязычных детей в возрастном интервале от 3 до 7 лет. Для их анализа применялся коммуникативно-прагматический и когнитивно-дискурсивный анализ. Исследованы дискурсивные стратегии и тактики взрослых по экспликации мнемического содержания детских нарративов, выявлена прагматическая направленность стимулирующих высказываний взрослых, описаны языковые особенности мнемических высказываний ребенка. Результаты исследования показали, что основными дискурсивными стратегиями взрослых выступают: стратегия дискурсивной социализации, стратегия обучению конструирования дискурсивного диалогического нарратива, а затем мнемического нарратива с тактикой извлечения информации из памяти. Результатом работы явилась психолингвистическая (вербальная) модель онтогенетической генерализации детских воспоминаний, характерная для немецкоязычного ребенка. Модель включает 6 этапов в соответствии с возрастом дошкольника и отображает развитие поверхностной структуры мнемических высказываний – воспоминаний, являющихся каркасом первичных автобиографических нарраций. Работа заполняет ряд ниш в исследованиях по дискурсологии и нарратологии; расширяет представление о специфике порождения устного рассказа в речевом онтогенезе, моделях построения первичных и вторичных текстов и может найти практическое применение в корпусных и эмпирических исследованиях.

Ключевые слова: *автобиографическая память, воспоминания, мнемическая деятельность, речевой онтогенез, нарративы, дискурсивные стратегии и тактики*

1. Introduction

Recollection as well as memorization and forgetting are basic productive mnemonic processes. The results of mnemonic activity are encoded in either written texts or oral narratives and in this way are preserved and transmitted in discursive practices from generation to generation. Recollection, memorization and forgetting

are integral processes of memory. Autobiographical memory (hereinafter AM) is one of the types of memory. Nourkova (1996: 27) argues that autobiographical memory contains subjective reminiscences of a personal life and predetermines the self-identity of a person. "Recalling is 'a memory-story' and "it is essentially narrative" (Nourkova 2000: 23). AM manifests itself on the linguistic level as an autobiographical story with an open ending. The development of storytelling skills goes hand in hand with child's language development. It is shaped with the help of various language means and in communicative cooperation with adults (See Fivush & Nelson 2006, Fivush & Bauer 2010, Habermas et al. 2010, Nourkova 1996, 2008, 2010, Nourkova et al. 2005, Alyusheva 2012, Petrova & Rebrina 2016: 11–12). The autobiographical story as a genre of adult speakers' recollections has been intensively studied in Russian linguistics, literature and psychology. However, autobiographical stories as recollections in children's mnemonic narratives are underexplored.

There are a number of reasons that make this research relevant. Firstly, there are almost no comparative studies on such important issues as the formation and functioning of autobiographical memory and autobiographical story in ontogeny in European and Slavic languages and cultures. Secondly, there is a problem of identifying units of autobiographical memory analysis. As the findings on children's unprepared oral retellings (secondary texts) show, the empiricism of life experience (as an integral element of the generalized model) wedges into retellings and triggers the production of the narrative lines and episodes missing in primary texts (Petrova & Solnyshkina 2021, Petrova & Privalova 2023).

We need to gain insights into the mnemonic story mechanisms and narratives about past events that are produced at the early stages of ontogenesis. It is worth while taking into account children's cognitive and language skills. Spontaneous unintentional interactions between adults and preschool children are in the focus of our attention. Importantly, early mnemonic autobiographical story has never been examined before with the combination of methods of conversational analysis (Gesprächsanalyse), pragmalinguistics and discourse analysis. We assume that an autobiographical story is an objective expression of the psychological component of I-personality. An autobiographical story is guided, on the one hand, by the norms of speech and, on the other hand, by the psychological memory mechanisms.

The research hypothesis is that in spontaneous interaction, children's mnemonic narrative develops spontaneously without any intentional help from adults. On the other hand, one cannot deny the importance of adults' support, such as emotional approvals, game combinations, etc. Adults' mnemonic strategies and tactics, which are verbalized in mnemonic utterances, contribute to the designing of autobiographical mnemonic narrations in early ontogenesis.

The main research questions are as follows: 1. Is the development of memory in early ontogenesis reflected in child's verbal reactions? 2. Is it possible to identify stratagem and tactical adult techniques in communication with children, since they

contribute to the formation and development of their mnemonic activity in narratives?

2. Theoretical considerations

There are three important theoretical approaches that have proven to be quite effective in our work with experimental material.

1. The cognitive-communicative approach is based on the theoretical principles of cognitive linguistics and communication theory since memory is believed to be a language-mediated, socio-communicative construct.

2. The pragmalinguistic approach with the discourse analysis method is justified as we analyze transcripts of speech events in ontogenesis in combination with various longitudinal observations. The pragmalinguistic approach is understood (in a broad sense) as an integral research area of linguistic communication with its specific functional, situational, and socio-cultural context.

3. Speech Act Theory goes hand in hand with communicative discourse analysis since the illocutionary purpose of an utterance is revealed in the context of a subsequent speech act. Only in terms of Speech Act Theory is it possible to consider such parameters as psychological conditions, illocutionary force intensity, communicants' status, discourse links, and propositional content.

Mental representations reflect mnemonic content and undergo double coding in the process of verbalization. At the initial stage, mental representations in the universal subject code are translated into an intermediate code. Then, this intermediate code is translated into external speech. Thus, a mnemonic utterance stands out as an obligatory component of the mnemonic situation. It is the result of double coding of a mental representation of a personally significant experience in memory.

The cognitive-communicative approach is effective for research of the linguistic features of utterances that consolidate the work of individual memory in verbal form. These approaches take into account various communicative factors, for example, the number of participants in interaction, the synchronism/asynchronism of their communicative actions and the channels for messages transmission. This approach also allows us to obtain data about explication of mnemonic content in linguistic signs under certain cognitive and communicative conditions. In addition, it determines the presence/absence of a certain method of memory verbalization and the communicative situation. An utterance is regarded as mnemonic only if it is generated in situations of storing information in memory, restoring or losing information from memory. These situations are the communicative conditions for verbalization of the corresponding mnemonic processes (Tivyaeva 2018: 114). In accordance with the specified criteria, the utterances under consideration encode a mental representation that reflects the mnemonic experience of a mnemonic situation (MS) of a participant. Such utterances have thematic homogeneity and include lexico-semantic and grammatical indicators of mnemonic processes.

2.1. Theoretical and methodological issues of the study of autobiographical memory and mnemonic activity in ontogenesis

The model of long-term memory includes three subsystems: episodic, general and autobiographical. According to Nelson (Nelson 1991), episodic memory is the first to develop in ontogenesis: it acts as a buffer fixing specific episodes. As children develop verbal thinking, the episodes of their memory get generalized and their specificity is lost. By the time the autobiographical memory is completely shaped (3-4 years old), a child already has a stock of specific episodes of the past (episodic memory) and an idea of typical events of a person's life (general memory) (Qi Wang 2016). Autobiographical memory evolution is a gradual process that starts in early childhood and passes on through late adolescence. Autobiographical memory emerges early and undergoes progressive onset (Bauer et al. 2019). Sociocultural approach is thought to be one of the most productive and heuristic approaches to the study of AM. Within this approach, AM is an ontogenetic neoplasm that has culturally specific forms developing through social interactions. Conditioning and reproduction of scattered events of a child's life occur at the initial stage of AM generation. Then, a new macrostructure comes into light. This macrostructure is largely determined by internalized cultural schemes and scenarios that organize mnemonic material into interacting systems of "life periods", "life themes" and "personal stages". Additionally, AM is believed to be a product of the development of episodic memory, where the specification of the time and place of the event is significant (Nourkova 2008).

The analysis of the initial level of a child's early involuntary forms of memory through discursive practices with adults has demonstrated that:

1) **Memory genesis is associated with the brain interhemispheric structures development** (Devinsky 2000, Luriya 1998).

2) **Autobiographical memory evolution is closely connected with the development of speech and storytelling competences in ontogeny**. Language acquisition is a complex process that covers all language levels – phonology, grammar and vocabulary. All competences make up the pool of basic indicators, which also include the competence of writing (Petrova 2010: 325). The following indicators singled out include: phonetic-phonological, pragmatic (first level), semantic, morphological-syntactic, discursive, pragmatic (second level), orthographic (first level) and orthographic ones (second level) (Referenzrahmen zur… 2008: 18–21). By the term 'discursive indicators' we mean the main structures of formal speech communication, that are used as 'shifters' of communication moves and tactics. The pragmatic indicators of the first level operate among family members and "stand idle" in school communication. The rise of the story telling competence is characterized by certain ontogenetic stages and is connected with a preschooler's discursive skills development. It is closely related to the improvement of a child's mental operations, which are gradually taking on a linguistic form (Petrova et al. 2023). The following age stages are crucially important for the genesis of all types of retelling (descriptions of pictures, recalling,

autobiographical stories, etc.): at 3;05 years of age, the development of story-presentation takes place. It is hard to say what kind of narration is presented – something between a story, description and retelling. At 5;00 – 6;00 years of age, alongside with a broad story-exposition, there are attempts of detailed narration, in which the experienced events find their clear linguistic embodiment. At 7;00 – 8;00 years of age, the story-experience-memory is recorded with an increasing flexibility in the use of linguistic means. From 9;00 years of age onwards, there is a growing variety of emotional qualifications of the story. There is also an expansion of the subject-predicate grid of sentences with actant markers and connectors for expressing causal and temporal relationships. As for narrative competencies, at this stage it is possible to observe a lot of improvements.

3) **Autobiographical memory evolution is linked with the formation of a multi-valued self-image and self-concept.** The image of self is a holistic entity and, due to its complexity, a person is not fully aware of oneself and the boundaries of one's self-actualization. At the early stages of ontogenesis, there is an integral perception of the world and oneself as its inseparable component. At the same time, there appears the feeling of "oneself" standing apart from the world with further creation of self-image as the highest mental instance (Vygotsky 2017). By and large, a child's perception of other people and things gives him a possibility to implement his accumulated social experience in activities, which correspond to mental and personal development.

4) **Autobiographical memory evolution is associated with the development of cognitive and speech abilities of a child.** Numerous observations by the authors as well as other scholars (Luriya 1998: 92, Gorelov 2003: 30–31) indicate that the development of a child is characterized by asynchronization of speech and mental processes. Our findings show that maximum two meanings of one lexical unit are acquired by children and they are precisely those that are used by their adult interlocutors. Therefore, understanding all text units does not necessarily lead to the understanding of the whole text. This is also true in relation to the earlier stages of ontogeny, when adolescents are faced with the need "to find clothes" for their memories in written or oral language form. Hence, autobiographical memory which is realized as a set of memoirs must undergo cognitive and speech evolution.

5) **A child's autobiographical memory develops in the process of communication and dialogue interaction with adult partners who contribute to discursive competence acquisition.** The way parents talk with their children is a consistent contribution to co-constructed autobiographical narratives in early childhood. Investigating the genesis of the autobiographical story, Nourkova (2012) confirms Nelson's hypothesis (Nelson 1991, 1993) about overcoming childhood amnesia and the initial stages of early memories, dating the average age of the first memory to 3 or 3 and a half years of age. They describe the overcoming of childhood amnesia as the "model of social interaction", in other words, a dialogue between a mother and a child. Up to 3 years of age, this model does not include a child's appropriate response to an adult's speech stimuli. For example, there may

be no adequate response to a request to speak about a past event. An adult has to intuitively and emotionally focus a child's attention on the most important details of the past. An adult's involvement in the interaction helps to create certain memory images and to arrange complex structures of the autobiographical story. In brief, AM is an independent type of memory, within which autobiographical reminiscences act as its organizational units. Also, our findings confirm that an adult with an established AM transmits it to a child. Meanings and personal connotations of the perceived information are also built over the sensory basis of interaction between a child and an adult. AM functions as an autobiographical element in this triad.

Our findings have proved that children adopt the model of recalls from their parents at the initial stages of autobiographical memory development. Meanwhile, one clarification has to be made at this certain point: parents try to conceptualize children's memories highlighting the most vivid (in their opinion) events of the recent past. The following strategy is quite effective: "Tell me what you saw yesterday, where you were yesterday". This is a didactic type of interaction with an adult. However, we have not yet recorded any cases of tireless repetition of one and the same story by a parent to a child. Children rather absorb models in spontaneous dialogues during everyday activities, when a parent and a child jointly participate in the communication process. Such activities are accompanied by verbal description rather than by drilling in certain schemes of narrations.

Summing up, our survey has proved the hypothesis that the main type of interaction in the 'child-adult' pair is the developing didactic type, which is controlled by an adult with the help of questions and prompts; moreover, this type of interaction gives the autobiographical memory the sense of independent activity (Nourkova 2012). The didactic type of dialogue interaction manifests itself in spontaneous in-home dialogues between an adult and a child during routine everyday operations, such as joint game activities, reading books, making toys, bricolage, etc.

3. Material and methodology

The material of our study are audio recordings of spontaneous dialogues between German-speaking adults and four children. These recordings are presented as transcripts in the multimedia corpus CHILDES Transcript Browser (Child Language Data Exchange System) (childes.psy.cmu.edu/browser/index.php). CHILDES is an abridged version of the full Rigol corpus, which consists of a total of 21 children. We have analyzed the discourses of four children in 134 audio and video recordings with a total duration of 67 hours. Each audio and video recording lasted from 20 to 30 minutes and was transcribed using the methods developed in the project (Project Description: childrenes.talkbank.org/access/German/Password/Rigol.html). In our study, we use fragments of transcripts of one German-speaking boy with the mask "Sebastian" in the age spans of 3;02.12 – 6;09.11. His recordings started at the age of 2;01.12. During the first 5 years of his life, recordings were

made of spontaneous interactions only. As the boy approached school age, elicitation tasks were recorded as well. In Sebastian's autobiographical memories, we consider the most typical examples. Such type of analysis is recommended for longitude studies in early ontogenesis and meets the requirements of children's speech observation (Stern, Gvozdeva).

The main methods of analysis are:

1. Discourse analysis with characteristics of the micro and macro context of interaction and parameters for studying the interactive and emotional components of speech situations.

2. The functional pragmatics method with techniques for interpreting and reconstructing statements and determining their illocutionary orientation.

Communicative and cognitive principles turned out to be the main criteria for selecting transcripts for further research. In accordance with these principles, a minimal dialogic unity (text fragment) represents a linguistic embodiment of a mnemonic situation (MS). The MS includes several mandatory components: subject (agent, actor) – the one who remembers, recalls or has forgotten some information; manifested mnemonic process related to evaded or retrieved information and, finally, information actant. All these components are associated with the information that acts as an operand of the mnemonic process.

It would be an exaggeration to say that adults regularly pursue the goal of teaching children how to extract MS and how to construct an autobiographical story via communication. In fact, in spontaneous dialogues, adults act as information causators stimulating children to extract the most vivid and important information from their memory. This information is associated with a situation in which children took an active part. In the course of a dialogue adults also teach children "to clothe" memories in linguistic matter and to assemble the extracted structures into consistent text-recalling. Adults' actions are not intentional, rather, they are driven by the desire to involve children into a dialogue and in this way to teach them to interact. There is obviously a tendency to stimulate oral narrative and to arrange a story. A condensed autobiographical narrative arises later as children grow up. This type of narrative is believed to be one kind of mnemonic narrative (MN). MN is always a first-person narrative, with a personalized narrator. The narrator is not only a part of the narrative reality, but also its active creator.

At the early stages of ontogenesis, adults help a preschooler to highlight the key points of past experience. This happens thanks to the adult's stimulating cues, where the main frame of the MS is outlined. Mnemonic processes are in the center of a MS. The semantic structure is presented by agents, actors, actants, participants in the mental situation, location, and chrontope with chronomarkers. As a child unfolds this structure, adults can further guide the retrieval process. Adults act as guiding participants of the MS. Their stimulating remarks contain a causator (the verb erzählen / tell), which incites the search for the actant in memory.

The remarks of a child are dialogic mnemonic remarks (MDR in Tivyaeva's terminology). The choice of such remarks depends on the information retrieved

from memory. Children's remarks can represent complete units or they can be fixed in an elliptical form, which is especially characteristic of colloquial speech.

In our observations, remarks of an adult cause a child to turn to a certain layer of mnemonic experience. The communicative exchange takes place between two MS subjects, within which two mnemonic processes are verbalized, specifically the processes of preserving and restoring information in memory. These processes are united by a common information actant (situation in the past). Hence, a child acts as a "carrier" of mnemonic experience. There are many types of MS, and one of those types is the information recovery from memory that we have chosen as the main subject for our investigation.

The subject of MS for information memoirs is most often a child interacting with other participants (parents, brothers, sisters, etc.). In one actual MS, 70 % of mnemonic content is a mother-child conversation; whereas 30% are represented by the conversations of a child with close relatives and acquaintances. The types of MS described above are termed as "polysubjective mnemonic situations" (PMS) (Tivyaeva 2018: 97). The interaction among the participants occurs through personal contact. Also, all mandatory components of the MS are present: the subject, the verbally encoded mnemonic process, the information actant, and the information causator. It is noteworthy that in our pool of material, recollection narratives are presented not only as detailed narratives but also as short remarks of communicators.

A mnemonic narrative (MN) (Erll 2011, Vinitzky-Seroussi 2010) gradually turns into an autobiographical narrative. This happens because the strategies and tactics of an adult interlocutor are aimed at activating the memory of a child about personal past experiences. This is followed by the process of "dressing" these thoughts in language. The final stage of this process is the stage of making amendments in memories and linguistic matter. At the early stages of ontogeny, there is no narrative as such yet, let alone an autobiographical reminiscence. Narration skills are still in the process of formation, that is why there are no full-fledged mnemonic monologues (MM). As far as our material is concerned, we were able to observe hybrid mnemonic mini-monologues + mini-narrations about the requested situation in the past.

4. Analysis and results

The mother's stimulating remark as a communicative unit from the point of view of the theory of speech acts (TSA) belongs to the class of indirect speech acts. In this case, the impact of the question on the addressee is tantamount to the impact of the request. In other words, some characteristics of indirect speech acts can be used to express the illocutionary force of other speech acts (Rakhilina et al. 2021: 10).

Here are the examples of adults' remarks that may stimulate narration and recollection (all of them have been taken from our transcripts):

> MUT[1]: **hast** denn der Frau+Rigol schon **erzählt, dass du** / Have you already told Frau+Rigol that you/
>
> MUT: +< **kannst (d)e [: du] mal erzählen**, **was mer [: wir]** / **can (d)e [: you] tell me what mer [: we]**/

In most cases of interactions with children between 3;00 to 4;05 years of age, the request for information is presented in interrogative form. This request is an indirect speech act and has the illocutionary power of inducing a speech action. At the same time, a representation (a representative or an assertive) is already given in the request for information. Besides, an indication of a macro-situation with one or another proposition (in terms of semantic syntax) is already explicitly expressed. Hence, the boy Sebastian has no way out but to talk about a certain item, i.e. is supposed to provide expected responses. Thus, a stimulating remark of an adult is a hybrid indirect speech act: interrogative – directive – representative (assertive). Such remarks-stimuli are characteristic of the "adult – child" dialogue and can be often found in everyday communication.

Understanding between a speaker and a listener depends on the context and their shared knowledge. General principles of cooperative speech communication and common background knowledge of interlocuters may re-adjust the principles of conventionality. Cooperation in communication and ability to make inferences are acquired in the process of ontogenetic development. Within the span from 3;00 to 7;00 years of age, such skills are almost absent or they are evolving. The same is true as far as logic of inference is concerned. The above said explains a lot about the hybrid form of an adult's stimulating remarks and the hybrid form of a child's responses.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to give the formula for the invariant of the speech act "request for information from memory" in ontogenesis. The typical features of the studied speech act can be described by the following formula:

A) I know that you have some information about the situation X;

B) I know that you will not be able to report the situation X yourself;

B) I want you to know that I am talking about X;

C) I tell you that you must tell me about X.

D) I tell you what you specifically have to tell me about yourself in the situation X.

In all cases of the requested story, we deal with extracting from memory and verbalizing some information, which is certainly associated with certain mnemonic processes and mnemonic narrations.

While talking to Sebastian aged from 3;00 – 3;05 (sla.talkbank.org/TBB/ childes/German/Password/Rigol/Sebastian/030519.cha), adults try to stimulate a conversation and to maintain interaction through asking questions about the past situation. The joint subject-practical activity of the boy acquired the status of a personal emotional experience that had been imprinted in his memory. The

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[1] All the examples are taken from transcripts of the material with unchanged spelling and graphics. Abbreviations, which are used in the examples, are: MUT, RIG: – adults; CHI – child; child's age: 3;00 – three years, 0 months; 4;05 – four years and 5 months.

combination of remarks resembles a mnemonic monologue, the child's answer is semantically, lexically and grammatically incomplete. At this age, children have already mastered the complex structures, although their putting words into sentences does not always result in success. The speech tactics of the mother is worth noting: she does not interrupt or help the child, rather she gives him an opportunity to independently talk about the past event. If someone unites all subsequent remarks in the micro-situation made by the boy, then the whole coherent hybrid mini monologue-narration will become obvious. First of all, Sebastian speaks about himself describing the logical sequence of subject-practical operations, in which he acts as a full-fledged actor on an equal basis with others. This is evidenced by the use of personal pronouns "ich – wir / I– we". Hence, it becomes clear that the child feels he is part of the team, part of the social community (CHI: *+< da ha(ben) mer [: wir] schon (ei)ne dross [: großes] Sieb (s)teh(en); CHI: +< un(d) da <ha(ben) mer [: wir]> [/] ha(ben) mer [: wir] de(n) Schubkarren mitdenomme [: mitgenommen] +< / there have (be) mer [: we] already (a)ne Dross [: large] sieve (stand); CHI: +< and) there <have) mer [: we]> [/] have) mer [: we] took the wheelbarrow with us [: took with us]*).

At the age of 3;02 years of age, the discursive tactics of adults are recorded: 1) refocusing the topic, 2) extracting actants, objects, and the chronotope of a given situation from memory in fragments; 3) phonetic and lexical correction of the unit; 4) approval of the correct description of the event by the child. There is topic refocusing with an indication of the chronotope of the event: *was mir [: wir] für (de)n Papa für Kuchen gebacken haben// weisst (d)e [: du] das noch?// was haben wir (de)nn gebacken am Sonntag Morgen? / what cakes I [: we] baked for (de)n dad// do you [: you] remember that?// what did we (de)nn bake on Sunday morning*? Children are emotional creatures and it is hard to force them to verbally respond to adults' remarks on unknown topics or to involve them into spontaneous interactions. Adults have to employ game tricks in order to arouse the interest of children. As a rule, up to 3;05 age, there are no minimal mnemonic coherent narrations in children's speech reactions.

Taking into account the type of speech act in a pragmatic situation, the utterances of the adult such as: "*RIG: erzähl ma(l), was du bei dem Gewitter gemacht hast*" / *Tell me what you did during the storm*" is a non-categorical directive – a kind of request (Petrova E.B 2008: 130). *Let us consider the following reply of the adult: das kannst (d)e [: du] ma(l) erzählen / (d)e [: you] can tell me that*. It is a representative, an assertive, a suppositive, in other words, a belief that presupposes a certain state of affairs that has already taken place before the utterance.

As mentioned above, the adult's stimulating remarks may designate the propositional and semantic framework of the child's future mnemonic utterance (*was du bei dem Gewitter gemacht hast / what you did during the storm*). The insistent request of the adult is expressed in the consecutive remarks intuitively creating the priming effect. It is the situation of tension, which acts as an impetus to Sebastian's episodic memory. It produces results as the boy without story telling

skills explains in one line what he did during the thunderstorm (CHI: *Tapeten abdemacht [: abgemacht] / taking off wall papers*). The mother's subsequent remarks do not only condense the past episode in memory but they also help to unfold future actions (MUT: *hier here o, was hast (de)nn noch gemacht / what else have you done? MUT: was hast (de)nn gekriegt von de(r) Oma / what did you (de)nn get from you (r) grandmother?*). As well, these remarks help to construct and develop the story scheme in a certain sequence and verbalize the child's memories (CHI: *Taschengeld / Pocket money. MUT: un(d) wofür and(d) for what? CHI: weil ich so prima geholfen hab / because I helped so much*). The structure of the story is predetermined by the information that is preserved in memory. A verbalized episode of the past is embedded in the scheme of the story: who, what did, where, when, why, why, context. If the distribution of episodes is initially incorrect, then the memory will remain false. This scheme correlates with the norms of German grammar. As a rule, the stimulating remark of an adult is a complex sentence with a subordinate part attached to the main part. Complex subjunctive conjunctions define the rhematic actant core of the situation and may be followed by: the name (the agent-doer), the actant objects and the predicate verb, which create the so-called frame construction.

As can be seen, almost all dialogues between the adults and the boy Sebastian begin with an adult's request to speak about events and joint activities that happened yesterday: MUT: *wollt(e)st (d)e [: du] der Frau+Rigol eigentlich auch erzählen, was mir [: wir] für (de)n Papa für Kuchen gebacken haben / you [: you] actually wanted to tell Mrs.+Rigol what kind of cake I [: we] baked for (your) dad; MUT: +< kannst doch ma(l) der Frau+Rigol erzählen, was ihr gestern und heut(e) im Kindergarten gemacht / habt you can tell Mrs.+Rigol what you did yesterday and today in kindergarten; MUT: kannst du ma(l) erzählen, was ich dir für einen geschenkt hab / can you tell me what kind of gift I gave you; MUT: hast der Frau+Rigol erzählt, was sich de(r) Papa da geleistet hatte / Did you tell the woman+Rigol what your dad had done?* and so on.

From our point of view, such pragmatic tactics of the mother are not implicitly "incentive" (as was emphasized by Nelson), rather it invites the child to joint cognitive activity and presenting the story about yesterday's episode. One episode from the recent past is always reproduced, and it is marked lexically with *gestern / yesterday* or with nearby chrono-markers *heut(e) / today*, or *nachher / subsequently*. Thus, the structure of the future story-recalling is explicitly indicated with: what /was/, who /du, wir, ihr/ /you (singular), we, you (plural)/, when /yesterday, today, during a thunderstorm = gestern, heute, bei dem Gewitter/ and then, then, subsequently /nachher/, where did /gestern und heut(e) im Kindergarten gemacht habt / what you did yesterday and today in kindergarten. The components "what for, why, context" are most often not verbalized, since they relate to causal representations, which are shaped later. However, in the responses of the child of this age, one can note the reminiscences about a small monetary reward from the grandmother for the performed action (assistance in removing the wallpaper: CHI:

weil ich so prima geholfen hab / because I helped so much). All remarks have been produced by Sebastian in the past colloquial tense.

In addition to the chronomarkers *gestern heute / today – subsequently*, the names of the upcoming days of the week are also introduced RIG: *ich dachte, du wollt(e)st mir noch erzählen, was du **am Samstag** vorhast / I thought you wanted to tell me what you're planning on Saturday*. MUT: *Samstag Abend, wenn Mama un(d) Papa weggehen / Saturday evening when mom and dad go away*. The mother is using playful tactics to "force" the boy to speak about the plans of his parents for the upcoming Saturday. Although, the boy either forgot or does not want to talk about those plans (MUT: ***verrat** es ja net [: nicht] de(r) Frau + Rigol, wo mir [: wir] hin wollen / Don't tell [:not] Mrs. + Rigol where [:we] want to go*). The last remark is interesting since the "incentive" verb "erzählen / tell" is replaced by the verb "verraten" / "betray", which changes the situation: the child is drawn into the game and starts speaking about the events of the upcoming Saturday.

At this point, we would like to emphasize that the scheme of a story-recollection may be violated depending on the grammatical and syntactic norms of a particular language. For example, a particular subject-predicate-actant arrangement of utterance elements, which semantically mark the field structure of recollection, prevails in these utterances: MUT: *+< kannst doch ma(l) der Frau+Rigol erzählen, was ihr gesttern und heut(e) im Kindergarten gemacht habt / you can tell Mrs.+Rigol what you did yesterday and today in kindergarten – what, who, when, where did*. In our opinion, such a sequence does not violate either the process of extracting an episode from memory or the subsequent mnemonic narration. This happens because a certain deep semantic network is being created – the scheme that will act as a framework of any reminiscence.

Sebastian's mother repeatedly changes and narrows the perspective of the recall, focusing the child's attention of on the main thing, so that the marker what/was becomes the center of an episode of the past. The child's reaction to an invitation, which sounds like a request for a story, – is 50% positive, 50% neutral or negative. The boy either takes part in the conversation or the dialogue stagnates and does not develop further, despite all the efforts of adult communicators.

The set of stimulating interrogatives and adult representations help to create the sequence of the child's mnemonic responses, contributes to the development of cause-and-effect relationships. Four-year-old children (sla.talkbank.org/TBB/ childes/German/Password/ Rigol/Sebastian/040127.cha) have stable causality relationships and, thus, the scheme and the structure of recalls expands due to some new important elements: who, what, to whom, / where, when / did , ...+ why, which were not observed at earlier ontogenetic stages.

There is an issue with children's statements arrangement – they are poorly structured and quite often disconnected. For younger children, the following manifestations of external speech are characteristic: rough verbalization; wholeness as a sensual phenomenon; theme-rhematic structuring of wholeness based on prosodic isolated components (tricks); minimal verbal elaboration of the statement

with rough indicators of connected elements; ellipsis of nuclear constructions in external speech; and tendency to choose a hyperonymic name.

As it has already been said above, for the right brain hemisphere, the referent is more important than intralinguistic relations. This fact can explain why identification "by name" in matching phrases with pictures takes place while the analysis of passive and inverted constructions is excluded. The sequence "name-action-name" = "Ag-Pred-Pat" (a deep syntactic scheme) is typical of the early stages of ontogenesis, and the right hemisphere is responsible for it. Neurolinguistic studies (see the works by Balonov, Luria and others) have demonstrated that the pre-linguistic levels are linked with the right hemisphere, where motives and meanings are identified. The theme and rheme get specified there, as well as the perception of all the prosodic components of speech. The right hemisphere begins to function from the child's birth (the left hemisphere "turns on" later), hence the gradual "rhematicity" (production of new information) of children's statements is quite understandable. It is common knowledge that cognitive development goes ahead of speech development; and that is why, at the stage of "holophrasis", a child designates an entire situation with one linguistic sign or gesture. In this case, it is more acceptable to talk about focal manifestations that can accumulate motives, intentions, and a unfold the semantics of a preschooler's statement. It is "rhematicity" that can explain the child's responses of the episodes under discussion (for example: MUT: *kannst du ma(l) erzählen, was ich dir für einen geschenkt hab / Can you tell me what kind of a gift I gave you? /CHI: Rollmops / rol'mops* (Petrova & Rebrina 2016).

Adults sound out what children should remember, delineate a mental frame, outline reference points ("clots"). Such reference points serve as the basis for future mnemonic statements that trigger coherent mnemonic narrations. Children retrieve from their memory and describe with linguistic means the key points of their past experience (images, scenarios).

Larkina and Bauer (2010) have demonstrated that in collaborative recall with their mothers, children's narrative behavior was regulated best by maternal use of specific elaborative components, such as affirmations. In the context of prompted recall (supported by wh-questions), respect for autonomy was the only significant predictor of children's involvement in the conversations and of the amount of unique content they provided. The findings suggest that different aspects of maternal behavior facilitate different components of children's reminiscing skills, which children might apply depending on demands of the autobiographical memory conversation. The special importance of open-ended elaborative questions for children's autobiographical memory emphasizes its social nature and functions: mothers actively invite their children to co-construct the personal past and to work together on creating a shared history (Larkina & Bauer 2010: 309).

As we have demonstrated before, the key stimulating cue contains a semantic scenario of the past event in which the child participated. At the earlier stages of ontogeny, this type of scenario explicated the key participants in the situation of the

recent past and their actions. At the age of four, the child stars creating a complete mnemonic mini-narrative with the sequence of mnemonic remarks that come almost one after another. This type of narrative has not been previously recorded in our research material related to three-year-olds.

As examples we consider the episodes of the three-year old boy Sebastian: (age 3;00: (CHI: +< *da ha(ben) mer [: wir] schon (ei)ne dross [: großes] Sieb (s)teh(en); CHI: +< un(d) da <ha(ben) mer [: wir]> [/] ha(ben) mer [: wir] de(n) Schubkarren mitdenomme [: mitgenommen] / there we already have (a) dross [: large] sieve (s)teh(en); CHI: +< an(d) there <have(ben) mer [: we]> [/] ha(ben) mer [: we] took the wheelbarrow with us [: took with us]*) and at the age of five years (age 4;09 – 5;00: CHI: +< *in dem Pack, da waren vier Rochees [% Pralinen] drin +... CHI: +, und für jeden eins, un(d) de(r) Papa hat die ganz Packun(g) defuttert [: gefuttert] / in the pack, there were four Rochees [% chocolates] in it +... CHI: +, and one for each, and dad de-fed [: ate] the whole pack*). This is a fairly easy spontaneous narration, phonetically, lexically and grammatically correct. This kind is typical of colloquial speech, with an explication of the location (an object, a box of sweets), in which there were four pralines (these words stands for rhemes), just for each participant in the situation, however, the father ate all of them at once.

Our material indicates that most likely, the age of 4;00 is a turning point in the formation of memories, namely, autobiographical ones. They gradually take on the form of an autobiographical story/autobiographical narrative/mnemonic narrative. Autobiography always involves immersion in the past, retrospective presentation, the opposition of "here and there", "now and then".

An autobiographical narrative can be defined as "the story of a person's life, told by himself". It is a special case of personal narrative (Tivyaeva 2018: 221). Such terms as primary narrative, autonarrative, personal narrative and autobiographical narrative are often used as synonyms. Mnemonic narrative, having a number of similarities with the concepts of "first-person narrative" or "narrative of personal experience" and "autobiographical narrative", nevertheless has its own specificity. That is why it is treated as an independent type of personal narrative. The most vivid moments of childhood are remembered for a long time, since they are transferred to long-term memory. Later on, they can be retrieved from memory and verbalized when generating autobiographical narrations.

At 5;00 years of age (sla.talkbank.org/TBB/childes/German/Password/ Rigol/Sebastian/ 050613.cha), the so-called overcoming of childhood amnesia (thanks to the efforts of an adult) looks already like a regular exchange of opinions typical of everyday discourse. At first glance, a simple conversation implies the framework of a story about oneself – an autobiographical story with semantic reference points.

At 5;00 – 5;05 years of age, the interaction gradually gets the features of a free spontaneous dialogue on arbitrary topics. There is a tendency to reduce the stimulating remarks of adults that sound as directives. One may also observe an

increase of the representatives, which convey someone else's information about the alleged action that took place or about past experiences (RIG: *un(d) da seid ihr mit (de)m Planwagen gefahren, hat der Christian gesagt / and you went with the covered wagon, Christian said*). Such remarks stimulate confirmation, denial or expansion of the verbalized topic. Sebastian can spontaneously shift to a new topic in the frames of the context though.

At 6;05 – 7;00 years of age, Sebastian demonstrates a free and consistent recalling of the events of the past (sla.talkbank.org/TBB/childes/German/ Password/Rigol/Sebastian/060911.cha). They are framed by various syntactic constructions typical of colloquial speech, such as introductive and postpositive actualizers. The stimulating adult's remarks are interrogatives + expressives implicitly containing a request for a story (RIG: *jetz(t) warst de [: du] bei (de)m Marvin zu Besuch, ja? / Now you were visiting Marvin, yes? RIG: habt ihr denn da was Schönes unternommen gemeinsam? / RIG: Did you do anything nice together?*). They are quite popular stimuli to revive memories and to direct the development of children's autobiographical stories. The verb causator "erzählen / tell" is now increasingly missing in their structure. However, the questions of an adult (RIG: *habt ihr denn da was Schönes unternommen gemeinsam? / Did you do anything nice together?*) are filled with expressive vocabulary and are formulated in such a way that the boy, as an emotional creature, is forced to react. As a result, his reaction takes the shape of a mnemonic mini-monologue.

Time has always been the key element in the conceptualization of memory in language. The category of time is a constant companion of memory and personal experience. Life experience, mental activity, the strongest impressions and emotions are linked with rueful feelings of time. At the morphological level, verbs in the past, present and future function as the verbalizers of memory processes. So, the aspectual-temporal forms of the verbs correlate with the mnemonic process and illustrate the information retrieved from memory: Imperfekt, Perfekt, Plusquamperfekt, Präsens for the present tense and Präsens for expressing the future tense in conjunction with the temporal adverbial. Chafe argues: "The material from deep memory must be reported with a strong adverb, the material from shallow memory may be reported with either a strong or a weak adverb, and the material from surface memory may be reported with a strong adverb, a weak adverb, or no adverb at all" (Chafe 1973: 271).

Temporal localizers are expressed by adverbs or substantive groups with or without a preposition. Relative temporal localizers are deictic markers that localize a mnemonic event in relation to the speaker or to the moment of interaction. The adverbial modifiers in the dialogues of German children may stand for: the year (die letzt Jahr / Last year), parts of the day (Sonntag Moije@d [: Morgen] / on Sunday morning), days of the week (am Samstag / on Saturday), holidays (Weihnachten, Ostern / Christmas, Easter), significant events (Geburtstag / birthday). Mono- and bitemporal designs occur most often. Ochs (1994) explored

the use of the future tense in autobiographical stories that explicate personal experience of a narrator. E. Ochs argues that future tenses indicate statements which represent not only the reconstruction of the past experience, but also the pre-construction of the future experience (Ochs 1994: 108). Children are able to independently develop and update the key lines of their autobiographical stories *at 6;00 – 6;05 – 7;00 years of age*. The sequence of actions in the story is marked by the adverbs *erst, da, dann / first, there, then* used in the same context. Such things have not been observed by us in early age spans.

As a matter of fact, children create a mnemonic autobiographical narrative, which is comprised of separate blocks of mnemonic remarks. This kind of hybrid autobiographical story is likely to predominate as it is easily incorporated into the fabric of a dialogue or polylogue. The mnemonic narrative acquires its traditional form at the senior stages of speech ontogenesis and cognitive personality evolvement.

5. Discussion

Our study confirms the assumption that the initial stage of AM formation is associated with consolidation and reproduction of scattered events from a child's life. Then, one may observe the appearance of the macrostructure with internalized cultural schemes and scenarios that organize mnemonic material into interacting systems of "life periods", "life themes", and "personal stages" (Nourkova 2008: 20).

Having analyzed the transcripts in the multimedia corpus CHILDES in detail, we arrived at the conclusion that adults spontaneously and, at the same time, implicitly teach children to recollect something and then to verbalize those memories. Children present a related narration (in our material – mnemonic), which gradually takes the form of an autobiographical story. Fivush and his co-authors (2011) assert: "Thus, there is converging correlational and experimental evidence that children learn to structure their personal narratives in much the same way their parents do during reminiscing, providing the same quality of evaluations and orientations in their narratives, and the same quantity of memory information as do their parents" (Fivush et al. 2011: 8).

The initial stratagem and tactical activities of adults are supposed to "revive" the memories of the past with certain emotional support. They contribute to the formation of autobiographical memories of a preschooler. These stratagem-tactical activities find their expression in separate abrupt remarks of a child, mainly, at the early stages of speech ontogenetic development (Table 1).

Table 1. **Discursive strategies and tactics of adults for the development of mnemonic narrative skills of a child**

Child's age Development of verbal cues	Adults' strategy	Adults' tactics
Target: Discourse socialization **Intention**: child's narrative skills development $\rightarrow$ child's mnemonic narrative skills development		
Up to 3;00 – 3;05 **N1$\rightarrow$** **N1 +Vperf$\rightarrow$** **N$_1$ + No$_4$ +Vperf**	Discursive socialization Retrieving Fragmented Memories	
Intention: developing a child's mnemonic narrative skills Generating a Narrative Structure Type / "… the type of narrative structure: referential actions, (b) referential descriptions Actions: Requesting or providing information about actions/ Requesting or providing information about actions that occurred during the event. Descriptions: Requesting or providing objective details about conditions, persons, or objects at the event. Orientations: Comments that place the event in spatial-temporal context (Haden, Haine, Fivush, Robyn 1997: 299).		
3;02 **N$_1$ + No$_4$ +Vperf + Context + argument**	Stimulation of free speech, presentation of an individual episode retrieved from memory	1) Refocusing the topic, 2) fragment-by-fragment extraction from the memory of actants, objects and the chronotope of the situation; 3) phonetic and lexical correction of a language unit or statement; 4) approval of the correct description of the event by the child.
3;05 **N$_{o1,\,4}$+ N$_1$+ Nfür$_4$·+Vperf +Cir $_{temp\ wann}$+ Context + argumentation**	Mnemonic experience activation	1) Generation of game situation and language game; 2) changing and narrowing the perspective of memories.
Up to 3;05 – 4;00 – 5;00 **N$_{o1,\,4}$+ N$_1$+ Cir $_{temp\ wann}$, Cir $_{loc\ wo}$ (Nfür$_4$)·+Vperf + Context + argumentation**	Generating a set of stimulus cues	Creation of a certain logic and sequence of mnemonic responses of the child
Up to 5;00 – 5;05 – 6;00 **N$_{o1,\,4}$+ N$_1$ +N$_3$+ Cir $_{temp\ wann}$, Cir $_{loc\ wo}$·+Vperf + Context + argumentation**	Activation of free spontaneous dialogue with arbitrary topics	Exchange of remarks-opinions
Up to 6;00 – 6;05 – 7;00 **N$_{o1,\,4}$+ (N$_1$) +N$_3$+ /Cir $_{temp\ wann}$, Cir $_{loc\ wo}$ /·+Vperf Context+ argumentation: Log$_{Caus}$ Log$_{Fin}$ + [2]**	Changing the pragmatic focus of information request about a single episode	Free interaction

[2] Who+did N1 +Vperf $\rightarrow$ who+ what+ did N1 + No4 +Vperf $\rightarrow$ what, who, for whom, did, when No1, 4+ N1+ Nfür4`+Vperf +Cir temp wann $\rightarrow$ what, who, when, where, did No1, 4+ N1+ Cir temp wann, Cir loc wo (Nfür4)`+Vperf $\rightarrow$ what, who, to whom, when, where, did No1, 4+ N1 +N3+ Cir temp wann, Cir loc wo`+Vperf $\rightarrow$ what, to whom, /where, when/ did No1, 4+ (N1) +N3+ /Cir temp wann, Cir loc wo /`+Vperf + Context …+ LogCaus LogFin ..why, what for, …+ context +/argumentation (late stages of phylogenetic development; markers of cause-and-effect and logical relation-

6. Conclusion

The results of this study further our understanding of autobiographical memory and mnemonic autobiographical story at the stages of early ontogenesis. On the basis of our research, we can present some interim findings:

1. Autobiographical memory is not an innate structure and it does not exist as an independent mnemonic system.

2. Being realized as a mnemonic autobiographical story at the early ontogeny stages, autobiographical story goes through a complicated process of its formation.

3. Adults construct a scheme of a mnemonic autobiographical story-narrative and then of autobiographical memory. They intuitively apply a variety of techniques including: the priming method, the association method, the game situation method and the word games method. All these methods help to create associative semantic chains that can trigger retrieving information and reconstructing the sequence of past events.

4. Childhood memories evolve along with cognition and speech. They are initially generalized according to the schemes that undergo complicated variations as a child grows older. These transformations can be easily observed on a superficial verbal level.

All in all, this research introduces a number of clarifications concerning memories functioning in early ontogenesis, their formalization by verbal means and the possibility of their recall from memory in adulthood. The current findings may have important implications for the fields of ontolinguistics, discourse studies, corpus and empirical studies, as well as narratology, as they expand the understanding of the specifics of oral narratives, models of construction of primary and secondary texts. The problem of studying autobiographical memory and autobiographical story requires further considerations. One cannot agree more with the statement that we "need more longitudinal research that follows developmental trajectories from preschool through adolescence, in order to determine how early maternal reminiscing style may continue to influence children's developing autobiographical narratives and self-concepts" (Fivush et al. 2011: 25).

ships "why, what for, ...+ context + argumentation" are taken out of the so-called frame. The complex structure is required for the implementation of these markers in a surface verbal structure; on the other hand, such a construction is already observed at the age of 3;02 with the union deshalb / therefore/that's why, for this reason: CHI: deshalb bin ich mitdefahren [: mitgefahren] / that's why I went along [: went along], expressed by a separate remark). (By Context – N1,3,4 – animate person, figure in the case system of the German language (nominative, dative, accusative); No1,4 – object, inanimate person in the German case system; Vperf – verb in perfect tenses; LogCaus LogFin – logical relationship of cause and purpose; Cir temp wann, Cir loc wo – time constant, place time constant; Context –context).

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Research article / Научная статья

Text content variables as a function of comprehension: Propositional discourse analysis

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Abstract
Text complexity impact on immediate recalls and range of metadiscourse markers remains a research niche due to the lack of multidisciplinary data necessary to shed light on the issue. The current study aims to identify effects of text complexity and Russian-English discourse differences on immediate text-based recalls relating to the amount and type of the information reproduced. For the research purposes we engaged 94 native Russian speakers as respondents in a text-retelling task to explore the amount of propositions recalled from an opinion article and the range of discourse markers employed. The reading text and text-based recalls were contrasted on informative and linguistic levels. The informative complexity of the reading text was evaluated on the basis of propositional analysis, and the linguistic complexity was carried out on the basis of descriptive parameters (word and sentence length, proportion of long words), readability index, word complexity and range of metadiscourse markers. The study revealed that the complexity level of the reading text is a strong predictor of propositional recall. The comparative analysis indicated a slight decrease in metrics of descriptive parameters. We also revealed that high ability readers make a choice in favor of superordinate propositions recalling about 60% of them and losing over 70% of the subordinate propositions. They also tend to shift the metadiscourse patterns of the original text from interactive to more logical ones by loosing hedges, emphatics and evidentials. The study furthers our understanding of cross-linguistic differences in the use of metadiscourse, its results will find application in discourse complexology and natural language processing.
Keywords: *propositions, text complexity, reading comprehension, cognitive model, automatic text analyzer, natural language processing*

Влияние содержания на понимание текста: пропозициональный анализ дискурса

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Аннотация

Вопросы влияния сложности иноязычного текста на объем воспроизводимой информации и выбор метадискурсивных стратегий остаются малоизученными в силу необходимости привлечения для их решения мультидисциплинарных данных. Цель данного исследования – определить влияние лексической и информативной сложности текста, а также русско-английских дискурсивных различий на объем и специфику воспроизводимого русскоязычными читателями английского текста. В исследовании приняло участие 94 респондента, владеющих английским языком как иностранным. Читаемый текст и текст-пересказ сопоставлялись на информационном и языковом уровнях. Информационная сложность текста для чтения, в качестве которого была использована публицистическая статья с уровнем сложности С2 по Общеевропейской шкале уровней владения языком, оценивалась на основе пропозиционального анализа, а измерение лингвистической сложности осуществлялось с помощью дескриптивных параметров текста (длина слова, длина предложения, доля длинных слов), индекса читабельности, сложности слов и диапазона метадискурсивных маркеров. Сравнение текста для чтения и его пересказов продемонстрировало незначительное снижение метрик всех лингвистических параметров. Исследование подтвердило, что степень сложности текста для чтения является предиктором количества воспроизводимых пропозиций: свертывая информацию в пересказах, читатели с высоким языковым уровнем воспроизводят около 60 % главных и опускают более 70 % второстепенных пропозиций прочитанного текста. В пересказах носители русского языка демонстрируют тенденцию изменять метадискурсивную модель текста, утрачивая хеджи, бустеры и маркеры эвиденциальности, добавляя в текст пересказа отсутствующие в тексте для чтения сочинительные союзы. Исследование углубляет понимание межъязыковых различий в использовании метадискурсивных маркеров. Особую практическую значимость полученные данные имеют для автоматизации пропозиционального анализа и обработки естественного языка.

Ключевые слова: *пропозиция, сложность текста, понимание текста, когнитивная модель, автоматический анализатор, обработка естественного языка*

1. Introduction

Reading models acknowledged in the modern research paradigm offer interpretation of what reading involves and how reading comprehension works (van den Broek et al. 1995, Zhang 2017). Experts in the area agree that difficulty in reading is a function of the processing level required by the reading purpose and text complexity (Weir et al. 2009: 160). Although there have been multiple studies

on text comprehension, little research has examined the amount of information recalled after reading. As for the measures employed to assess reading comprehension, to the best of our knowledge, they are few and include either different types of questions or recalls. Multiple choice and true/false questions are the most popular and, according to many scholars, easy to use (Crossley et al. 2014). Sharing the view on comprehension questions' ability to provide "an indication of comprehension", researchers also agree on their internal constraints as comprehension questions "generally query only a small number of the ideas found in a text" which can also be guessed (cf. Crossley & McNamara 2016: 2). Another important reason to resort to other means of comprehension assessment is inability of questions to reflect abstract assumptions accommodated by models of comprehension (Kintsch 1998).

The obvious alternative is a recall, free, cued or serial, oral or written, which has long been advocated as an objective measure of reading comprehension. On the other hand, recall has also been widely criticized for additional procedures constrains. The most probable and often referred to include obligatory account of readers' working memory span and speech generation strategies (cf. Chang 2006). Nonetheless, an immediate recall is still considered by many cognitive scientists a reliable means of our understanding the nature and depth of readers' comprehension (Fletcher et al. 1995).

The idea of propositions as a measure of comprehension is firmly founded in numerous cognitive studies. The generally accepted theory states that written immediate recalls allow readers to freely reproduce the reading text propositions as well as elaborate extra-textual generations (Kintsch 1998, Crossley & McNamara 2016). If the experiment settings do not limit the recall time, the range and number of propositions reproduced in a text-based recall depend on readers' linguistic and cognitive skills only (Bergman & Roediger 1999). Besides, there are no prompts provided to guess the correct answers as is the case with comprehension questions.

Our goal in this study is to assess the maximum limit of high ability readers to recall the reading text information in written text-based recalls, which as a research goal have been generally neglected in previous studies on text comprehension (Aubry et al. 2021, Hickey & Gilheany 2003, Kulik 1992). This type of approach allows us to address the following research questions: 1. How much of the original reading text can high ability readers of English as a foreign language (further EFL readers) reproduce in immediate written recalls? 2. What are the dynamics patterns when the reading text is conveyed in a recall? 3. Do Russian EFL readers render discourse markers of the original English text or tend to omit/substitute them? We also test the two hypotheses: (1) high ability C2[1] EFL readers will recall about 50% of the superordinate propositions of the reading text in case their proficiency level corresponds to the reading text complexity; (2) The propositions reproduced in written text-based recalls carry predominantly factual information not the

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[1] C2 level of proficiency is considered the highest level of proficiency in the *Common European F*ramework of reference, and it is viewed *as* a near-native speaker.

subjective claims. These hypotheses relate largely to 'extraction' and 'attribution' strategies of respondents (Novikov 2007) as well as to the possible facilitating effects of differences in Russian and English expository discourse patterns.

2. Literature review: reading comprehension and text-based recalls

Experimental results in the studies aimed at revealing specifics of text variables facilitating comprehension vary tremendously reflecting differences in the datasets, participants and settings. Many researchers approach the problems of reading comprehension and written text-based recalls by comparing texts of different complexity and readers of varying ability. The predominant majority of the studies look for evidence that respondents differ in their ability to identify and reproduce text organizing structures. Although these studies traditionally focus on native readers' abilities in text comprehension. For example, Taylor (1980) argues that poor readers are less likely than good readers to organize their recalls according to the structure of the original text. Discourse markers are proved to facilitate comprehension (Irwin 1980) only if the reading text complexity corresponds to readers' abilities (Spyridakis & Standal 1987).

A number of studies conducted recently have also examined effects of text complexity on EFL readers' text comprehension and recalls (Crossley & McNamara 2016, Crossley et al. 2014, Kim et al. 2018). S. Crossley and D. McNamara (2016) contrasted text-retelling performance of EFL readers to confirm the hypothesis that if a text corresponds to readers' linguistic proficiency more propositions are reproduced and elaborated. However, Russian EFL readers have not yet been involved into similar studies of propositional recall and metadiscourse model being a function of text complexity and readers-text alignment.

Employing the algorithm acknowledged in the field of discourse complexity in the current study we assess and draw the distinction between linguistic and informational complexity of a reading text (Bulté & Housen 2012). Text linguistic complexity manifests itself on five language level parameters, i.e. phonological (number of syllables, etc.), morphological (Parts of Speech Ratio, grammatical categories ratios, etc.), lexical (frequency, lexical diversity and density), syntactic (length of a sentence, distance to the main verb, etc.) and discourse (referential cohesion, deep cohesion, etc.) (Gatiyatullina et al. 2020, Solovyev et al. 2022). As for the informative (content), or cognitive, or propositional complexity, it is traditionally viewed as the organization of constructs and their similarity (Burleson & Caplan 1998), the number of propositions or idea units which an interlocutor encodes in a given language task to convey a certain message content (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005, Bulté & Housen 2012). Researchers also provide an example of contrasting two EFL writers: if one of whom generated 30 propositions or idea units while another managed to produce only 15, then the propositional complexity of the first writer is higher than that of the second one (Bulté & Housen 2012:24). In the modern research paradigm it is estimated as a function of (1) the number of

propositions per text or (2) propositional density, i.e. P-density, or (3) the number of new concepts per proposition (Chall 1999, Fletcher 1981, Vipond 1980).

The term and notion of 'propositions' once borrowed into psycholinguistic studies from Fillmore's case grammar (2002) have since been viewed as units of text comprehension and cognition. The main verb of the clause and all its arguments are considered as one superordinate or main proposition while additional modifying elements constitute subordinate or additional propositions (Fletcher 1981, Kintsch 1998, Vipond 1980). Experts in the area argue that superordinate propositions are better recalled and longer stored in people's memory than structurally subordinate propositions (Ziafar & Namaziandost 2020).

Another important difference in text parameters is that between metadiscourse and propositional information: metadiscourse is concerned with the organization and stance of the writer (Hyland 2004: 109) while propositional information is "information relating to the world beyond the text itself" (Halliday 1994: 70). Vande Kopple argues that "many discourses have at least two levels. On one level, we supply information about the subject of our text. On this level, we expand propositional content. On the other level, the level of metadiscourse, we do not add propositional material but help our receivers organize, classify, interpret, evaluate and react to such material. Metadiscourse, therefore, is discourse about discourse or communication about communication" (1985:83).

Employing the concept of proximity, which embodies the idea of interaction and occurs when authors establish mutual interaction via the employment of rhetorical features (Alipour & Jahanbin 2020:799), and Hyland's definition of metadiscourse as "discourse about discourse" (Hyland 2005, 2010), researchers divide metadiscourse markers into two categories: interpersonal and interactional (Waller 2015), which are also subdivided into frame markers including logical connectives (refer to discourse acts, sequences and stages), transitional markers (express relations between clauses), code glosses (elaborate propositional meaning), evidential markers (refer to information in other texts), endophoric (refer to information in other parts of text), attitude markers (expresses writer's attitude toward the propositional information), boosters (emphasize certainty and closes dialogue), hedges (withhold comment and open dialogue), engagement markers (explicitly build relationship with reader) and relational markers or self mention (explicitly refer to the writer) (Hyland 2004, 2005, 2010). Metadiscourse markers are used to present authorial claims, express a perspective on authorial statements, and to enter into a dialogue with the reader (Hyland 1996, Aull & Lancaster 2014, Alipour & Jahanbin 2020, Bolsunovskaya et al. 2015, Boginskaya 2022). They "imply trustworthiness and concerns of addressees" (Alipour & Jahanbin 2020).

3. Participants, materials and methods

Participants: 94 (13 males and 81 females) University students, all native Russians, majoring in Education and English as a Foreign language with A2 – C2 (CEFR) levels of proficiency volunteered to participate in the research and served

as the experiment subjects. With each participant's written permission, we obtained their EFL scores of the previous semester thus defining their EFL proficiency. Based on their composite score, we employed a median split to form three groups of the participants: High (with C2 proficiency level or above), average (B1) and low ability (A2 or below) groups. Into the current research we involved only high ability students (# 10) with C2 proficiency level.

Dataset. The dataset for the study comprises (1) an article "Why Your Kid's Bad Behavior May Be a Good Thing" from The New York Times online magazine [Moyer 2021] of 332 tokens which we used as a reading text; and (2) ten recalls of the article with the total size of 1338 tokens. The choice of the text was not random: we selected a text which is supposed to be among interests of participants, i.e. 3^d year students majoring Education and English as pre-service teachers. Relying on Teun A. van Dijk and Walter Kintsch's view that "persons who understand real events or speech events are able to construct a mental representation, and especially a meaningful representation, only if they have more general knowledge about such events" (1983:17), we assume that experiment subjects are familiar with the main idea of the text, i.e. parenting, and the professional vocabulary used in it.

The reading text linguistic complexity was determined with the help of a text analyzer TextInspector (textinspector.com) as C2 thus matching the subjects' reading proficiency. TextInspector provides metrics of numerous text parameters and matches them with CEFR proficiency levels (Table 1 below). These metrics are validated as statistically significant in distinguishing between different reading levels, and TextInspector developers argue that they ensure high reliability of the scores. The *descriptive* text metrics set comprises the following: average syllables per word, average syllables per sentence, average words per sentence, syllables per 100 words, words with more than 2 syllables % (see Table 1 below). The *readability level* of the reading text identified at 12.09 FKGL indicates that the text is understood by an average student with 12 years of formal schooling (see more in Solnyshkina et al. 2022).

The informational (content) complexity of the reading text was determined on the basis on the propositional analysis as the amount of ideas expressed in a text. In fact, it reflects the amount of information measured in propositions communicated by the author to his interlocutor (Smolik et al. 2016). The propositional analysis validated in numerous studies (cf. Kintsch 1998, Embretson & Wetzel 1987, Yus 2018, Korovina 2020) implies identifying and assigning semantic role labels to arguments of predicates. We demonstrated algorithm and stages of propositional analysis in our previous research (see Petrova et al. 2022, Petrova & Solnyshkina 2021) in which, in full accordance with the modern paradigm, we distinguish between superordinate and subordinate propositions (Waters 1983).

Table 1. **Text Linguistic Complexity: Why Your Kid's Bad Behavior May Be a Good Thing**

Types of parameters	Parameter	Metric	Proficiency level
Descriptive	Average syllables per word	1.61	C2+
	Average syllables per sentence	35.73	C2
	Average words per sentence	22.13	C2+
	Syllables per 100 words	161.45	C2+
	Words with more than 2 syllables %	13.86	C2
Readability	Flesch Kincaid Reading Grade[2] (FKGL)	12.09	C2
Lexical Sophistication: English Vocabulary Profile,% of words (types)	A1	84 (45.41%)	C2
	A2	20 (10.81%)	
	B1	31 (16.76%)	
	B2	16 (8.65%)	
	C1	9 (4.86%)	
	C2	5 (2.70%)	
Metadiscourse	% of all Metadiscourse Markers (types) in the text	12.97	C1+
	% of all Metadiscourse Markers (tokens) in the text	14.55	C1

E.g. *These parents set strict limits, but they are also warm and respectful with their children and sometimes willing to negotiate.*

The sentence above contains six superordinate propositions referred to the AGENT parents and three subordinate propositions. Superordinate propositions are nominated with verbs (*set*), verbal nouns (*limits*) and adjectives (*respectful, warm*). Comprehension of the clause (*but they are also warm…*) is ensured by the anaphoric referential cohesion of the pronoun *they* and the antecedent *parents*.

PROP 1(*superodinate*): set (These parents)
PROP 2 (*superodinate*): limits (parents;) PROP 2_1(*subordinate*): strict (MOD)
PROP 3(*superodinate*): warm (parents)
PROP 4 (*superodinate*): respectful (parents) PROP 4_1 (*subordinate*): children (PATIENT)
PROP 5 (*superodinate*): will negotiate (parents;) PROP 5_1 (*subordinate)*: sometimes (TIME)
PROP 6 (*superodinate)*: expectations (parents)

Propositional analysis was conducted for all the sentences of the reading text, the results presented in a tabular format contain the number of superordinate and subordinate propositions in each sentence (see Table 2 below as an illustration).

Propositions of the reading text were scored independently by two professional linguists, experts in the area of propositional analysis with experience in identifying semantic roles in previous research. In scoring the text, one point was given for each correct proposition. A total of 98 points for superordinate propositions and 108 subordinate propositions were identified. The number and type of the propositions identified in the reading text by each expert were later compared and

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[2] FKGL formula installed in TextInspector identifies the number of formal schooling generally required to comprehend a text (Teunyev et al. 2022).

the correlation revealed between the two experts was 0.93 which indicates a very strong relationship.

Table 2. **Propositional analysis of the Reading text (part)**

	Number of superordinate propositions	Number of subordinate propositions
One of Dr. Loeb's recent studies, which followed kids from ages 13 to 32, found that	4	3
children whose parents were psychologically controlling	1	5
[children] were less academically successful and	2	4
[children were] less liked by their peers in adolescence		
compared with kids whose parents were not psychologically controlling.	1	5
As adults, they were also less likely to be in healthy romantic relationships.	3	3
Other research has linked parental psychological control with antisocial behavior and anxiety in kids.	3	10

For further contrasting the reading text and text-based recalls we also computed its metadiscourse profile (Fig. 1, 3 below), i.e. its rhetorical aspect embodied by diverse markers enforcing a writer-reader interaction. TextInspector (textinspector.com) elicits, categorizes and calculates metadiscourse markers of 13 classes including frame markers (announce goals, label stages, topic shifts, sequencing), code glosses (*called, known as, such as*), endophorics, hedges (*certain, amount, likely, may, might, sometimes*), logical connectives (*also, and, but, or, so*), relational markers (*your*), attitude markers, emphatics or boosters (*certainly, indeed, should, sure*), evidential (*found that, research/ studies show/s, said, suggests*), person markers (Hyland 2005).

Experiment Procedure. The experiment was conducted in four stages and lasted for about 90 minutes. On Stage 1, participants were provided with a general overview of the study and their role in it. They were informed that they would be asked to read a text for comprehension and written recall. Stage 2. Before involving respondents into the experiment, we also conducted a field testing to verify that the experiment participants were unfamiliar with the article topic. Based on the answers to three questions on the topic of the reading text it was concluded that the respondents had no prior knowledge on the subject. On Stage 3, the subjects (a) were instructed to read and (b) read through the text twice in the free reading-time condition. The reading time did not extend 10 min. On Stage 4, the participants were provided with individual laptops and wrote their recalls. The text-based recalls generated by the participants were marked 1G, 2G, 3G, 7B, 1A, 2A, 5C, 3B, 8B, 10B.

4. Analysis

On completion of the experiment, we conducted three levels of the recalls analysis: holistic, parametric and propositional. *The holistic* analysis was conducted by two experts separately to assess each recall's content conformity with the reading text. As all recalls of C2 participants contained the macroproposition "Authoritative approach as a balance between hash and permissive ways is an effective kind of parenting", they were found eligible to enter the next stages of the analysis.

As part of the *parametric analysis* we evaluated readability, descriptive, lexical and metadiscourse parameters in each recall. With the help of TextInspector, we obtained metrics of the following metrics: average syllables per word, average syllables per sentence, average words per sentence, syllables per 100 words, words with more than 2 syllables %, Flesch Kincaid reading grade, CEFR level, % of all metadiscourse markers (types) in the text, % of all metadiscourse markers (tokens) in the text.

After identifying mean values of all the parameters in the recalls we contrasted them with those in the reading text on the four levels: descriptive, readability, vocabulary profiles and metadiscourse (Table 3).

Table 3. **Linguistic parameters: the reading text vs recalls (mean)**

Type of Parameter	Parameter	Reading Text	Recalls (mean)
		Metric	Metric
Descriptive	Average syllables per word	1.61	1.51
	Average syllables per sentence	35.73	29.71
	Average words per sentence	22.13	19.71
	Syllables per 100 words	161.45	150.72
	Words with more than 2 syllables %	13.86	10.87
Readability	Flesch Kincaid Reading Grade	12.09	9.88
Vocabulary Profile	CEFR evel	C2	C1
Metadiscourse	% of all Metadiscourse Markers (types) in the text	12.97	12.22
	% of all Metadiscourse Markers (tokens) in the text	14.55	9.92

The metrics in Table 4 indicate that C2 EFL readers demonstrate their high lexical and syntactic abilities in written recalls only slightly decreasing complexity level, i.e. from C2 to C1. Linguistic parameters including metadiscourse numbers do not differ significantly.

As for the Vocabulary profiles (see Figure 1) measured with TextInspector, we observe that shares of low-level vocabulary (A1-B1) increased while high-level shares (B2-C2) decreased resulting in lowering linguistic complexity level by one, from C2 to C1. For comparison we used types (word forms or instances of words), not tokens (lemmas) of words thus ensuring a better picture of vocabulary frequencies.
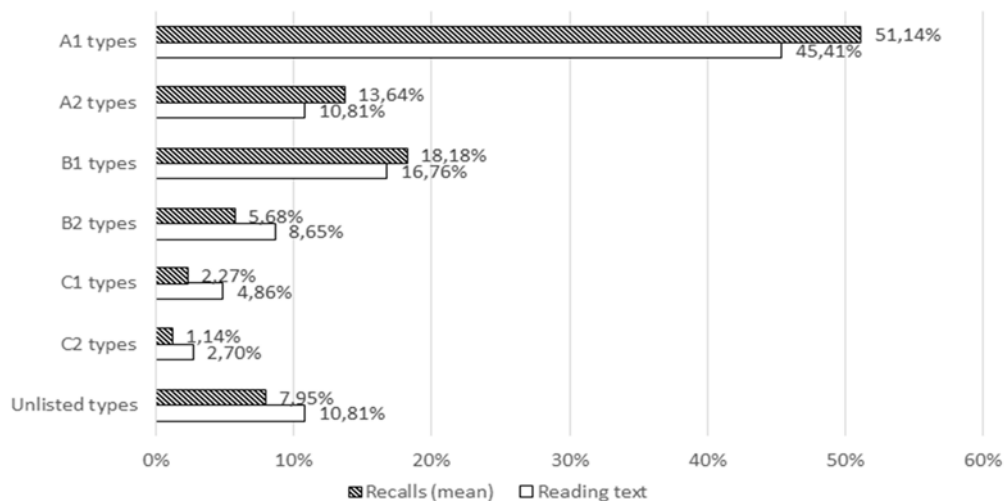
Figure 1. Vocabulary Profile: Reading text vs Recalls (mean)

The most interesting dynamics is observed in the range and number of discourse markers (see Figure 2): the bar chart in Figure 2 demonstrates an obvious increase in logical connectors share from 2.7 % (types) in the reading text to 4.44% in recalls (mean). Another increase we observe is that in code gloss types: from 1.62 % to 2.22%. Hedges, evidentials and emphatics have a strong tendency to decrease: their numbers plummeted twice: the share of hedges and emphatics dropped from over 2.6 % in the reading text to 1.11% in the recalls, the share of evidential decreased by 1.2% from 3.24 % to 2.22. As for logical connectives and code glosses, we observe the opposite tendency, i.e. markers of these two types have nearly doubled: code glosses mean increased from as low as 1.6 % in the reading text to 2.22% in the recalls and the share of logical connectors in the recalls is the highest, i.e. 4.44% .
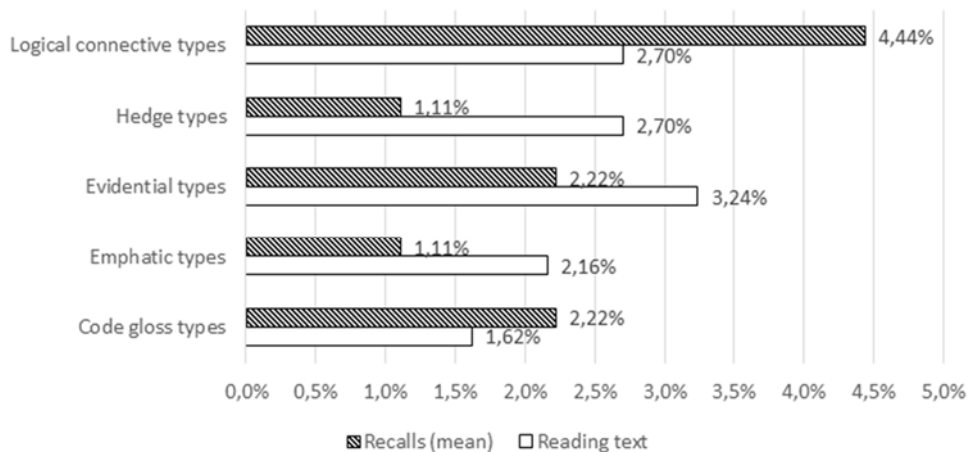
Figure 2. Discourse markers: Reading text vs Reading Text-based Written Recalls (mean)

Noteworthy is that evidentials which are the most frequent type of the discourse markers in the reading text dropped dramatically in the recalls. All the above testifies to the fact that even high ability, i.e. C2, Russian EFL readers transfer their native metadiscourse pattern to the recalls and shift the original metadiscourse model of the text losing half of the emphatics (certainly, indeed, should, sure), hedges (certain amount, likely, may, might, sometimes) and evidentials (found that, research, said, shows, studies, suggests) but increase the number of code glosses (known as, such as) and logical connectors (also, and, but, or, so). These two classes are also confirmed to be much more frequent in the Russian academic discourse (Blinova 2019). Two more crucial elements about the written recalls is that (1) logical connectors having acquired a much higher frequency dropped in the range from 12 to 5; (2) Russian EFL readers as representatives a "reader-responsible" culture (see Hinds 1987) and also tend to add discourse markers of a sequencing type (*firstly, secondly*) thus increasing logical organization of their recalls.

Propositional analysis. The propositions of all written recalls were also scored independently by the two raters who were previously engaged in measuring the propositional complexity of the reading text and the holistic assessment of the text-based recalls. The number and range of the propositions produced by each subject were later compared with that in the reading text. The calculated correlation between the two raters was identified as 0.87 which implies a relatively strong statistical importance.

While evaluating propositions in each recall we scored only text-based propositions, while any type of elaborations or distortion inference propositions were not taken into account. One point was given for each correctly recalled or inferred proposition and a total of 98 (100%) points for superordinate propositions and 108 (100%) subordinate propositions were possible. The absolute and relative (%) scores of the propositional recalls are presented in Table № 3 below.

Table № 3. **Propositional Recall: absolute and relative (%) indices of informational complexity**

Code	Absolute number of the propositions recalled	Number of the propositions recalled (%)	Absolute number of superordinate propositions recalled (%)	Number of the subordinate propositions recalled (%)
1A	41	41.8%	20	18.5%
3B	41	41.8%	24	22.2%
10B	45	45.9%	23	21.2%
2A	47	47.9%	27	25.0%
2G	60	61.2%	31	28.7%
1G	66	67.3%	32	29.6%
8B	68	69.4%	38	35.1%
5C	70	69.4%	36	33.3%
7B	71	71.4%	42	38.9%
3G	73	74.5%	35	32.4%
Mean		59.0%	Mean	28.5%

As demonstrated in Table 3 the reconstructed texts contain on average 60% of superordinate propositions and about 30 % of subordinate propositions.

5. Discussion

This study compares reading texts and high ability EFL readers' performance on the immediate written recall in order to determine the amount of propositions and range of discourse markers reproduced. We demonstrate how reader-text complexity alignment, although contributing to the amount of the information reproduced in immediate recalls of Russian readers, does not facilitate reconstructing (or constructing a similar) metadiscourse structure of the original English text. Of the ninety-four Russian University students who initially participated in this study, we analyzed and compared the response patterns of ten participants whose language proficiency of C2 EFL (CEFR) was confirmed by the previous semester score. For the data analysis, we generated descriptive statistics of the reading texts as well as of each text-based recall and used four measures of comparison, i.e. readability, vocabulary profile, discourse markers range and the ratio of the propositions recalled correctly, i.e. propositional recall. The results showed that an average high ability Russian reader recalls about 60% of the superordinate and 30% of the subordinate propositions of the reading English text thus exercising his/her ability to discriminate and select communicatively relevant information. In their recalls readers lose more subordinate (about 2/3) than subordinate (about 2/5) propositions of the reading text. Another finding indicates that the propositions reproduced in recalls carry predominantly factual information not the subjective claims of the reading text which the author of the original reading text expressed by numerous metadiscourse markers, i.e. hedges, emphatics and evidentials. These data suggest that even in situations when the reading text complexity matches language proficiency of Russian C2 EFL readers, they tend to focus mostly on textual not metadiscourse information. The most obvious causes for the identified differences in the distribution and range of the discourse markers in the reading text and recalls are either disparities between Russian and English discourse patterns or readers' individual incompetence in English metadiscourse features. We would also like to point out that resorting predominantly to "extraction" strategy and "endo-vocabulary" in recalls, readers in fact demonstrate their inability (or reluctance) to apply the strategy of "attire" which would qualify them as capable of shifting semantic dominants and widening the area of semantic cover. Decoding and recalling the content is not followed or accompanied by engagement of background knowledge, establishing connections between parts of texts or pieces information extracted from the reading text. Neither did we observe including elements of an evaluative or emotional nature into the recall. Thus, we can say that mainly the content of the text is reproduced. A deeper understanding of intra-textual links corresponds to the stage of concept formation, which implies involvement of emotional, evaluative, and subjective components.

As it was mentioned earlier, our findings provide strong evidence of the subjects' ability to comprehend and immediately reproduce up to 60% of the reading text propositions if its complexity is fully aligned with readers' proficiency. The results we received although different but not inconsistent with the findings of Bergman & Roediger (1999). In their study Bergman & Roediger (1999) registered the number of accurately reproduced propositions in three settings: immediate, one week and six months after reading the text. The researchers observed and documented that 26% of the propositions retrieved in immediate recalls were accurate. The differences in the number of the propositions recalled in our experiment may be caused by at least two reasons: (1) Bergman & Roediger (1999) did not assess the subjects' language proficiency and (2) involved all undergraduate students who volunteered to participate in the experiment. Thus, the results they report are average of the general population, we, on the other hand, focus on high ability students only.

In light of the text complexity and readers' competence balance, the recall findings for the differences in the range and number of metadiscourse markers were less expected. Nonetheless they are consistent with the conclusion made by A. Kotelnikova (2020) in her research of EFL readers' comprehension strategies. Her research was based on A. Novikov's theory of compressing information (2007) which says that in text-based recalls readers resort either to 'extraction' or 'attribution' strategy. While implementing 'extraction' strategy, a subject delivers the text content using the vocabulary 'extracted' from the reading text. The latter is referred to as 'endo-lexis'. Metadiscourse or, in Novikov's words, 'some external information in the text', on the other hand, if come across, is dealt with the strategy of 'attribution'. Attribution here means that based on his/her individual experience, the reader does not reproduce but generates meanings 'attributing' his own experience, and uses his own 'exo-lexis', the vocabulary missed in the text. Hence, although C2 readers are generally assumed to have mastered all types of reading skills and able to use different types of linking words, i.e. metadiscourse markers, in their speech, the recalls we collected manifest readers' preference to reproduce the text content and "attribute" senses. Our expectations that interactional markers are recalled in a similar way as factual information were not upheld by our results.

Another possible reason for the above are differences in cultures following John Hinds' (1987) division of national writing cultures into "writer-responsible" and "reader-responsible". "In a writer-responsible culture like English", for example, "metadiscourse markers are used to guide readers through a text" (Adel 2006:149) while in a reader- responsible culture like Russian (see Blinova 2019), connections between various parts of a text are more commonly left implicit". The findings indicate that even high ability Russian speakers tend to transfer Russian patterns of organizing their ideas into EFL writing. The differences in recalls patterns affecting participants' speech production result in (a) differences in Russian and English discourse; (b) reduction of the variety and range of discourse markers as a highly probable component in the process of a metadiscourse model

simplification in text-based recalls of all types. The findings suggest importance of raising readers' awareness of the way metadiscourse markers frame their speech production. The latter gains particular importance in light of the fact that the role of metadiscourse is increasingly "recognized for natural language processing applications like text-mining and information extraction" (Sandor 2007: 97).

6. Conclusion

The current research explores the effect of text complexity on high proficiency readers' ability to recall propositional content and reproduce metadiscourse markers of a reading text. It focuses on C2 EFL Russian readers, thus dealing with a specific group of participants whose immediate text-based recalls, on the one hand, belong to an under-researched area, but on the other, experience a growing interest in the context of studying aptitude of talented students.

The results received are confirmed for high ability EFL Russian students in situations when their reading proficiency matches the reading text complexity of C2 (CEFR). Validation of the results (considered as the research prospect) implies widening the demographic range and number of the respondents. Any other type of participants including mediocre and low proficiency students, or reader-text mismatch requires further investigation. Further research in the area could focus on different types of texts such as short stories and reports to investigate if they generate different discourse patterns.

The results received may be conducive to the research on semantic variables of recall strategies and text comprehension. They can also be applied in further research on text complexity impact on the amount and range of metadiscursive elements generated in written recall. As the problem of text-reader alignment in EFL practice still remains a research niche, primarily due to the its multidisciplinarity and the need for joint efforts of linguists, cognitive scientists and psychologists, our findings are in demand in applied *linguistics*, education and speech generation studies. Complete solution to the problem (if possible) may enable researchers and practitioners to determine optimal linguistic and cognitive factors of text comprehension and recall. So far the findings contribute to our understanding on differences in metadiscourse strategies in English and Russian discourses.

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Research article / Научная статья

Ways of expressing the category of instrumentality in retranslated texts

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Abstract
The category of instrumentality remains a research niche due to the interrelation of many cognitive and linguistic factors during its implementation in language. This study can contribute to the improvement of methodology and tools for automated propositional analysis of natural language texts. The article aims to identify the types and frequency of instrumentality manifestations in oral immediate recalls. The dataset comprises two reading texts on Social Studies and 34 immediate text-based oral recalls (2779 words in total). The study involved 34 native Russian 5th graders aged 11–12. For the types and range of modifications in expressing the semantic roles of instrumentality, the recalls were analyzed individually and later contrasted with the original texts. The findings showed that the most typical modifications of Instruments in Russian recalls are diathesis shift, excorporation or dismantling of verbs integrated into constructions, and redistribution of semantic roles including replacement of Instrument with Causator, Theme and the Circumstants of Place. Based on the variety of modifications, all the means of manifesting the semantic role of instrumentality registered in our dataset fall into two groups. The first group comprises all the above types of modification, as well as Human Psychological State and Perception. The second group consists of Incorporated verbs and Instrumental actions that were reproduced by respondents using the "extraction" strategy with virtually no lexical loss. The findings expand our understanding of the varieties of expressing the category of instrumentality in oral speech, as well as the specifics of generating secondary texts. They can find application in the studies of receptive and productive speech activity as well as in automating propositional analysis of Russian texts.
Keywords: *instrumentality, semantic roles, primary text, secondary text, modification, propositional analysis*

Способы выражения категории инструментальности в текстах-ретранслятах

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Аннотация

Категория инструментальности остается исследовательской нишей благодаря взаимосвязи множества когнитивных и лингвистических факторов при ее реализации в языке. Их изучение может способствовать совершенствованию методологии и инструментария автоматизированного пропозиционального анализа естественных языковых текстов. Цель данного исследования – выявить способы выражения категории инструментальности и их частотность в текстах устных неподготовленных пересказов. В качестве материала использовались два первичных текста для чтения по обществоведению и 34 текста-пересказа (общим объемом 2779 слов). В исследовании приняли участие 34 респондента, носители русского языка, школьники 5 класса. Для определения типов и диапазона модификаций выражения семантической роли инструментальности воспоминания анализировались индивидуально и позднее сопоставлялись с исходными текстами. Основным исследовательским методом явился метод сравнительного пропозиционального анализа, выявивший важнейшие трансформации средств инструментальности. Результаты исследования показали, что наиболее типичными модификациями при объективации семантической категории инструментальности являются диатетический сдвиг, экскорпорирование глагола, перераспределение семантических ролей: замена Инструмента на Каузатор, Тему и сиркостанту Места. В зависимости от способов реализации в пересказах все зафиксированные варианты семантической роли инструмента классифицированы как составляющие двух групп. Первая включает все вышеуказанные модификации, а также Психологическое состояние и Восприятие. Вторую группу составляют разряды Инкорпорированные глаголы и Инструментальные действия, которые воспроизводились респондентами при помощи стратегии «извлечения» практически без лексических потерь. Полученные результаты расширяют наши представления о разновидностях выражения категории инструментальности в устной речи, а также об особенностях порождения вторичных текстов. Они могут найти применение в исследовании рецептивной и продуктивной речевой деятельности, а также при автоматизации пропозиционального анализа русских текстов.

Ключевые слова: *инструментальность, семантическая роль, первичный текст, вторичный текст, модификация, пропозициональный анализ*

1. Введение

В настоящее время вторичные тексты-ретрансляты приобретают все большую значимость в ряду речевых произведений, функционирующих в коммуникативном пространстве общества. Умение изложить содержание

прочитанного, услышанного, пересказать его, составить резюме, передать информацию конспективно составляет основу коммуникативной компетенции языковой личности и ее речевого поведения. В современных лингвистических концепциях вторичные тексты-ретрансляты предстают как сложные когнитивно-коммуникативные образования, опирающиеся на систему языка и функционирующие в пространстве культуры (Cazden 1998, Rosalind & Samuels 1998, Kamhi & Catts 1999, Арнольд 2000, Scott, McCarthy & McNamara 2012). При этом основная масса работ в области восприятия и порождения речи исследует письменную форму вторичного текста (сочинения, рефераты, резюме), и лишь единицы изучают устные ретрансляты – устные пересказы (Грудева, Губушкина 2020, Петрова, Солнышкина 2021).

Пересказ, объединяя в себе восприятие и порождение речи, является малоизученным и чрезвычайно сложным лингвокогнитивным феноменом, позволяющим обратиться к когнитивным особенностям генерирования вторичных текстов, способам преобразования информации, а также к типам трансформаций первичного текста. Вторичность текстов-пересказов является, с одной стороны, общим свойством всех текстов-дериватов, с другой стороны, представляет собой признак, по которому тексты-дериваты различаются между собой (McNamara & Kintsch 1996, Подлесская, Кибрик 2009). Очевидно, что от одного первичного текста может быть образовано множество вторичных текстов, представляющих первичный текст с разным качеством и степенью полноты (Петрова, Солнышкина 2021), именно поэтому тексты-пересказы особо ярко демонстрируют многообразие способов ретрансляции первичного текста.

Пересказ или устный ретрянслят текста трактуется в современной научной парадигме как модель, которая «в той или иной степени отражает первичный текст, поскольку в нем воспроизводятся наиболее типичные стороны первичного текста и отбрасываются менее характерные» (Шустова, Казачкова 2022: 123). Важным свойством вторичных учебных текстов В.Е. Чернявская считает присущую им информационную компрессию, которая вытекает из того факта, что вторичный текст представляет собой модель интегральную, в отличие от детально-первичного текста (Чернявская 2009). Вторичным текстам-дериватам также свойственна «вторичная информативность», ядром которой является инвариант, создающийся путем свертывания и конденсации основной информации первичного текста (Земская 2004).

Представленное исследование посвящено проблеме трансформаций средств выражения семантической категории Инструмента при передаче смыслов первичного текста в тексте устного пересказа. В качестве рабочей выступила гипотеза о том, что устный пересказ учебного текста, т.е. текст-ретрянслят, позволяет выявить специфику когнитивных процессов, связанных с полной или частичной реструктуризацией пропозиций первичного текста, включая способы выражения инструментальности как семантической категории. Цель данного исследования – выявить способы выражения

категории инструментальности и их частотность в текстах устных неподготовленных пересказов – текстах-ретранслятах. Работа выполнялась для решения следующих исследовательских вопросов:

Каков спектр модификаций каждого из разрядов семантической категории инструментальности?

Какие способы модификаций категории инструментальности являются наиболее частотными при воспроизведении учебного текста в устном пересказе?

Значимость обращения к указанным исследовательским вопросам определяется необходимостью совершенствовании методологии и инструментария автоматизированного пропозиционального анализа естественно-языковых текстов. Задача такого рода, по справедливому замечанию ряда ученых, является крайне трудновыполнимой, поскольку автоматизация пропозиционального анализа предполагает учет не логико-грамматических структур предложения, уже осуществляемый современными синтаксическими анализаторами, но логико-семантических (Виноградова 2006). Разрабатываемая в рамках представленного исследования матрица модификаций семантической роли Инструмента обеспечит основу для автоматизации поиска соотносимых структур в первичных и вторичных текстах. Обращение к данной проблеме лежит в русле наметившейся в современных междисциплинарных исследованиях тенденции к моделированию понимания в автоматических системах (Новиков 2001). Особая роль выявления и описания форм манифестации отдельных семантических ролей во вторичных текстах, а также их крайняя противоречивость и неоднозначность в различных контекстах предопределяют основание и актуальность активизации усилия исследований в данной области.

2. Способы выражения категории инструментальности

Категория инструментальности, являясь языковой универсалией, обусловленной общими закономерностями отражения объективной реальности и единства мира в сознании людей, относится к наиболее обсуждаемым лингвистическим проблемам. Существует большое количество работ, посвященных исследованию различных сторон порождения речи и инструментальности (Fillmore 1982, Москвин 1988, Падучева 2004, Schlesinger 2006, Апресян 2006, Кобцева 2005, Гумников 2012, Ляшевская, Кашкин 2015, Мустайоки 2012, Петрова, Солнышкина 2019, Boasiako 2020 и др.). Инструментальность связана не только с семантическими ролями «орудие», «инструмент», традиционно используемыми в инструментальной функции, но также и действиями, событиями, природными силами и явлениями, которые человек сознательно применяет для достижения цели (Яшманова 1992). Категория инструментальности может быть рассмотрена как поле, в ядре которого находятся прототипические формы, содержащие три составляющих: Агенс,

Объект и Инструмент. В русском языке прототипические способы актуализации инструментальности включают формы предложного творительного падежа с предлогом (для одушевленных существительных) и без предлога (для неодушевленных имен существительных) (Мартынюк 2014). Языковым выражением Инструментальности как семантической категории является Актант – Инструмент, при помощи которого Агенс целенаправленно производит какое-либо действие. Инструмент как участник ситуации Z, воздействующий на Y, предполагает присутствие Агенса, который приводит инструмент (Z) в действие для достижения своей цели (т. е. использует Z) (Падучева 2004: 55) (*пилить дрова **электропилой***[1], *стрелять в уток **из ружья***). Объект, используемый в качестве инструмента, может являться орудием осуществления действия, средством передвижения, контроля за действием.

При этом ученые указывают, что не всегда актант-Инструмент является прототипическим, то есть реализующим свои свойства в наиболее чистом виде, «без примеси иных свойств» (Givon 1986: 195, перевод Е.В. Мартынюк). Периферия изучаемой категории весьма многообразна. В качестве Инструмента могут выступать выступают не только предметные актанты, но также способности, явления и действия (*обучать с помощью **осязания**, с помощью **игры**, общаться при помощи **огня**)*. Отвлеченное понятие в роли инструмента как орудия осуществления действия опредмечивается, т. е. уподобляется предметным актантам (Мустайоки 2019: 15). В Инструменте могут соединяться значения двух и более семантических актантов, размывая таким образом границы инструментальности, которые будут уходить все дальше от центра категории (Шатуновский 1996). Непрототипы призваны категоризовать множественные отклонения от прототипа. Л.М. Ковалева справедливо замечает, что «возможность использовать и постоянно создавать непрототипические формы является условием «континуальности» речевой деятельности, т.е. способности говорящих «покрыть» всю действительность, без лакун» (Ковалева 2012: 15).

С другой стороны, Инструмент рассматривается как один из вариантов реализации семантической категории более высокого порядка – Медиатора, трактуемого как гиперроль, объединяющая Инструмент, Каузатор и Эффектор. Два последних участника ситуации могут воздействовать на объект и вызывать его изменения, однако целеполагание Агенса в этих случаях отсутствует. За пределами рассматриваемой семантической категории находятся случаи, характеризующиеся так называемой "денотативной двойственностью", когда что-либо производится без целеполагания и не благодаря инструменту. Например, свист в предложениях i. и ii. произведен не при помощи инструмента, но является результатом передвижения воздуха в определенном Месте (i. *«Ветер свистит в проводах»*), либо способа действия (ii. *«Наотмашь свистнул шашкой»*) (см. Падучева 2004: 409).

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[1] Здесь и далее инструмент в предложении или фразе выделяем полужирным.

Таксономия Инструмента, разработанная в работах отечественных и зарубежных исследователей (Fillmore 1982, Падучева 2004, Мустайоки 2006, Palmer et al. 2005, Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013, Мустайоки 2019), включает восемь основных разрядов.

I. **Инструмент-предмет** (термин А. Мустайоки) имеет два варианта реализации: (I.1) Инструмент-орудие (Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013) и (I.2) Инструмент, инкорпорированный в глаголе (Мустайоки 2019). Именно этот разряд Инструмента несет «прототипический эффект» наибольшей силы, заключающийся в том, что он быстрее распознается и запоминается, чаще используется для характеристики семантической категории в целом (Лакофф 1988: 33). При этом признаки прототипа «могут быть не очень четкими, но это лишь открывает путь к поискам какого-то перехода к предмету или явлению, в котором этот признак выражен лучше» (Ковалева 2012: 11).

I.1. **Инструмент-орудие** есть артефакт, специально изготовленный и предназначенный для выполнения определенных функций, то есть участник ситуации, не являющийся частью Агенса, прототипически используемый Агенсом для воздействия на Пациенс и не расходуемый в ходе этого воздействия (*Он **молотком** прибивал гвозди. Она **ножницами** изрезала плакат. **Утюг** плохо гладит)* (Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013). При необходимости в качестве инструмента в ходе деятельности могут быть использованы и, например, природные объекты (*камень/булыжник*), которые не созданы для того, чтобы быть орудием (*Мальчик **камнем** (при помощи **камня**) разжигал костер)* (Падучева 2004).

У А. Мустайоки (2006) классификация семантических ролей имеет определенные отличия. В инвентарь семантических ролей Инструмент-орудие он добавляет прибор (*компьютер, компас, швейная машина, телефон*) и осуществляемые с их помощью услуги *(Мы часто разговариваем друг с другом **по телефону / через скайп);** транспорт (Мы съездили в Москву **на поезде/машине);** музыкальный инструмент (Я играю **на фортепьяно**)* (Мустайоки 2006).

I.2. **Инструменты, инкорпорированные в глаголе**, объединяют глаголы, образованные от имен существительных *(телеграфировать, пылесосить, утюжить, фильтровать, мотыжить)* и глаголы, выступающие мотивирующими для образования наименований инструментов, выполняющих соответствующую функцию *(расчесывать, прясть)*.

II. **Квазиинструмент – участник ситуации** является частью Агенса и прототипически используется Агенсом для воздействия на Пациенса, но не расходуется в ходе этого воздействия (Wierzbicka 1994, Падучева 2004, Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013). Данный разряд объективируется в четырех таксонах:

II.1. **Часть Агенса в фокусе внимания** включает примеры, в которых для выполнения действий Агенс использует часть тела (*Командир помахал бойцу **рукой**)*.

II.2. **Часть субъекта восприятия** объединяет тексты, содержащие описание ситуаций, в которых часть тела или метафорически отождествляемая с ней сущность используется Субъектом восприятия (Агенсом) для осуществления действий (*Я это ощущал **своей кожей**. Если **обоняние** меня не обманывает, это – лимбургер)*. При употреблении глаголов данной группы в исходном диатезе инкорпорированный Квазиинструмент остается «за кадром» (*Я **видел** это),* а его «экскорпорация» имеет место только в том случае, если для описания требуется дополнительный атрибут (*Я видел это **своими глазами**)* (Падучева 2004: 221).

II.3. **Часть субъекта ментального состояния** – это разряд Инструмента, содержащий наименования частей тела (или метафорически отождествляемых с ней сущностей), используемых Субъектом ментального состояния для осуществления ситуации. Здесь Инструмент служит своего рода контейнером для субъекта, обладающего набором ментальных качеств (*В моей **голове** роятся мысли о будущем)*.

А. Мустайоки рассматривает подразряды (II.1-II.3) в составе разряда Квазинстумент «Часть тела. Одежда» (Мустайоки 2006:63).

II. 4. **Часть субъекта психологического состояния** включает наименования части (-ей) тела (или метафорически отождествляемых с ними сущностей), используемых Субъектом психологического состояния для осуществления действия (*Надежда проснулась в моей **душе**. В моем **сердце** – только нежность)*.

III. Разряд **Рабочая часть** объединяет наименования частей тела человека или предмета, используемых для сохранения положения в пространстве. Данный разряд Инструмента используется при глаголах позиции, опоры и перемещения (*Он спал **на животе**. Дом стоял **на дубовых сваях**).*

IV. Разряд **Способ** содержит наименования спецификации действия, т.е. спектра приемов, используемых для осуществления действия. В такого рода случаях актант утрачивает признак предметности, превращаясь в способ действия. Последнее обеспечивается исключительно семантикой предиката, утрачивающего значение физического действия (*Она спала **в позе эмбриона**; **По-волчьи** выли)* (Кашкин, Ляшевкая 2013).

Способ может быть задан указанием инструментов или средств, которыми пользуется Агенс; например, для *«красить»* должны быть упомянуты два участника: кисть и краски (Падучева 2004). А. Мустайоки рассматривает данные конструкции как Инструмент-Качество (Мустайоки 2006: 65).

V. **Средство** трактуется как участник ситуации, прототипически используемый Агенсом для воздействия на Пациенс и расходуемый в ходе этого воздействия (*Мальчишки стреляли пластилиновыми **пульками**. Рыбу он готовит на **оливковом масле**)*. Под «средством» при этом понимается все то, что выполняет посредническую функцию в целенаправленной деятельности агентивного субъекта (Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013).

VI. Е. Падучева также предлагает описание **Инструментального действия**, объективируемого в ситуациях, когда для достижения цели Агенс создает некий интеллектуальный или информационный продукт, используемый им в качестве орудия. Как правило, это существительные, образованные от глаголов ментального воздействия: *объяснение, доказательство, подтверждение, обоснование, подсказка* и др. (*Его **объяснение** спасло ситуацию. Ее **подсказка** помогла меня*).

VII. В качестве отдельного разряда А. Мустайоки также описывает **Инструмент-вещество** (*краска, лак, вода, крем*), который, по его мнению, может быть инкорпорирован в глаголах (*красить, лакировать*). Очевидно, что данный разряд как непрототипический не обладает, в частности, свойством прототипического Инструмента *«не расходоваться»*, однако по присутствию в ситуации семантической роли Агенса, приводящего Объект в действие для достижения цели (Падучева 2004: 55), вполне может трактоваться как один из периферийных разрядов данной категории.

VIII. Средством выражения Инструмента является и **Квазиагенс**, который можно интерпретировать как Инструмент в конструкциях типах: *Лодку унесло **ветром**. Дом занесло **снегом*** (Мустайоки 2006)*. Е.В. Кашкин и О.Н. Ляшевская относят данные семантические роли к Эффектору, неодушевленному участнику ситуации, который может рассматриваться как активный источник энергии, вызывающий изменения – обычно при глаголах физического воздействия (***Ветром** сорвало крышу. **Молнией** ударило дерево*) (Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013).

3. Материл и методы

Корпус представленного исследования составили 36 текстов: два текста для чтения и 34 ретранслята общим объемом 2779 слов (см. Табл.№ 1)

Таблица 1. **Объем корпуса исследования**

Параметры	№ 1. Искусство и памятники культуры.	№ 2. От чего зависит судьба человека?	Итого
Количество слов в первичных текстах	207	203	410
Количество вторичных текстов	19	15	34
Количество слов во вторичных текстах	1523	1256	2779

Table 1. **Dataset size**

Parameters	No. 1. Art and cultural monuments.	No. 2. What does a person's fate depend on?	Total
Word counts in the primary texts	207	203	410
Secondary text counts	19	15	34
Word counts in the secondary texts	1523	1256	2779

В корпус исследования были включены пересказы только тех респондентов, которые на предварительном этапе исследования получили приблизительно одинаковые индексы общей осведомленности, тревожности, социальной желательности, темперамента и уровня владения русским языком (данный этап исследования описан в Andreeva et al. 2020: 18–31). От родителей (опекунов) всех респондентов (возраст респондентов – 11–12 лет) было получено письменное согласие на участие в исследовании и обработку данных. Каждому участнику было предложено прочитать и пересказать один отрывок текста из школьного учебника по обществознанию для 5 класса под редакцией Л.Н. Боголюбова, Л.Ф. Ивановой (2019). Выбор текстов из указанного учебника определяется двумя основными факторами: соответствием учебника лингвистическим и когнитивным способностям школьников, с одной стороны, а также сформированностью у школьников достаточных для понимания и воспроизведения текста навыков. Выбранный учебник по обществознание под редакцией Боголюбовой Л.Н. подготовлен в соответствии с требованиями ФГОС для основной школы, включен в Федеральный перечень учебников, рекомендованных к изучению в школе[2]. Он учитывает требования обязательной образовательной программы и до 2022 г. являлся составной частью линии учебников по обществознанию для основной школы, а в настоящее время – единственным учебником по Обществознанию, прошедшим психолого-педагогическую экспертизу и включенным в новый Федеральный перечень учебник. В соответствии с вышесказанным ожидается, что респонденты – школьники пятого класса имеют общее представление о референтах учебного текста, а также навыки пересказа имеющимися у них языковыми средствами. При этом от школьников не ожидается умение давать развернутое научное определение всем явлениям, объектам и действиям, описанным в тексте учебника (Куканова 2008).

На этапе экспериментальной части исследования 19 респондентов читали и пересказывали Текст № 1, Текст № 2 был прочтен и пересказан 15 респондентами. Каждый респондент работал с экспертом, осуществлявшим запись пересказа на аудионоситель. Время чтения не ограничивалось, но ни в одном случае не превысило 5 минут. Запись ответов респондентов выполнялась на диктофон, посредством программы AudioRecorder. В целом процедура эксперимента занимала не более 8–10 мин. Позднее все пересказы были транскрибированы в сохранены в текстовых файлах. Интонационная разметка в текстах транскриптов не осуществлялась. Кодирование транскриптов пересказов осуществлялось в соответствии с метатекстовыми характеристиками. Например, К275А13, где К – Казань, 27 – номер школы, 5А – класс и его литера, 13 – порядковый номер участника.

Отбор текстов для чтения из учебников осуществлялся по двум группам параметров: дескриптивным и семантическим. Тексты для чтения имели

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[2] Федеральный перечень учебников на 2018-2019 учебный год. https://4ege.ru/documents/56987-federalnyy-perechen-uchebnikov-na-2018-2019-uchebnyy-god.html

приблизительно одинаковый уровень сложности и соответствуют психофизиологическому и языковому развитию школьников пятого класса. Дескриптивные параметры оценки сложности текста рассчитывались при помощи текстового профайлера RuLinva (rulingva.kpfu.ru) и включали следующие: индекс читабельности Флеша-Кинкейда (Flesh Reading Grade Level)[3], индекс абстрактности (Abstractness score)[4], индекс лексического разнообразия (TTR)[5] (см. об индексах сложности Antje & Kürschner 2008, Солнышкина, Кисельников 2015, Ivanov et al. 2018, Solovyev et al. 2018, 2021, Солнышкина, Казачкова 2020, Казачкова, Галимова 2021, Kupriyanov et al. 2023). Средний объём текста составил около 205 слов. Анализ когнитивной сложности осуществлялся вручную двумя экспертами на основе количества и классификации пропозиций в каждом из текстов (см. табл. 2). Индекс согласованности экспертов составил 0.92, что рассматривается как весьма высокий для признания достоверности результатов оценок когнитивной сложности текстов.

Таблица 2. **Дескриптивные параметры первичных текстов**

№ текста	Кол-во слов	Кол-во пропозиций	Кол-во главных пропозиций	Индекс читабельности Флеша-Кинкейда	Индекс абстрактности	Лексическое разнообразие
Текст № 1 «Искусство и памятники культуры».	208	128	59	5,06	2,65	0,68
Текст № 2 «От чего зависит судьба человека?»	203	117	36	5,44	2,71	0,61

Table 2. **Descriptive parameters of reading texts**

Text №.	Word count	Proposition count	Superordinate proposition count	Flesch-Kincaid Readability Index	Abstractness Index	Lexical Diversity
Text №. 1 "Art and cultural monuments."	208	128	59	5,06	2,65	0,68
Text №. 2 "What does a person's fate depend on?"	203	117	36	5,44	2,71	0,61

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[3] Формула читабельности по Флешу-Кинкейду включает две переменные: 1) средняя длина предложения (в словах) и 2) среднее число слогов в слове: ФК = 0,36 × средняя длина предложения + 5,76 × среднее число слогов в слове −11,97) (Ivanov et al. 2018).

[4] Индекс абстрактности текстов рассчитывается на основе референтного списка (словаря) абстрактности, встроенного в RuLingva (см. Solovyev et al. 2021).

[5] TTR (Type Token Ratio) – индекс лексического разнообразия рассчитывается при помощи формулы Количество слов/количество словоформ.

В тексте № 1 «Искусство и памятники культуры» рассказывается о легенде, согласно которой мастер-плотник Нестор без единого гвоздя построил храм Преображения Господня на острове Кижи в Онежском озере. Автор текста восхищается не только трудовым подвигом мастера, но и его скромностью, потому что Нестор отказался написать свое имя на церкви. Автор призывает сохранять и ценить памятники культуры, а надписи на памятнике, по его мнению, следует рассматривать как надругательство. В тексте для чтения № 2 «От чего зависит судьба человека?» речь идет о значимости генетических факторов, наследственности, воспитания, культуры и образования в жизни человека. В качестве примера приводится история девочки Оли, которая, несмотря на свою слепоту и глухоту, благодаря огромной силе воли достигла больших успехов в жизни и стала известным ученым, писателем и поэтом.

В первичных текстах категория инструментальности выражена разрядами четырех типов: Инкорпорированный глагол (текст № 1), Часть субъекта восприятия (Текст № 2), Часть субъекта психологического действия (Текст № 2) и Инструментальное действие (Текст № 2).

Четыре объективации Инструмента в Тексте № 1 зафиксированы в трех предложениях и выражены исключительно инкорпорированными глаголами:

(1) **Расписаться (1⁶)** на памятнике истории или культуры, как и на окрашенной стене или живом дереве, — значит **расписаться (1)** в том, что ты некультурный, дикий человек и ничего не понимаешь в красоте.

(2) Но отказался **запечатлеть (2)** своё имя для истории: не **расписался (3)** на своём творении.

(3) Но отказался запечатлеть своё имя для истории: не **расписался (3)** на своём творении.

(4) Помни эту легенду каждый раз, когда где-нибудь увидишь **вырезанные, нацарапанные (4)** слова невежественных людей.

Текст № 2 содержит три манифестации различных разрядов Инструмента: Часть субъекта восприятия:

(5) Разработана специальная методика. Это методика, которая использует **осязание (5)**.

Часть субъекта психологического состояния:

(6) Благодаря огромной **силе воли (6)**, постоянным занятиям, упорному труду Ольга Ивановна Скороходова не только жила полноценной жизнью, но и стала известным учёным, писателем, поэтом.

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⁶ Цифра указывает номер примера Инструмента в тексте-оригинале для чтения и в дальнейшем будут использована для маркировки его соотнесенности с трансформацией в тексте-ретрансляте.

Инструментальное действие:

(7) *В этом тексте речь пойдёт о том, что судьба человека зависит не только от наследственности, но и от **воспитания,** культуры, **образования** (7).*

(8) *Многое зависит не только от наследственности, но и от воспитания, культуры, **образования** (8) человека.*

(9) *Благодаря огромной силе воли, постоянным **занятиям**, упорному **труду** (9) не только жила полноценной жизнью, но и стала известным учёным, писателем, поэтом.*

(10) *Как мы видим, наследственность, **воспитание, образование и упорный труд** (10) помогают человеку определить свой жизненный путь.*

Для сравнительного пропозиционального анализа текстов оригиналов и пересказов были отобраны 34 текста-ретранслята, успешно прошедшие холистический анализ на предмет соответствия текста пересказа тексту-оригиналу. Успешность понимания и передачи конкретных пропозициональных структур оценивалась на основе разработанных денотативных карт текстов-оригиналов путем сопоставления объема и количества пропозиций в сравниваемых текстах (см. подробно Petrova & Solnyshkina 2021).

5. Результаты исследования

На следующем этапе исследования группа экспертов осуществляла пропозициональный анализ текста оригинала и ретранслята с целью выявления способов передачи и трансформаций категории инструментальности. Ниже представлены сравнение и описание категории инструментальности только в тех текстах-ретранслятах, в которых воспроизведена или модифицирована семантика категории Инструмента[7].

(1) ***Расписаться** (1) на памятнике истории или культуры, как и на окрашенной стене или живом дереве, — значит **расписаться** (1) в том, что ты некультурный, дикий человек и ничего не понимаешь в красоте.*

16 респондентов из 19 пересказывавших данный текст сумели передать семантику инкорпорированного глагола *«расписаться»* (1) в данном предложении. При этом имело место либо изменение формы глагола, либо его замена на контекстуальные синонимы (К185А13: *«И помните, что нельзя **печатать** своего имени в чужих произведениях''*). В восьми пересказах наблюдается «экскорпорирование» инструмента, когда глагол покидает свою позицию «за кадром» и входит в перспективу, приобретая переменную роль и синтаксическую форму (К185А19: *«Так что когда вы видите, что кто-то **нацарапал гвоздем** свое имя…, то это были невежественные люди».*

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[7] Анализируемые объективации Инструмента представлены в последовательности их использования в текстах оригиналах для чтения.

К185А13: «*Если ты увидишь какую-то надпись…*»). В трех текстах-пересказах инкорпорированный глагол утрачен (К185А8 «*Если ты видишь изуродованный памятник, значит здесь был невоспитанный человек*»).

> (2)–(3)   *Но отказался **запечатлеть** (2) своё имя для истории: **не расписался** (3) на своём творении.*

В данном предложении оригинального Текста № 1 содержится два инкорпорированных глагола: *«запечатлеть» (2)* и *«расписаться» (3)*. 12 учащихся сохранили полную семантику инкорпорированного глагола *«запечатлеть» (2)*. В трех ретранслятах наблюдается диатетический сдвиг при передаче семантики *«запечатлеть» (2)* и его замена на контекстуальные синонимы: *«скрепить печатью», «утвердить», «сохранить в душе, воплотить»* (К185А14: *«Вспоминай эту историю, когда ты увидишь… на каком-то здании **будут подписи** людей»*). В данном случае имеет место замена низкочастотного глагола *«запечатлеть» (2*. на высокочастотную конструкцию *«будут подписи»*.

17 респондентам удалось передать семантику инкорпорированного глагола *«расписаться»* (3). Очевидно, что одной из причин является его высокочастотность и прозрачность внутренней формы. В двух пересказах наблюдается полная потеря обоих инкорпорированных глаголов (К185А15: *«Он ничего не сделал, что бы его помнили»*).

Кроме того, в ряде случаев наблюдается экспликация Инструмента и соответствующая смена семантического ранга: Агенс-деятель уходит «за кадр», а Инструмент «поднимается»[8] до ранга субъекта (К185А17: *Его **топор** не **оставил** следов на стене. Застучал **топор**… вот какая красота*). В такого рода случаях Инструмент реализуется в нетипичном для него именительном падеже, а диатетический сдвиг сопровождается значимым переносом фокуса внимания с Агенса (т. е. того, кто рубит или вырубает) на Инструмент, т.е. топор.

> (4)   *Помни эту легенду каждый раз, когда где-нибудь увидишь **вырезанные, нацарапанные** (4) слова невежественных людей.*

16 реципиентов воспроизвели инкорпорированные глагольные формы *«вырезанные, нацарапанные» (4)*. В ряде случаев наблюдалось свертывание информации и упущение слова одного из инкорпорированных глаголов (К185А15: «*И это значит, что, если вы вот, например, увидите где-нибудь **нацарапанное**…*». В двух ретранслятах выявлен диатетический сдвиг, при котором происходит смена актантов и валентности, например, утрату целеполагания и смену семантической роли Инструмента на Каузатор [9] (К185А05: «*Потому что он посмел **расписаться** на этой экспозиции. Там он*

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[8] Термин Е.В. Падучевой

[9] Каузатор – участник ситуации (прототипически одушевленным), порождающим какое-л. действие без намерения, обычно при глаголах физического воздействия или каузации перемещения.

оскорбил этого скульптора»). В трех пересказах наблюдается экскорпорирование глагола и «подъем» результата действия – «надпись» *(К185А04: так что когда вы видите **надпись**.., то это были невежественные люди).*

(5) *Разработана специальная методика. Это методика, которая использует **осязание** (5).*

В 13 ретранслятах зафиксирована либо утрата Инструмента (5) (К185G13: «*Ее научили жить нормально*»), либо перераспределение рангов участников. Типичным является подъем Инструмента до Агенса (К185G04: «***Осязание** помогло учителям научить Олю*»), либо добавления семантической категории Способ (К185G11: «*Её научили **с помощью осязания** жить хорошей, нормальной жизнью»).*

(6) *Благодаря **огромной силе воли** (6), постоянным занятиям, упорному труду не только жила полноценной жизнью, но и стала известным учёным, писателем, поэтом.*

Передача семантической категории Инструментальности в данном предложении вызвала у учащихся значительные трудности: только три респондента воспроизвели текст с сохранением разряда Инструмента (6) (К185G11: «*Но с помощью **большой силы** воли она преодолела все свои преграды»).* В остальных случаях имеет место либо полная потеря инструмента (К185G13: «*Так Ольга стала учёным и ничто ей не помешало»),* либо его замена на другие актанты, например, смену Квазиинструмента на семантическую роль Каузатор (К185G6: «***Из-за того**, что у Ольги Ивановны Скороходовой **была** хорошая **сила воли**, она стала хорошей…она стала писательницей»).*

(7) *В этом тексте речь пойдёт о том, что судьба человека зависит не только от наследственности, но и от **воспитания,** культуры, образования (7).*

Из 15 пересказов текста № 2 «От чего зависит судьба человека?» только восьми респондентам удалось качественно воспроизвести данный разряд Инструмента (7). Типичным является привнесение другого разряда Инструмента либо замена типа актанта. Например, в предложении ретранслята К185G11 «*Это зависит… кто их **воспитал**, где они жили, в какой **культуре**»* наблюдаем подъем Инструмента до Агенса («*кто их воспитал»*) и появление сирконстанты Место[10] («*в какой культуре*). В двух пересказах наблюдаем замену Инструментального действия на Способ (К185G08: «*В этом тексте речь пойдёт о том, что человек не только биологически, но и по культуре и **воспитанию** отличается»).* В пересказе К185G15: «***Вором** можно стать только из-за **образования**, из-за того, что ты неправильно воспитан, неправильно образован или из-за того, что плохо учился…»* инструментальные действия

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[10] Место: участок пространства, где локализуется ситуация — как правило, описываемая глаголами позиции или перемещения (Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013).

«воспитание» и «образование» переходят в статус воздействующих факторов, в результате чего наблюдается утрата инструментальности и замена ее на Каузатор.

(8) *Многое зависит не только от наследственности, но и от **воспитания,** культуры, **образования** (8) человека.*

Инструментальное действие (8) сохранено только в восьми текстах-ретранслятах. В пяти пересказах происходит замена отглагольного существительного на глагол (К185G12 «*Это зависит, **как их воспитали**, где они жили, в какой культуре*»). При этом Инструментальное действие приобретает свойства сиркостанта Место. В двух пересказах наблюдалось появление Каузатора (К185G03: *«**Из-за воспитания** тоже зависит, кем станет человек».* К1655К22: «***Из-за того, какое** у тебя было **воспитание**, может зависеть, кем станет человек в будущем»).*

В ряде пересказов происходила семантическая трансформация высказывания за счет добавочных семантических компонентов (К5G13: *«Многие зависят не только от наследственности, но и от культуры **поведения и образования»**).*

(9) *Благодаря огромной силе воли, постоянным **занятиям**, упорному **труду** (9) не только жила полноценной жизнью, но и стала известным учёным, писателем, поэтом.*

Передача семантической категории Инструментальности в данном предложении сопровождалась значительными трудностями. Только пятерым респондентам удалось воспроизвести данное предложение с сохранением Инструментального действия (9). В остальных случаях происходила либо полная потеря Инструментального действия (К185G03: *«Так Ольга стала учёным и ничто ей не помешало»)*, либо его замена на другие актанты. Например, в предложении К185G05: «***Она** со своим учителем усердно **трудилась**, и в итоге **Ольга Ивановна Скороходова** стала жить полноценной жизнью …стала поэтому ученым и писателем»* наблюдаем замену существительного на глагол: труду → трудилась.

(10) *Как мы видим, наследственность, **воспитание, образование и упорный труд** (10) помогают человеку определить свой жизненный путь.*

Пять респондентов воспроизвели данное предложение с сохранением Инструментального действия. Двое заменили Инструментальное действие на Каузатор (К185G13: *«Вывод прост, то, что не только наследственность влияет на поведение человека в его взрослой жизни, но также культура, **образование** и его **воспитание»**)* и Тему[11] (К185G03. *«Как мы видим, то, что **наследственность** имеет значение, но **воспитание** тоже важно»).*

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[11] Тема – пассивный участник ситуации, который никак не меняется в ходе ее развития – как правило, используется при бытийных глаголах (см. Кашкин, Ляшевская 2013).

Таким образом, сравнение текстов для чтения и пересказов продемонстрировало, что в преимущественном большинстве ретранслятов с адекватным отображением денотативной карты текста-оригинала реципиенты логически верно осуществляют референцию и воспроизведение Инструмента, т.е. правильно соотносят Инструмент реального мира и его объективацию. Выделенные выше семантические роли Инструмента, выраженного инкорпорированными глаголами, крайне редко утрачиваются или заменяются в тексте-ретрансляте. Типичным для пересказов является «экскорпорирование» инструментального действия, выход глагола «из-за кадра» и экспликация самого инструмента. В прототипических конструкциях с Инструментом облигаторно эксплицированными являются валентности Агенса и Объекта. Целеполагание является главным условием прототипической формы инструментальности, именно в присутствии семантической характеристики целеполагания в полной мере выполняется условие категоризации актанта как Инструмента.

5. Дискуссия

В представленном исследовании мы сосредоточили свои усилия исключительно на вопросах декодирования при чтении и модификации (кодирования) в пересказах лексико-грамматических конструкций, манифестирующих семантическую роль Инструмента, т.е., перифразируя А.И. Новикова, нас интересует преимущественно субстанциональный, не процессуальный план пересказа (Новиков 2001). При этом следует отдельно указать, что полученные в ходе исследования материалы вполне достаточны, чтобы изучать (и в этот состоит перспектива исследования), воспроизведенную часть смыслов каждого из текстов в онтологическом плане, а также механизмы осмысления и смыслообразования. Такого рода задачи предполагает многоаспектный анализ всех полученных в ходе эксперимента данных, обращение к описанию сущности когнитивных механизмов, лежащих в основе смыслового восприятия текса.

Сравнение текстов для чтения и пересказов продемонстрировало общую для такого рода ситуаций и описанную в ряде отечественных и зарубежных работ закономерность: воспроизведенные в пересказах модификации семантической роли Инструмент в самом общем плане могут быть отнесены к одной из двух категорий вербальной фиксации: «извлечение» или «приписывание (Новиков 2007). К «извлечению», сопровождающемуся максимальным использованием содержащихся в первичном тексте лексических средств, или «эндолексике», читатель прибегает в случае ограниченности пресуппозиции. Стремясь максимально близко воспроизвести первичный текст, читатель не выходит на уровень смыслопорождения, не обращается к концептам-гиперонимам, но воспроизводит содержание текста (Пешкова 2002, Новиков 2007).

«Приписывание» имеет место в тех случаях, когда информация первичного текста воспроизводится при помощи языковых средств, не содержащихся в нем, т.е. при помощи «экзолексики», как правило, имеющей более

общие смыслы. В этом случае имеет место обращение к концептам, ранее известным читателям и не только декодирование графических образов, но также использование «дополнительных знаний, установление связей между фрагментами извлеченной из текста информации и в ряде случаев – привлечение компонентов оценочного, эмоционального характера» (Пешкова 2002). Тенденция респондентов к использованию стратегии «приписывания» и «экзолексики» при воспроизведении Квазиинструмента–Части субъекта психологического состояния и Части субъекта восприятия позволяет предположить, что именно эти категории обладают меньшей для респондентов трудностью, поскольку пересказы соответствующих фрагментов первичных текстов содержат наибольшее количество модификаций субстанционального характера. Выявлены как замены манифестаций данных разрядов инструмента на инструменты других разрядов, так и значительное перераспределение семантических ролей, включающих замену Инструмента на Каузатор, Тему и сиркостанту Места.

5. Заключение

Проведенный анализ способов объективации категории инструментальности в текстах-ретранслятах позволяет заключить, что респонденты не испытывают трудности понимания и воспроизведения семантики Инструментального действия. Характерными модификациями являются диатетический сдвиг, экскорпорирование глагола, замена Инструмента Каузатором или сирконстантой Места. При воспроизведении инкорпорированных глаголов носители языка используют преимущественно эндолексику, а предложения, вербализующие данный разряд инструментальности, были воспроизведены в большей части пересказов в полном объеме и последовательности, соответствующей оригинальному тексту. Кроме того, высокой частотностью воспроизведения обладают случаи экскорпорирования инструмента или результата действия, выраженного глаголом, а также замена семантической роли Инструмента семантической ролью Каузатора.

При передаче семантической категории Квазиинструмент–Часть субъекта психологического состояния и Часть субъекта восприятия респонденты использовали широкий диапазон замен как на уровне логико-грамматических, так и логико-семантических структур: модификации инструментов данных разрядов включают замены на Инструменты других разрядов и перераспределение семантических ролей. Наиболее типичными следует признать замену актанта Инструмент на Каузатор, Тему и сиркостанту Места.

Результаты исследования способствуют дальнейшему изучению категории инструментальности и выявлению специфики порождения вторичных текстов. Полученные результаты могут найти практическое применение при решении проблем, связанных с рецептивной и продуктивной речевой деятельностью языковой личности, а также при автоматизации пропозиционального анализа русскоязычных текстов.

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Research article / Научная статья

Verb database: Structure, clusters and options

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Abstract
The content and volume of language corpora provide an opportunity to obtain reliable information about the real use of a particular linguistic unit. Nowadays, there is a large number of corpora in different languages, their formation technologies are being improved. Nevertheless, some problems and limitations arise when using these resources in comparative studies. Corpora users need to work with annotated data submitted to tagging through annotation protocols. The article presents the structure and functionality of the supracorpora verb database (SVD)[1] developed on the basis of a parallel Russian-French subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) and reveals the difference in their potentials. The described database is a pilot version of the final software, which is currently under development and is being tested. It consists of several clusters focused on solving such linguistic tasks as studying the grammatical semantics specifics and the distribution of verb forms in Russian and French; identifying the polysemantic structure in the two languages, which in turn verifies the understanding of the linguistic worldview of the speakers of Russian and French. It has been found that the mechanism of functioning of SVD cluster formations allows us to study both individual characteristics of verbs and the semantics of verbal lexemes and collocations. The manual annotation enables users to identify the systematic asymmetry of verb forms and cases of contextual and low-frequency asymmetry. Thus, SVD can be used in language pedagogy, teaching and studying discursive grammar, as well as the analysis of translation models variability.
Key words: *supracorpora verb database, clusters, manual annotation, comparative analysis, translation variant*

[1] Supracorpora verb database, a system for annotating verb forms by clusters, was created by a team of Russian programmers, linguists, and translators in the laboratory of Federal Research Center "Computer Science and Control" of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2013.

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Аннотация
Содержание и объем лингвистических корпусов различного типа позволяет получать достоверную информацию о реальном функционировании той или иной языковой единицы. В настоящее время существует большое количество корпусов на различных языках, технологии их формирования постоянно совершенствуются. Однако при использовании данных ресурсов в сопоставительных исследованиях возникают некоторые проблемы и ограничения. В этой связи наблюдается необходимость работать с материалом, который был обработан с применением протоколов аннотирования и методов синтаксического анализа. Цель статьи – представить структуру и функционал надкорпусной глагольной базы данных (НГБД)[2], разработанной на основе параллельного русско-французского подкорпуса Национального корпуса русского языка (НКРЯ), а также показать разницу их потенциалов. Описываемая база данных представляет собой систему ручного аннотирования глагольных форм в соответствии с кластерами и является пилотной версией конечного программного обеспечения, которое в настоящее время находится в разработке и проходит апробацию. НГБД состоит из нескольких кластеров, ориентированных на решение ряда лингвистических задач: определить специфику контекстной грамматической семантики и распределения глагольных форм в русском и французском языках; выявить структуру полисеманта в двух языках, что в свою очередь позволяет верифицировать представления о языковых картинах мира носителей рассматриваемых языков. Результаты исследования показали, что механизм функционирования кластерных образований описываемого ресурса позволяет изучать как отдельные характеристики глаголов, так и семантику глагольных лексем и коллокаций. Проводимое ручное аннотирование предусматривает возможность выявить системную асимметрию глагольных форм, а также случаи контекстуальной и малочастотной асимметрии. Таким образом, НГБД может быть использована в лингводидактике, преподавании и изучении дискурсивной грамматики, а также в анализе вариативности моделей перевода.
Ключевые слова: *надкорпусная глагольная база данных, кластеры, ручное аннотирование, сопоставительный анализ, вариант перевода*

1. Введение

Актуальность корпусных исследований подтверждается растущим интересом отечественных и зарубежных ученых к методам обработки устной и письменной речи, использованию полученных данных в создании продуктов,

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[2] НГБД была создана коллективом российских программистов, лингвистов и переводчиков в 2013 году в лаборатории Федерального исследовательского центра «Информатика и управление» Российской академии наук.

связанных с искусственным интеллектом, в исследованиях одного или нескольких языков, в обучении родному и иностранному языку.

С каждым годом современные лингвистические исследования все теснее переплетаются с компьютерными технологиями. Некоторые направления кажутся наиболее очевидными. Во-первых, это сближение с компьютерной лингвистикой, методы которой позволяют повышать точность расчетов лингвистического анализа благодаря способности искусственных нейронных сетей к обучению и возможности не только автоматизировать проводимый анализ, но и решать задачи отбора, модификации и сопоставления текстов различных типов и жанров (Solovyev, Solnyshkina & McNamara 2022, Sharoff 2022).

Во-вторых, это «широкое распространение корпусной лингвистики – как материала и как метода – на всю сферу гуманитраных исследований, в истории, социологии, литературоведении и т.д.» (Николаев 2017: 151). Современное корпусное исследование – это больше, чем просто методика анализа. Исследователи, работающие в данном дисциплинарном поле, не только используют корпусные методы или данные в своей работе, они разрабатывают и аннотируют различные корпусные ресурсы (Плунгян, Рахилина, Резникова 2022).

Выводы о функционировании той или иной языковой единицы, какого объема она бы ни была, – от отдельной лексемы до сверхфразового единства, особенно если речь идет о ее контекстуальной семантике или частотности употребления, – невозможны без опоры на большие массивы релевантных данных. Такой материал предоставляется, например, различными корпусами:

- моноязычными (Генеральный интернет корпус русского языка; корпус французского языка Frantext, постоянно дополняемый и насчитывающий 268 миллионов словоформ и др.);
- параллельными двуязычными (параллельные корпусы НКРЯ, представляющие наиболее крупную коллекцию параллельных текстов в русскоязычном сегменте корпусной лингвистики и др.);
- многоязычными (корпус Организации Объединенных Наций, где представлены документы ООН на шести языках: арабском, китайском, испанском, русском, английском и французском; Opus Parallel corpus, включающий тексты на более 100 языках; корпус DraCor, включающей тексты пьес в основном на европейских языках; параллельный корпус переводов «Слово о полку Игореве»; корпусный менеджер Sketch Engine и др.).

Надкорпусные базы данных строятся на материале корпуса, из которого автоматически извлекаются искомые языковые единицы, аннотируемые экспертами вручную сообразно с набором характеристик (признаков), необходимых для последующего поиска и обработки данных.

Описываемая надкорпусная глагольная база данных строится на материале текстов параллельного русско-французского корпуса Национального

корпуса русского языка (НКРЯ[3]) и представляет собой систему ручного аннотирования глагольных форм в соответствии с кластерами. НГБД была создана в 2013 году в лаборатории Федерального исследовательского центра «Информатика и управление» Российской академии наук (ФИЦ ИУ РАН) коллективом российских программистов, лингвистов и переводчиков. Это пилотная версия конечного программного обеспечения, которое в настоящее время находится в разработке и проходит экспертизу. Демоверсия размещена на сайте ФИЦ ИУ РАН[4].

В процессе разработки также находится специальный интерфейс программы, предназначенный для работы студентов и преподавателей, однако его описание не входит в задачи данной статьи. Цель настоящей статьи – представить структуру и механизмы функционирования надкорпусной базы данных глагольных форм, созданной на основе параллельного русско-французского подкорпуса Национального корпуса русского языка и показать разницу их потенциалов.

Описываемая НГБД состоит из нескольких кластеров, ориентированных на решение следующих лингвистических задач:

- во-первых, изучение специфики контекстной грамматической семантики;
- во-вторых, распределение глагольных форм в русском и французском языках;
- в-третьих, выявление структуры полисеманта в языковой паре русский–французский, что в свою очередь позволяет верифицировать представления о языковой картине мира носителей рассматриваемых языков.

Функционал НГБД также позволяет решать широкий спектр практических задач современного переводоведения, в частности проводить контрастивный анализ особенностей передачи текстов художественной литературы и эссеистики с ИЯ на ПЯ, выполняемой профессиональными переводчиками.

Одна из задач исследования заключается в том, чтобы продемонстрировать некоторые опциональные отличия разработанной НГБД от параллельного русско-французского корпуса НКРЯ. Функционал описываемого ресурса позволяет его пользователям изучать как отдельные характеристики глагола (время, наклонение, аспектуальность, соотношение финитных и нефинитных форм), так и семантику глагольных лексем и коллокаций. Особый интерес также представляют возможности НГБД в плане работы с языковыми единицами, определяемыми как лингвоспецифичные. Например, русский глагол *собираться* и глаголы физического состояния *стоять, лежать* и др. выражены во французском языке широким спектром вариантов. Однако благодаря ручному методу обработки глагольных форм учитываются

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[3] https://ruscorpora.ru/search?search=CiUqFwoICAAQChgyIAogADIFZ3JzdGRABXgBMgcIB
RIDZnJhOgEBMAE%3D

[4] a179.frccsc.ru/PublicLingvoProjects/main.aspx

не только формальные характеристики глагола, но и ситуация высказывания (диалогическая реплика, отрицание, вопрос, восклицание). Соответственно, пользователи могут анализировать не только глагольные лексемы, но и их функционирование в предложении. Кроме того, разработанная глагольная база основана на текстах, взятых из французской и русской художественной литературы и эссеистики. Данный материал позволяет выявить системную асимметрию глагольных форм, описанную в теоретических исследованиях и практических пособиях, а также случаи контекстуальной и малочастотной асимметрии.

Таким образом, надкорпусная глагольная база данных может быть использована в лингводидактике, преподавании и изучении дискурсивной грамматики, анализе вариативности моделей перевода. По результатам представления параметров и опций НГБД в дальнейшем можно продолжить и углубить подобные исследования в области корпусной и сопоставительной лингвистики.

2. Теоретические основы исследования

Интерес к созданию корпусов и корпусным исследованиям возникает в 60-е годы XX столетия. Именно в этот период в Брауновском университете (США) создается первый лингвистический корпус английского языка – Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English, также известный как Брауновский корпус. Одним из наиболее масштабных европейских корпусных проектов является Уппсальский корпус русского языка, разработанный учеными Уппсальского университета (Швеция).

Первые корпуса состояли не из целых текстов, а из отрывков. В этом, на наш взгляд, заключается определенная необъективность текстового материала, потому что по субъективно выбранному отрывку сложно адекватно судить о контекстной семантике языковой единицы. С появлением устных и мультимедийных корпусов определение должно быть расширено и дополнено. На данный момент, учитывая информационное разнообразие видов материала, корпусом может считаться сбалансированная представительная (отличающаяся разнообразием жанров и хронологии) постоянно пополняемая коллекция размеченных (аннотированных) письменных, устных, видеодокументов, с возможностями поиска материала в зависимости от цели исследования.

Современные определения понятия «лингвистический корпус» отражают его основные свойства. Так, С.А. Шаров отмечает, что корпус – это не просто «коллекция текстов, собранная в соответствии с явно сформулированными принципами и возможно размеченная (annotated) на некотором уровне лингвистического анализа», а «*представительная* коллекция» (…), которая может адекватно представлять потенциально бесконечное множество текстов некоторого фиксированного типа в некотором диахроническом срезе» (Шаров 2003). Согласно В.П. Захарову и С.Ю. Богдановой корпус или

лингвистический корпус – это собрание текстов, представленное в электронном (машиночитаемом) формате, унифицированное, структурированное, размеченное и предназначенное для решения лингвистических задач (Захаров, Богданова 2020).

Однако на современном этапе развития корпусной лингвистики становится очевидным, что традиционные корпусные технологии (лингвистические корпуса и корпусные менеджеры: AntConc, Sketch Engine и др.) не способны обработать весь объем языковых данных и учесть все контекстуальные значения языковых единиц, а также их диахронические семантические трансформации. На ограниченность функционала современных корпусных технологий указывает и Ф. Растье, подчеркивая размытость языковой нормы как таковой, ее зависимость от типа и жанра дискурса (Rastier 2004). Аналогичная проблема касается продуктов, созданных на основе корпусов: компьютерных словарей, тезаурусов и др. В связи с этим внимание лингвистов сосредоточивается на сопоставлении словарных и корпусных данных (Чуйкова 2023). Возникает необходимость верификации грамматических норм в письменном дискурсе и типологизации узуса на корпусных данных (Кустова 2021, Letuchii 2018). Решение обозначенной проблемы видится в разработке надкорпусных баз данных, аннотированных вручную. Отметим, что корпусная лингвистика становится базовым инструментом для большинства исследователей именно благодаря появлению баз данных. Аннотирование текстовых корпусов приобретает все большую значимость, так как для повышения точности проводимых исследований пользователям необходим не только «сырой», но и аннотированный материал, т.е. размеченный с применением протоколов аннотирования и методов синтаксического анализа (Pons Bordería & Pascual 2021).

В отличие от корпусов надкорпусные базы данных позволяют хранить аннотированные данные. Иными словами, надкорпусная база данных – это определенным образом выстроенная коллекция структурированных данных. Кроме того, надкорпусные базы данных способны учесть фразеологические особенности языковых единиц, которые сложнее всего поддаются автоматической обработке. Целесообразно отметить, что до сих пор ведутся корпусные исследования в этой области, разрабатываются подходы и методология (Novakova & Siepmann 2020, Баранов, Добровольский 2021).

3. Материал и методология исследования

Надкорпусная база данных глагольных форм построена на параллельном русско-французском корпусе НКРЯ. Это открытый, постоянно пополняемый ресурс русских/французских полных оригинальных текстов, переведенных соответственно на французский/русский язык профессиональными переводчиками и опубликованные в известных издательствах. Для каждого текста указываются фамилии автора и переводчика, дата публикации оригинала и

перевода, сфера функционирования (учебно-научная, официально-деловая, художественная). При подборке текстов учитываются следующие критерии.

Во-первых, за редким исключением, отбираются переводы, сделанные во второй половине XX в., либо в начале XXI в., отражающие современные подходы к переводу и тенденции переводоведения. Во-вторых, чтобы отвечать критерию представительности, корпус должен быть сбалансирован. В описываемой надкорпусной глагольной базе данных данный критерий соблюдается. НГБД включает 61 текст (32 – на французском языке и 29 – на русском), общее количество слов – 7 123 534. Это сравнительно небольшой объем, особенно в сравнении с русско-английским параллельным корпусом в НКРЯ, в котором общее количество текстов –1189 текстов, слов – 44 477 958 (данные на 16.07.2023). Однако в процессе пополнения параллельного русско-французского корпуса в обязательном порядке учитывается жанровое разнообразие. Так, помимо беллетристики в состав корпуса входят русские и французские эссе по гуманитарным наукам: литературоведению (Gérard *Genette Figures I, II, III, Михаил Бахтин. «Вопросы литературы и эстетики»,* истории *Marie Pierre Rey 'L'Effroyable tragédie: Une nouvelle histoire de la campagne de Russie')*; культурологии (*Michel Pastoureau 'Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur');* антропологии (*Claude Lévi-Strauss 'L'Anthropologie face aux problèmes du monde moderne');* философии (*Николай Бердяев «О самоубийстве»).*

Художественные тексты на русском и французском языках включают в себя романы (детективы, автобиографии), рассказы, пьесы. Наличие в корпусе разных жанров – один из основных принципов его сбалансированности. Некоторые произведения приведены в нескольких переводах (Гоголь «Шинель» – 4 перевода, «Нос» – 4 перевода, Гончаров «Обломов» – 2 перевода, Толстой «Смерть Ивана Ильича» – 2 перевода, Jean Cocteau. «Difficulté d'être» – 2 перевода). Отметим, что при изучении языковых явлений и контекстного функционирования языковых единиц сравнение различных вариантов перевода (поливариантность) существенно обогащает исследование.

Для работы в параллельном корпусе или в базе данных оригинальный текст и его перевод предварительно выравниваются с целью совпадения смысловых и формальных блоков высказывания. Выравнивание выполняется с помощью компьютерных программ и обязательной последующей ручной редактурой, поскольку при переводе границы предложений и грамматических конструкций (клауз) могут не совпадать. Также необходимо учитывать, что при публикации перевода редко указываются выходные данные версии оригинала. Поскольку оригинальных изданий может быть несколько, параллельные тексты могут не совпадать.

Русские и французские тексты попадают в надкорпусную базу данных после автоматической морфологической разметки, выполненной анализатором MyStem компании Яндекс. При работе с глагольными формами особую сложность представляет собой неснятая омонимия некоторых лексем (*души,*

постели – повелительное наклонение 2 лица единственного числа), но уже начаты разработки по системному снятию омонимии в корпусе (Кустова и др. 2005).

Все тексты, входящие в основной корпус НКРЯ, содержат метатекстовую разметку (название текста, дата его создания, имя и год рождения автора, место и дата публикации, сфера функционирования, жанр и тип текста, хронотоп художественных произведений, мемуаров, целевая аудитория и др.) и лингвистическую разметку (морфологическую, словообразовательную, синтаксическую и семантическую). Морфологическая разметка в НКРЯ выполняется автоматически или вручную. Морфологическая разметка для параллельного русско-французского корпуса осуществляется с помощью специальных программ автоматического морфологического анализа и лемматизации. В НКРЯ возможно отобрать подкорпус по всем этим параметрам.

Рис. 1. Образец поискового запроса надкорпусной глагольной базы данных /
Figure 1. Query by example in Supracorpora Verb Database
Направление перевода: русско-французский

Одно из первых описаний целей и задач, а также определение основных терминов: лексико-грамматическая форма (ЛГФ), моноэквиваленция (МЭ), полиэквиваленция (ПЭ) – были сформулированы в научных статьях, посвященных разработке этого ресурса. Лексико-грамматическая форма перевода, соответствующая некоторой ЛГФ оригинала, называется ее функционально эквивалентным фрагментом (сокращенно ФЭФ). Переводное соответствие, представляющее собой упорядоченную пару ЛГФ, ФЭФ, называется моноэквиваленцией (сокращенно МЭ) (Loiseau et al. 2013, Бунтман и др. 2014, Kruzhkov et al. 2014, Зализняк и др. 2015, 2016). Определение моноэквиваленции, а также подробное описание ее построения и аннотирования дается в статье А.А. Зализняк и М.Г. Кружкова на примере базы данных безличных глагольных конструкций (Зализняк, Кружков 2016). «Моноэквиваленции автоматически объединяются в полиэквиваленции в тех случаях,

когда в БД имеется несколько переводов одного и того же исходного текста; ценность полиэквиваленции как инструмента анализа состоит в том, что она показывает варианты перевода языковой единицы в одном и том же контексте» (Зализняк, Шмелев 2021:209).

В данной статье будет дано сравнение структуры тех кластеров НКРЯ и НГБД, которые непосредственно относятся к характеристикам глагола (данные по состоянию на 16.08.2023) Кроме того, будет подробно описана обоснованность создания кластеров и рубрик НГБД для поиска определенных языковых явлений на материале глаголов и глагольных конструкций.

4. Сравнение структуры параллельного французского корпуса НКРЯ и НГБД

Если необходимо найти точную глагольную форму, то в НКРЯ поиск точных форм и лексико-грамматический поиск возможны только в одном языке. Ниже на рис. 2 приведены результаты поискового запроса неопределенной формы глагола *собираться* во французском корпусе НКРЯ.

Left context	Center	Pun	Right context
должен был совет министров, которому предстояло	собираться		под председательством архиканцлера раз в неделю
прижал ночные кабаки, что тусовщикам осталось	собираться		только в барах, где танцы запрещены.
Мы любили	собираться		у меня всей компанией, и все
не производить шума, слушатели потихоньку стали	собираться	,	в храме началась тихая возня.
справки, посоветовалась с Буре и начала	собираться		в дорогу так, как если бы
Вечером стали	собираться		домой, но лошадей перекормили овсом, и
того, что она слишком рано начинает	собираться	.	

**Рис. 2. Результат поиска инфинитива глагола *собираться* во французском корпусе НКРЯ /
Figure 2. The result of the search for the infinitive of the verb *to gather* in the French corpus of the NCRL**

Если в параллельном французском корпусе НКРЯ нужно найти варианты перевода в тексте оригинала, то пользователю предложена фраза в русском переводе с выделенной искомой лексико-грамматической формой и соответствующая фраза на французском языке. Переводной эквивалент не выделен. Отметим, что только в направлении французский → русский поисковый запрос в корпусе по лемме *собираться* выдает 325 примеров употребления этой лексемы со стимулом во французском и его переводе на русский язык. В этой связи А.А. Зализняк подчеркивает особое значение русского глагола *собираться* и выдвигает гипотезу о его «лингвоспецифичности», то есть сложности его перевода, и следовательно, вариативности функционально эквивалентных фрагментов. С помощью примеров из НКРЯ эта гипотеза не только подтверждается, но и обнаруживаются контекстуальные значения лексем, не зафиксированные в словарях (Зализняк 2006).

При работе с корпусом одновременно на двух языках имеет смысл поиск вариантов перевода той или иной морфосинтаксической категории либо

лингвоспецифической единицы. Поскольку предмет нашего исследования – глагольные формы и конструкции, рассмотрим кластеры и опции поиска в параллельном русско-французском корпусе НКРЯ и сравним их с теми же категориями в НГБД.

Таблица 1. **Контекст глагола *собираться* в оригинале и переводе во французском корпусе НКРЯ /**
Table 1. **The context of the verb *to gather* (*s'agglutiner*) in the original and translation
in the French corpus NCRL**

Full context	Para context 1	Lang 1
Эта мода залетела к нам из Нью-Йорка: тамошний мэр так прижал ночные кабаки, что тусовщикам осталось **собираться** только в барах, где танцы запрещены.	La mode vient de New York : là-bas, le maire a tellement restreint les autorisations de boîtes de nuit que tous les fêtards s'**agglutinent** dans des bars où il est interdit de danser.	**fra**

В НКРЯ лексико-грамматический поиск глагольных форм в направлении русский-французский эффективнее, поскольку механизм лемматизации и разметки более проработан. В направлении французский → русский возникают сложности, в основном связанные с несня́той омонимией, неточной и недостаточной лемматизацией. Так, при запросе кластера «время» обнаруживаются существительные *épaule, porte(s), monde, adresse, rue* . Также по тем же причинам фактически невозможен поиск конкретных времён. В кластере «время» есть лишь настоящее, будущее (без уточнения, какое именно), прошедшее (только *passé simple*) время с учётом наклонений.

Теперь обратимся к структуре надкорпусной базы данных глагольных форм. Прежде всего, надкорпусная база данных отличается от корпуса тем, что, помимо полученной автоматической лемматизации и разметки текста, происходит «ручное» аннотирование выровненной пары предложений и последующая лингвистическая экспертиза.

В современной версии НКРЯ представлена возможность просмотра и сопоставления нескольких переводческих версий одного и того же фрагмента оригинала. Так, если обратиться к четырём переводам повести Н.В. Гоголя «Нос», при рассмотрении нескольких переводов русского глагола состояния *лежать*, наблюдается вариативность глагольных форм во французском:

русский:
Чтобы я позволила у себя в комнате лежать отрезанному носу?
французский 1:
Que je permette qu'on laisse dans ma chambre un nez coupé ?
французский 2:
Que je permette, moi, de laisser traîner dans ma chambre un nez coupé !
французский 3:
Crois-tu, par hasard, que je vais garder ici un nez coupé ?
французский 4:
*Que je permette à un nez coupé **de rester** dans ma chambre ?*

В надкорпусных базах данных (на данный момент в ФИЦ РАН существуют и разрабатываются следующие ресурсы: БД глагольных форм, БД коннекторов, БД лингвоспецифичных единиц, БД безличных глагольных форм, БД анафоры, БД немецких модальных глаголов) предусмотрена возможность запроса полиэквиваленции, то есть различных вариантов словоформы оригинала. Ниже в табл. 2 мы видим, что русский глагол НСВ переводится на французский язык двумя различными способами, причем в одном из случаев – глаголом совершенного вида.

Таблица 2. **Результат запроса глаголов несовершенного вида в полиэквиваленциях /**
Table 2. **Query result for imperfective verbs in polyequivalences**

Контекст ЛГФ в оригинале	ЛГФ в оригинале и ее признаки	ЛГФ в переводе	
		Контекст ЛГФ в переводе	ЛГФ в переводе и ее признаки
Между титулярным советником и коллежским асессором **разверзалась** бездна,	Past-IPF	Un abîme **s'ouvrit** entre le conseiller honoraire et le conseiller de collège,	PasSim
		entre le conseiller titulaire et l'assesseur de collège, un abîme s'ouvrait,	Imparf

Основное отличие НГБД от НКРЯ заключается в том, что при аннотировании МЭ выделяются переводные соответствия, по которым впоследствии можно осуществлять поиск. В табл. 3 в одной версии глагол *лежать* заменяется глаголом *se vautrer (валяться)* со сменой стилистического регистра, во второй – глаголом *dormir (спать)* со сменой значения, поскольку в данном контексте важно, что главный персонаж романа – Обломов лежит целыми днями и не только во время сна.

Таблица 3. **Пример полиэквиваленции с выделенными функционально эквивалентными фрагментами (ФЭФ) /**
Table 3. **An example of polyequivalence with isolated functionally equivalent fragments**

что Обломов [...] только лежит да кушает	Oblomov ne faisait que se vautrer et s'empiffrer
	tous croyaient qu'il ne faisait que manger et dormir tout son soûl,

5. Кластеры и рубрики надкорпусной базы данных глагольных форм

Как ранее было уже указано, структура описываемой в статье НГБД состоит из нескольких кластеров и рубрик, ориентированных на исследование специфики контекстной грамматической семантики, распределение глагольных форм в русском и французском языках, а также на развитие теории соответствий и переводческих трансформаций.

Рассмотрим более подробно алгоритм кластеризации и рубрикации данных, используемый специалистами ФИЦ ИУ РАН. В кластер «особенности

МЭ» вошли общие характеристики МЭ, которые не относятся ни к базовому виду ЛГФ (в нашем случае форме конкретного глагола) русского или французского языка, ни к дополнительным признакам определенной ЛГФ, которые будут рассмотрены позже). Особенности МЭ затрагивают сложные переводческие лексико-синтаксические трансформации. Помета Nota bene! присваивается МЭ с неочевидным контекстуальным вариантом перевода глагольной формы, найденным в тексте.

Таблица 4. **Кластер «особенности моноэквиваленции» /**
Table 4. **Cluster "peculiarities of monoequivalence"**

Nota bene!	NB
Смена подлежащего	SubjCh
Paraphr	paraphrase
требуется экспертная оценка	Exp

Таблица 5. **Пример моноэквиваленции с пометой NB /**
Table 5. **An example of a monoequivalence with the label NB**

Врешь!	Pres-IPF <Exclam > <DialRepl >	Foutaises!	Subst ☐ <Exclam > ☐ <DialRepl >	☑ NB ☐ SubjCh ☐ paraphrase ☐ Exp

В примере из табл. 5 контекстное значение глагола *врать*, употребленного в краткой диалогической реплике, заменено во французском на существительное со значением *вранье*. Данная переводческая находка, не зафиксированная ни в одном из двуязычных русско-французских словарей, помечается тэгом Nota bene!

Для исследований в области теории и практики перевода, а также асимметрии тема-рематического членения высказывания особый интерес может представлять рубрика смены подлежащего SubjCh (Subject change). При этом можно, например, проследить, как безличная конструкция в русском оригинале заменяется на выраженного субъекта в переводе и наоборот (табл. 6).

Смена субъекта в ПЯ является проблемой общей теории перевода, но может быть рассмотрена в рамках частной теории перевода в языковой паре русский-французский. Контекстные переводческие варианты не только обогащают лексические соответствия, но и дополняют положения грамматики конструкций.

Проблема перифразирования подробно была рассмотрена Е.Л. Туницкой (Туницкая 2010). Отметим, что это не окончательно устоявшийся термин. В научных исследованиях встречаются следующие варианты: употребление перифразы (Есменская 2002, Бытева 2004) и перифраза (Сиривля 2004). В кластер общих характеристик МЭ введена рубрика paraphrase, позволяющая

отобрать и проанализировать случаи с перефразированием в переводе глагольных форм и конструкций.

Таблица 6. **Примеры моноэквиваленций с пометой SubjCh /**
Table 6. **Examples of monoequivalences labeled SubjCh**

что от пыли **заводится моль**?	Pres-IPF <SubCompl >	que **la poussière engendre** les mites?	Pres □ <SubCompl >	□ NB ☑ SubjCh □ paraphrase □ Exp
Depuis six mois que tu es ici, **tu n'as pas eu** un seul ennui…	PasCom <TempDet > <Neg > <DialRepl >	С тех пор как ты здесь, **неприятностей у тебя не было**…	Past-IPF □ <TempDet > □ <Neg > □ <DialRepl >	□ NB ☑ SubjCh □ paraphrase □ Exp

Таблица 7. **Примеры моноэквиваленций с пометой «paraphrase» /**
Table 7. **Examples of monoequivalences marked "paraphrase"**

Ai-je insisté?	PasCom <Interrog> <DialRepl>	Разве я не отказался от своих намерений?	Past-PF □ <ModDet > □ <Neg > □ <DialRepl >	□ NB □ SubjCh ☑ paraphrase □ Exp
Только сегодня и надеюсь вздохнуть.	Pres-IPF <SubInf-PF >	Si je ne souffle pas un peu aujourd'hui, alors quand?	Pres □ <Neg> □ <SiCond>	□ NB □ SubjCh ☑ paraphrase □ Exp

В НКРЯ список категорий лексико-грамматического поиска фактически идентичен для русского и французского языков, в частности, в кластере «наклонение» поиск сослагательного и условного возможен только для французского языка. В НГБД для ЛГФ русского языка созданы специальные рубрики для более точного поиска соответствующих глагольных форм.

Системная асимметрия форм условного наклонения принуждает французского переводчика к выбору одной из двух форм наклонения Conditionnel Présent или Conditionnel Passé, исходя из временных или дискурсивных маркеров узкого или широкого контекста языка оригинала. Анализ того, каким образом подобные маркеры обусловливают переводческое решение, представляет отдельную лингвистическую проблему. Так, в табл. 9 разница в значении финитной глагольной формы несовершенного вида с «бы» заключается

в семантике высказываний, что и ведет за собой употребление разных французских ЛГФ.

Таблица 8. **Кластеры русских глагольных форм,**
соответствующие французскому условному и сослагательному наклонениям /
Table 8. **Clusters of Russian verb forms corresponding**
to the French conditional and subjunctive moods

Форма с «бы» НСВ	Past-IPF+бы
Форма с «бы» СВ	Past-PF+бы
Форма с «было» НСВ	Past-IPF+было
Форма с «было» СВ	Past-PF+было
Форма с «если бы» НСВ	Past-IPF+если бы
Форма с «если бы» СВ	Past-PF+если бы
Форма с «чтобы» НСВ	Past-IPF+чтобы
Форма с «чтобы» СВ	Past-PF+чтобы

Таблица 9. **Примеры моноэквиваленций по запросу Past-IPF+бы /**
Table 9. **Examples of monoequivalences on request Past-IPF+бы**

Ведь и я бы мог все это…	Past-IPF+бы <DialRepl >	Moi aussi **j'aurais pu faire** tout ça,	CondPas ☐ <SubInf > ☐ <ModDet > ☐ <DialRepl >
И я бы тоже… хотел… – […] что-нибудь такое…	Past-IPF+бы <DialRepl >	Moi aussi… **je voudrais**… […]quelque chose de ce genre…	CondPr ☐ <ModDet> ☐ <DialRepl>

Рубрика «форма с *было* несовершенного и совершенного вида» была добавлена в кластер признаков ЛГФ глагольных форм русского языка, исходя из вариативности переводов и отсутствия переводных соответствий таких глагольных конструкций в словарях. Уже в начале поиска выяснилось, что данная конструкция представляет особую переводческую сложность. Например, при запросе Past-IPF+было в функционально-эквивалентном фрагменте (термин Д.О. Добровольского) обнаруживаются такие французские ЛГФ, как Imparfait, Conditionnel Passé, Passé Simple.

Сослагательное наклонение в кластере французских ЛГФ представлено четырьмя рубриками: Subjonctif Présent (SubjPres), Subjonctif Passé (SubjPas), Subjonctif Imparfait (SubjImparf) и Subjonctif plus-que-parfait (SubjPqParf). Для возможности двуязычного поиска в кластере ЛГФ русского языка есть две рубрики форм с «*чтобы*» несовершенного и совершенного вида.

В отличие от рубрики «будущее» кластера «время» русского языка НКРЯ, где помимо шума, вызванного неснятой омонимией, в составном будущем выделен лишь глагол «быть», а не значащий глагол, в НГБД в русском

языке представлены простое будущее (Fut-PF) и сложное будущее (Fut-IPF). Для французского языка в кластере «время» существуют четыре рубрики Futur Simple (Fut), Futur Immédiat (FutIm), Futur antérieur (FutAnt), Futur immédiat dans le passé (FutImPas).

Рубрики прошедшего времени в НКРЯ представлены прошедшим (ru), passé simple (fr), имперфектом (fr), причастием прошедшего времени (fr), то есть далеко неполным кластером. В НГБД помимо причастных форм настоящего Participe Présent (PartPr) и прошедшего времени (не всегда являющейся частью составного прошедшего времени). В НКРЯ поиск деепричастий возможен лишь в русском языке, в НГБД осуществляется поиск gérondif по французскому тексту. В ходе работы с НГБД в направлении русский → французский выяснилось, что при построении МЭ необходима рубрика Omission (Zero), то есть отсутствие (системное или контекстуальное) в переводе языковой единицы, соответствующей ЛГФ оригинала. Системное отсутствие ЛГФ перевода наблюдается в процессе трансформации русских глаголов говорения (verba dicendi) – формы *говорил, спросил, добавил, сказал, прибавил, перебил, возразил, продолжал* и проч. на французский язык.

Таблица 10. **Результат запроса моноэквиваленции, содержащей глагол, вводящий прямую речь /** *Table 10.* **The result of a request for a monoequivalence containing a verb that introduces direct speech**

«Какая у вас **пыль** везде!» —сказал он.	Past-PF <VerbDirSp >	Comme **c'est poussiéreux** chez vous !	Zero

Ранее речь шла о трудностях перевода с русского на французский глаголов состояния. Поиск по рубрике Zero позволяет подтвердить это предположение.

Таблица 11. **Результат сложного запроса моноэквиваленций по базовому виду ЛГФ Past-PF и Zero /** *Table 11.* **The result of a complex query of monoequivalences for the basic type of LGF Past-PF and Zero**

как сел.	**Past-PF**	**dans cette même position.**	**Zero**
на столе редкое утро […] не валялись хлебные крошки.	Past-IPF <Neg >	rares étaient les matins où la table ne portait pas, […] parmi des miettes de pain, un os rongé	Zero
Ведь я вот тут лежал […]	Past-IPF <ModDet > <DialRepl >	C'est tout simplement que je réfléchis à la manière dont je puis sortir d'embarras…	Zero

Одним из распространенных видов языковых трансформаций является смена морфологического статуса лексемы (Гак 1998). В НГБД в направлении русский-французский более ста примеров перевода русской глагольной формы существительным.

Таблица 12. **Результат запроса перевода глагола**
в русском оригинале существительным во французском /
Table 12. **The result of the request to translate the verb in the Russian original by the noun in French**

можно было бы подумать, что **тут никто не живет**!	Pres-IPF <SubInf-PF > <Neg > <SubCompl >	on aurait pu croire **la chambre** inhabitée,	Subst
что может **стоить** постройка собачьей конуры?	Pres-IPF <SubInf-IPF > <ModDet > <SubCompl >	à se renseigner sur **le coût** de la construction d'une niche.	Subst

Кластер «дополнительные признаки ЛГФ» в оригинале и переводе допускает поиск по видам предложений (вопросительное, восклицательное), видам придаточных, по видам подчинительных конструкций.

Таблица 13. **Кластер «дополнительные признаки ЛГФ в переводе в НГБД /**
Table 13. **Cluster "additional signs of LGF translated into NGBD"**

Accusativus cum infinitivo	**Acc.c.Inf**
Вопросительное предложение	Interrog
Восклицательное предложение	Exclam
Временной детерминант	TempDet
Глагол в изъяснительном придаточном	SubCompl
Глагол в определительном придаточном	SubAttr
Глагол, вводящий прямую речь	VerbDirSp
Диалогическая реплика	DialRepl
Модальный детерминант	ModDet
Отрицание	Neg
Подчиненный инфинитив	SubInf
Подчиненный инфинитив прош. времени	SubInfPas
Подчиняющий глагол	+SuperVerb
Придаточное в условном предложении	Si Cond
Прочие виды придаточных	Sub

Временные (*давно, долго, недавно, теперь, много лет, никогда, сначала*) и модальные (*вот, же, всё, уж, хоть бы, разве*) детерминанты позволяют уточнить функционирование глагольной формы в высказывании и его семантику. Таким образом, при передаче аспектуальности в переводе наличие определенного временного маркера определяет выбор глагольной формы. Если в НГБД сделать запрос TempDet в направлении французский → русский, то при употреблении в оригинале наречия *longtemps* и сохранении соответствующего временного детермината в переводе выявится частотная асимметрия PasSim/PasCom (fr) Past-IPF (ru). Однако при изменении семантического окружения *longtemps* в переводе может употребляться глагол совершенного вида (см. табл. 14).

Таблица 14. **Результаты запроса TempDet в направлении французский-русский /**
Table 14. **TempDet query results in French-Russian direction**

par laquelle je criai aussi longtemps que je le pus.	**PasSim** <TempDet > <SubAttr >	**стал кричать** из последних сил	**Past-PF** ☐ <SubInf-IPF >
Mais cela fait longtemps que Philippe **a tourné les talons**	**PasCom** <TempDet > <ModDet >	Филипп давно уже сбежал.	**Past-PF** ☐ <TempDet > ☐ <ModDet >

В целом, описанная в статье надкорпусная глагольная база обладает некоторыми функциональными преимуществами в сравнении с параллельным русско-французским корпусом НКРЯ. Например, пользователям НГБД доступна опция просмотра статистики вариантов перевода базовых видов глагольных ЛГФ: если НКРЯ выдаёт только параллельные тексты с выделенным поисковым словом в ИЯ, не выделяя при этом переводное соответствие в ПЯ, то НГБД не только показывает и выделяет переводные соответствия в ИЯ и ПЯ, но и позволяет увидеть наиболее и наименее частотные варианты перевода для той или иной лексической единицы. Данная опция представляет особый интерес для профессиональных переводчиков и специалистов в области переводоведения, поскольку позволяет обнаружить как частотные ФЭФ, так и их малочастотные варианты, и, следовательно, подобрать наиболее подходящий вариант перевода на основе статистических данных. Так, в ходе анализа переводов французских текстов художественной литературы и эссеистики (32 текста) было установлено, что русские глаголы несовершенного вида переводятся французскими глаголами в Passé Simple в 15,27 % случаев (445 МЭ) и Passé composé в 6,1 % случаев (178 МЭ) (данные на 14.08.2023).

Кроме того, НГБД обладает расширенной поисковой функцией, которая обеспечивает быстрый и эффективный поиск базовых видов ЛГФ глаголов, а именно предоставляет пользователям возможность: обнаружить точные формы глаголов в языковой паре русский – французский; выделить переводной эквивалент с учетом нескольких переводов оригинала; осуществлять более точный поиск соответствующих глагольных форм в кластерах «наклонение» и «время». Ниже в таблице 15 представлены сравнительные характеристики поисковых возможностей базовых видов ЛГФ глаголов в параллельном французском корпусе НКРЯ и надкорпусной базе данных глагольных форм (данные по состоянию на 16.08.2023).

Таблица 15. **Возможности поиска базовых видов ЛГФ глаголов в параллельном русско-французском корпусе НКРЯ и Надкорпусной базе данных глагольных форм /**
Table 15. **Possibilities of searching for the basic types of verbs' LHF in the parallel French corpus of NCRL and the Supracorpora database of verb forms**

Опции поиска	НКРЯ	НГБД
Поиск точных форм	Возможен в одном языке	Возможен в двух языках
Выделение переводного эквивалента	нет	Выделен переводной эквивалент
Поливариантность (несколько переводов оригинала)	есть	есть
Кластер «сослагательное наклонение» в русском	нет	Форма с «чтобы» НСВ и СВ
Кластер «сослагательное наклонение» во французском	Сослагательное (fr)	Subjonctif Présent Subjonctif Passé Subjonctif Imparfait Subjonctif plus-que-parfait
Кластер «условное наклонение» в русском	нет	Форма с «если» НСВ и СВ Форма с «если бы» НСВ и СВ
Кластер «условное наклонение» во французском	Условное (fr)	Conditionnel Présent Conditionnel Passé
Кластер «будущее время» во французском языке	будущее	Futur Simple Futur Immédiat Futur antérieur Futur immédiat dans le passé

5. Заключение

В данной статье мы ставили цель – представить структуру и функционал надкорпусной глагольной базы данных (НГБД), разработанной на основе параллельного русско-французского подкорпуса Национального корпуса русского языка (НКРЯ), а также раскрыть разницу их потенциалов.

В отличии от разработанной НГБД параллельный русско-французский подкорпус НКРЯ, как и большинство лингвистических ресурсов, в которых встречаются инструменты аннотирования, ориентирован на разметку текста только на одном языке исследуемой языковой пары. Его опции позволяют генерировать и сохранять структурированную информацию об употреблении наименований объектов и явлений внеязыковой действительности. Однако этого недостаточно, если перед исследователем стоит задача не просто найти примеры интересующих его языковых единиц (в нашем случае глаголов и глагольных форм), но и оценить уровень их частотности в некоторой совокупности текстов корпуса или в корпусе в целом. Надкорпусная глагольная база данных, напротив, предоставляет более гибкий функционал пользователям, а именно предусматривает возможность изучения отдельных характеристик глаголов (времени, наклонения, аспектуальности, соотношения финитных и нефинитных форм), семантики глагольных лексем и коллокаций во всех отобранных текстах одного и того же параллельного корпуса.

В статье также показано, что наиболее значимым элементом разработанной надкорпусной базы данных глагольных форм на материале параллельного русско-французского корпуса НКРЯ является переводное соответствие, включающее глагольную форму оригинала и ее функционально-эквивалентный фрагмент в тексте одного или нескольких переводов. Двуязычный лексико-грамматический поисковый интерфейс позволяет искать соответствия тех или иных глагольных форм, а также получать данные о частотности этих соответствий. Благодаря тому, что языковой материал аннотируется вручную и тщательно выверяется, в построенных переводных соответствиях (моноэквиваленции) снята омонимия и нет шума. Аннотации формируются экспертами в результате последовательной обработки глагольных единиц. Обработка корпуса может одновременно осуществляется несколькими экспертами, что закономерно при проведении масштабных проектов. Таким образом, надкорпусные базы данных обеспечивают возможность интегрировать плоды их совместной работы, предоставить другим исследователям доступ и к полученным результатам, и ко всем использованным параллельным текстам. Это значительно упрощает процессы верификации полученных результатов и позволяет многократно использовать созданный информационный ресурс для решения многих научных и практических задач: лингводидактика и разработка учебных пособий, обучение устному и письменному переводу, обучение постредактированию машинного перевода, создание алгоритмов машинного обучения для тренировки нейросетей в машинном переводе, разработка терминологических и словарных баз данных, моноязычных и двуязычных словарей частотности.

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BOOK REVIEWS / РЕЦЕНЗИИ НА КНИГИ

Nicole Baumgarten and Roel Vismans (eds.). 2023. *It's different with you: Contrastive perspectives on address research.* [TAR 5]. John Benjamins Publishing Company

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In the last decade, linguists have become increasingly intrigued by address research, which is manifested by the introduction of special book series (monographs and collective volumes) by John Benjamins dedicated to this area. The topics of interest encompass the choice of existing forms of address (nominal, pronominal, other), their grammatical markers including their pragmatic effect, the factors governing their use in actual discourse, the way they mirror as well as create social relations in a number of languages (preamble to the volume). The present publication collection of 16 chapters is representative of the endeavor described above.

As its title implies, it is foremost about diversity. The diversity concerns the array of languages explored (over 15, both related and unrelated as well as different languages in contact), situational contexts or domains as well as methods employed in investigating address forms. The languages juxtaposed in research include European languages (Finnish and Hungarian, Danish and Swedish, French and English, English and German), Asian languages (Japanese and Korean, Chinese and Japanese), European and American languages (European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese), varieties of a language (English and Italian), and a language family (Romance languages).

A brief synopsis of the collective volume

The chapter entitled *Comparing address practices in the Finnish and Hungarian "Got Talent" TV programs* by Hanna Lappalainen & Ildikó Vecsernyés compares pronominal and nominal address practices in the TV show in question. The authors aim to show how the judges address contestants and how these practices differ in episodes of Finnish and Hungarian. The findings regarding the ranges of informality bear issues on discursive practices in everyday encounters as the address practices on the TV show may mirror up-to-date use of address forms more generally.

The chapter entitled *Vós and other pronominal forms of address (tu, você, vocês): Speakers' perceptions of Brazilian and European Portuguese* by Isabel Margarida Duarte & Maria Aldina Marques presents a comparative analysis of pronominal address forms in European and Brazilian Portuguese. The data excerpted from the Internet and FB interactions is explored from the perspective of speakers' perceptions. The analysis manifests the speakers' varied metalinguistic and metapragmatic knowledge regarding the uses of the pronominal address forms in both varieties, and indicates that their knowledge of the system is affected by beliefs that appreciate the social prestige associated with a standard variety.

Ildikó Vančo and István Kozmács, in their chapter entitled *Differences in the forms of address between standard Hungary Hungarian and Slovakia Hungarian*, report on a unique project to compare the address forms used by the respondents of Hungary Hungarians and Hungarian minorities living outside the borders of Hungary. The results suggest significant differences between the language use of the two groups in the employment of some forms, the auxiliary verb *tetszik*, and in address avoidance.

The use of a person's name in Japanese and Korean is explored in the chapter *The function of names A case study of usage in Japanese original TV dramas and Korean remakes* by Duck-Young Lee & Naomi Ogi. The study juxtaposes Japanese and Korean regarding the differences in the distribution of various nominal forms, their social functions and pragmatic effects. The authors conclude that while Japanese can be referred to as a "family name" language, Korean can be tagged as a "full name" language.

Wei Ren & Saeko Fukushima, in their chapter *Address terms in social media requests: A contrastive study of Chinese and Japanese university students,* present a unique research project, since so far, few studies have compared the use of address terms in the two languages. The authors investigate social media communication, specifically requests between university students. The findings reveal both similarities (both groups prefer using first names and nicknames) and differences (Chinese subjects lean towards kinship terms not used by Japanese subjects). The investigators consider a number of factors (such as social distance, pragmatic constraints, language play, preference for positive politeness, globalization, and new technologies) that are at play here.

In her chapter *Practices of person reference in Chinese and German interactions: A contrastive analysis of "third person reference forms" in SMS, WhatsApp and WeChat* communication, Susanne Günthner analyzes the pronominal address forms (third person reference) in two languages The findings reveal that subjects engage in these address practices as a "social index" to refer to various social meanings. The results yielded point to parallel and different use of addressing one's interactants in Chinese and German.

In their chapter *Address forms in academic discourse in Indian English*, Tatiana Larina & Neelakshi Suryanarayan investigate the use of address forms by Indian bilinguals (speakers of Indian English and Hindi) in a university environment. The researchers adopt an interdisciplinary perspective of the topic employing a contrastive analysis, discourse analysis, politeness theory, translanguaging and cultural studies. The results unveil the convergence of English and Hindi. The research results reveal the influence of speakers' cultural background on the selection of address forms and emphasize bilingual speakers' extraordinary linguistic creativity in coining hybrid English-Hindi terms.

Minka Džanko, in the chapter entitled *Don't moan, it won't make you feel better, granny! – Addressing older patients: A comparative study of German and Bosnian*, investigates nominal address practices in doctors and older patients encounters in German and Bosnian. Drawing on Conversation Analysis and Ethnographic Discourse Analysis the researcher concludes that the German encounters manifest the exclusive use of the formal V form and the nominal form "Mrs./Mr. + surname" when addressing male and female patients. The Bosnian interactions manifest an overall high use of the first name and the kinship term "granny" when addressing the elderly female patients, what is more, certain address practices violate politeness and/or friendliness principles. The practices are ascribable to socio-cultural norms observed in Bosnian and German society.

In another investigation of nominal address forms by Christophe Gagne *A comparative study of nominal forms of address in metropolitan French and British English service encounters,* a politeness theoretic framework and a conversation analytic one, are combined. Nominal address forms as attention-seeking means mark the management of the customer-shopkeeper relationship and denote different phases of the interaction. The investigation reveals similarities in their function in the two linguacultures, but also differences in indexing different positions within the social order.

Nominal address and introductions in three national varieties of German Intralinguistic variation and pragmatic transfer to English by Doris Schüpbach, John Hajek, Heinz L. Kretzenbacher & Catrin Norrby also contributes to the investigation of nominal address forms. Drawing on a large-scale survey, the authors explore nominal address and introduction practices in first encounters at international academic conferences. The scholars are interested in variation in such routines among respondents originating in Germany, Austria and Switzerland in their L1 German and in L2 (English). The results show that in L1 German,

introduction by first name and last name appears to be the unmarked choice with some national variation also observable in L2 English along with observable pragmatic transfer from the L1 German. Unlike L1 speakers of the national varieties of English, the German L1 speakers' emulated address practices deviate from their L1 address practices without inevitably mirroring English L1 address practices.

Tina Thode Hougaard, Eva Skafte Jensen, Marianne Rathje, Jonathan White & Camilla Wide, in *Variations in opening and closing forms in email correspondence in Danish and Swedish,* illustrate how cultural values, e.g., ideals of equality, are expressed through similar linguistic means and show that there is a much larger variety in closing greetings than in opening greetings in both languages.

Vocative use in telephone service encounters in the British housing market is explored in the paper *And the postcode darlin'. Vocative variation in service encounters on the telephone in Northern England* by Nicole Baumgarten. The research outcomes indicate that vocative use is nonreciprocal and limited to estate agents. The frequency of use and selection of type (first name, last name, honorific, endearment) is indicative of callers' socio-economic and socioethnic group affiliation and the agents select the appropriate type in order to imply an asymmetrical role relationship for the purpose of transaction control.

In the chapter entitled *Forms of address in courtroom discourse in Englishes of the "Inner Circle"*, Vladimir Ozyumenko explores the address forms and terms of reference to judges of different levels in the Englishes of the "inner circle" in a courtroom discourse. Through comparative semantic, pragmatic, discourse and cultural analysis he investigates address forms in varieties of English. The outcomes unveil clear variations in address forms and reference forms to judges and their functioning, hierarchy and formality in British English, and more democratic forms of addressing judges in other varieties. The study employs new data and illustrates lexical and discursive variability observed in the legal domain. It is original in contributing to the discussion on factors involved in the formation of language varieties.

Regional variation in pronominal address forms is explored by Agnese Bresin in *Investigating address in regional varieties of Italian: Contrasting methodologies.* Great linguistic diversity typifying Italy is also reflected in the use of singular V pronouns. In addition, the chapter suggests the elementary features of a model methodology the application of which may yield an all-inclusive interpretation of address forms in Italian.

Mismatches of number and gender in address forms in the Romance languages are explored by Sascha Gaglia in *Hybrid agreement in polite address: A contrastive approach to Romance languages*. While some other scholars propose double feature sets for addressing mismatches of this kind, Gaglia puts forward an approach drawing on single feature sets and a syntactic politeness feature in the classical version of Lexical-Functional Grammar and, in support of this approach,

she provides ample synchronic and diachronic evidence taking a contrastive perspective on French, Italian, Peninsular Spanish, and Chilean Spanish.

Roel Vismans in *Address and politeness, A theoretical exploration,* investigates the nature of address and scrutinizes "the address theory", namely the need for such a theory and its content. It is original in analyzing the theoretical contrasts between address study and politeness theory. It also raises the issues of address theory, the need for such a theory and the sustained use of T and V tags, which is prevalent in both address research and politeness research.

The value of research for the area of address theory and politeness theory

The studies of the volume demonstrate that addressing is an indispensable feature of human communication and contributes to effective and successful interaction. Address terms are indicative of interlocutors' social status and social relationships; hence they have their social perspective and grammatical manifestations. From a social perspective, address terms may be viewed as features operating on a sliding scale with (very) formal and (very) informal forms denoting the endpoints of a continuum. In different linguacultures, the language users have an inventory of suitable forms to indicate social distance and/or familiarity the usage of which has become conventionalized and associated with particular communication settings. Over the course of their life and through exposure to social stimuli, people acquire and hone a wide set of skills that enable them to recognize, process, interpret, and react to delicate social cues. The development of these many skills enhances a person's social competence and becomes a part of their social cognition (Beaudoin & Beauchamp 2020).

The criteria governing automatic selection of appropriate forms may be viewed from the perspective of speaker meaning (Haugh 2013) to be understood as a cognitive notion. Speaker meaning abides by cultural norms, in other words, it is culture-sensitive. Therefore, members of different linguacultures observe these culture-specific rules or norms when selecting appropriate address terms during verbal interaction. Address terms reflect communicators' cultural values deeply embedded in their cognition (e.g., Bilá et al. 2015, 2020, Clyne 2009, Khalil & Larina 2022, Wierzbicka 2013, 2020, among many others).

The situational contexts include a display of public and private settings, such as TV drama series; a TV show; academic setting: students' encounters, international academic conferences; medical care setting: doctor – patient communication; housing market; courtroom setting; telephone conversation; social media communications: text messaging, WeChat- and WhatsApp-interactions, e-mail communication; written documents: legal texts and dictionaries.

The authors employed a variety of research methods: Contrastive and Comparative Analysis (conversational, pragmatic, semantic or cultural), Ethnographic and Discourse Analysis, even outlined an ideal methodology for exploring address terms (for investigating address terms usage in varieties of

Italian). Research tools employed by researchers include surveys and questionnaires, focus group discussions and critical literature reviews. The authors also adopted various research perspectives and/or frameworks, such as politeness theory, translanguaging and address study.

The research projects dealt with in the publication adopted an explicit, disciplined and systematic approach in order for the research to yield most valid and appropriate results. The authors explored address forms in a variety of selected contexts, conducted in-depth analyses of ample collections of data occurring in natural settings and gave a detailed account of the findings. The chapters bear the mandatory features in order to qualify for scholarly excellence and they relate to and elaborate on the current knowledge. The literature reviews are concise and analytical and they identify a niche in a particular area of research. The chapters enfold in a logical manner; after outlining the research context, they move through the statement of the research objective, the research methods and tools, to the findings, discussion and conclusion. The research outcomes and assessment of the findings are plausible and may be highly inspirational for further rumination. In addition, there are reasonable and clear links between the chapters of the collection. In summary, the collection manifests intellectual completeness and is a valuable contribution to the discussion on addressing, address study and politeness research.

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Mari Wiklund. 2023. *Speech and Interaction of Preadolescents with Autism Spectrum Disorder: Focus on Prosody, Disfluencies and Comprehension Problems.* Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore

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Wiklund's book "Speech and Interaction of Preadolescents with Autism Spectrum Disorder" is a comprehensive exploration that advances our understanding of communication dynamics in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD). The multidimensional approach taken by the author distinguishes this work, as it explores various facets of speech and interaction. This broad scope makes the book an invaluable resource for researchers seeking a nuanced understanding of communication complexities in the ASD population. The scholarly nature of the book is evident in its detailed analyses and research methodology. The subsequent exploration of disfluencies unveils not only the frequency but also the qualitative differences in the speech of preadolescents with ASD compared to control groups. These disfluencies are shown to have a direct impact on comprehension problems, emphasizing the interconnectedness of speech production and comprehension in individuals with ASD.

The book consists of 7 chapters. It is structured to address multiple dimensions of communication challenges faced by individuals with ASD, providing an in-depth exploration of various aspects such as prosody, disfluencies, comprehension problems, gaze behaviour, therapists' response strategies, and teaching orientations.

Chapter 1 introduces ASD and explains its main characteristics. ASD is a developmental disorder affecting how the brain develops, leading to difficulties in

social interaction, communication, and repetitive behaviours. The chapter focuses on the unique way individuals with ASD speak, including limited pitch range, sing-song or bouncy speech, fast or jerky rhythm, quiet or loud voice, and other features. The chapter also explores the challenges people with ASD face in using language and interacting socially. This includes issues with understanding and using speech, engaging in conversations, and interpreting non-verbal cues like eye contact. The discussion emphasizes that individuals with ASD often take language literally, missing implied messages and showing avoidance behaviours. Despite these challenges, the chapter concludes by recognizing that individuals with ASD share some communication traits with neurotypical peers. This perspective highlights the complexity and diversity in the communication patterns of individuals with ASD, emphasizing the importance of understanding beyond just the difficulties they may experience.

Chapter 2 traverses the complex world of prosody, breaking down its different parts and highlighting its overall nature. It discusses how neurotypical Finnish-speaking adults perceive the prosody of preadolescent boys with ASD as unusual when compared to controls of the same age and gender, based on a study by Wiklund et al. (2022). This difference is linked to specific prosodic features, such as sing-song pitch, bouncing pitch, disconnected speech rhythm, large pitch changes, and flat pitch, sometimes creating the impression of a non-native accent. It references Wiklund's earlier work (2016), highlighting that creaky voice is a common prosodic feature causing comprehension issues in interactions between preadolescents with ASD and neurotypical adults. However, the chapter emphasizes that prosodic features are rarely the main cause of comprehension issues, stressing the importance of exploring the relationship between prosody and comprehension challenges in individuals with ASD. Additionally, the chapter discusses a study by Wiklund et al. (2021), revealing that individuals with ASD effectively use pitch rises at the end of their utterances as a means of interaction. These findings challenge traditional assumptions about the communicative abilities of individuals with ASD and provide a deeper understanding of their prosodic skills.

Chapter 3 explores interruptions in speech, known as disfluencies, and how they affect conversations. It focuses on preadolescents with ASD, showing they have more interruptions than neurotypical peers. This difference in speech patterns sheds light on communication dynamics. The chapter emphasizes not only counting but also understanding the types of interruptions in ASD, such as word searches and grammatical errors. The control group has simpler interruptions. This qualitative difference helps us grasp disfluency in ASD and reveals speech challenges unique to this group. The chapter also looks at how interruptions impact understanding in conversations, suggesting that for those with ASD, interruptions may contribute to comprehension problems, setting them apart from the control group. This insight emphasizes the importance of considering interruptions in both producing and understanding speech in individuals with ASD.

Chapter 4 scrutinizes the difficulties in communication between preadolescents with ASD and their neurotypical therapists. The chapter shows that

misunderstandings are common in these interactions, but not all of them lead to behaviour issues, adding complexity to our understanding of the link between comprehension and behaviour. It identifies key reasons for comprehension challenges, such as unclear references and topic shifts, echoing previous research by Geller (1998) that highlighted similar issues in school-aged children with ASD. The findings highlight the tendency for individuals with ASD to interpret language literally, especially struggling with figurative or implied language. The chapter emphasizes the significance of non-verbal communication, noting that trouble often arises when there's no eye contact. This lack of visual engagement, along with overlapping speech, indicates that difficulties in non-verbal cues, particularly eye contact, play a crucial role in comprehension challenges for individuals with ASD during interactions.

Chapter 5 investigates how people with ASD use their eyes during communication. The focus is on the challenges posed by non-verbal aspects, shedding light on distinctive behaviours such as avoiding eye contact, commonly observed in ASD literature. Gaze behaviour is regarded as a crucial element influencing interactions, impacting conversations and potentially leading to misunderstandings. Drawing from Wiklund's work (2012), the study employs conversation analysis and a multimodal approach to uncover three primary patterns employed by preadolescents with ASD to avoid eye contact: staring straight ahead, looking around, and concentrating on their hands while speaking. This detailed examination enhances our comprehension of how individuals with ASD adjust their visual engagement in social interactions. It also highlights that, despite their initial reluctance to make eye contact, they occasionally employ it at the conclusion of their speaking turn as a form of feedback, underscoring the adaptability of their gaze behaviour. Furthermore, it reveals the intricate interactional skills of them, illustrating how they initiate narratives and interpret implicit meanings in conversations through a combination of words, intonation, and gestures.

Chapter 6 examines how therapists work with preadolescent boys with ASD who speak both French and Finnish in group sessions. The chapter is divided into two main parts: therapists' responses and teaching approaches. In the first part, it looks at how therapists guide group discussions to help the kids learn about conversation topics. It focuses on how therapists respond and shape the discussions, aiming to validate input and maintain good communication among the children. The second part looks at how therapists teach during these group sessions. Interestingly, the chapter suggests that prosodic skills (intonation, rhythm) are often not explicitly taught, with a focus instead on general social norms and body language. This indicates that therapists prioritize broader aspects of social interaction over specific speech-related skills in this therapeutic setting.

This book offers a comprehensive coverage of the current state of knowledge in the field of ASD, specifically focusing on the speech and interaction patterns of preadolescents. By taking a multidimensional approach, Wiklund aims to provide a thorough understanding of the intricacies involved in communication for preadolescents with ASD. The strength of this book lies in its examination of

prosody, which includes the melody, rhythm, stress, and other suprasegmental features of speech. The author not only highlights the atypical prosodic features perceived by neurotypical individuals but also explores how these features contribute to comprehension problems in interactions between individuals with ASD and their neurotypical counterparts. The book goes beyond mere identification of challenges; it provides insights into the potential use of prosody as an interactional resource for preadolescents with ASD, showcasing a more perspective on their communicative abilities.

Furthermore, the exploration of disfluencies adds another layer to the understanding of speech production challenges in preadolescents with ASD. Wiklund uncovers not only the higher frequency of disfluencies in this population but also the qualitative differences, highlighting the complex nature of their speech patterns. Importantly, the link between disfluencies and comprehension problems is emphasized, shedding light on the critical role of speech production in effective communication for individuals with ASD.

While the book provides a thorough and insightful exploration of various dimensions related to communication challenges in preadolescents with ASD, it is essential to acknowledge certain limitations in its scope and approach. One limitation is the potential for a lack of generalizability of findings. The book primarily focuses on preadolescent boys with ASD, and the extent to which the findings can be extrapolated to preadolescent girls or individuals at different developmental stages is not explicitly addressed. ASD is known for its heterogeneity, and its characteristics may vary significantly across individuals. Therefore, a broader sample representation could enhance the applicability of the book's findings to a more diverse population within the ASD spectrum.

Additionally, the book may benefit from a more explicit discussion of cultural and linguistic factors. ASD manifestations and communication styles can be influenced by cultural and linguistic diversity, and this aspect is not extensively explored in the book. Considering the global nature of ASD, a more examination of how cultural and linguistic factors intersect with communication challenges could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. Furthermore, the book predominantly emphasizes challenges without delving deeply into potential strengths or adaptive strategies employed by preadolescents with ASD in communication. A more balanced exploration of both challenges and strengths could offer a richer and more holistic perspective on the communication abilities of individuals with ASD.

In conclusion, the book stands as an insightful exploration of the communication dynamics in preadolescents with ASD. It takes a holistic approach by inquiring into various facets of speech and interaction, shedding light on the challenges faced by individuals within the autism spectrum. The book provides a well-rounded understanding of the multifaceted nature of communication difficulties in this population. Researchers, clinicians, and educators can benefit from the wealth of information presented, gaining valuable insights into the theoretical underpinnings of ASD-related communication challenges and practical strategies for improving

interaction and communication skills. The comprehensive nature of the examination sets this book apart, making it a valuable resource for those seeking to deepen their understanding of communication in preadolescents with ASD and implement effective interventions to enhance their communicative abilities.

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ЮБИЛЯРЫ

Ольга Борисовна СИРОТИНИНА

27 июня 2023 г. исполнилось 100 лет выдающемуся представителю современных российских лингвистов – Ольге Борисовне Сиротининой, доктору филологических наук, профессору Саратовского государственного университета им. Н.Г. Чернышевского, основателю и руководителю Саратовской лингвистической школы изучения функционирования русского языка. О.Б. Сиротинина – заслуженный деятель науки Российской Федерации, действительный член МАН ВШ, член-корреспондент РАЕН, Почетный работник сферы образования РФ. Масштаб личности Ольги Борисовны, особенно для молодого поколения ученых и педагогов, возможно осмыслить, если попытаться просто уточнить эту информацию, добавив в нее цифровые и содержательные конкретизаторы.

О.Б. Сиротинина работает на кафедре русского языка (теперь – русского языка, речевой коммуникации и русского как иностранного) 78-й год! 20 лет она была заведующей кафедрой (1973–1993), затем – директором Института русского языка, литературы и журналистики при СГУ, заместителем председателя Головного совета «Филология» Министерства образования РФ, членом Совета по русскому языку при Президенте / правительстве России

(1995–2003). 48 лет выполняла обязанности заместителя председателя диссертационного совета, причем ни один автореферат соискателя не допускался к защите без ее скрупулезной правки. Всего через ее руки прошло 1782 автореферата из 54 городов России. Ольгой Борисовной опубликовано более 700 научных работ, посвященных сначала изучению диалектной, разговорной речи, затем – исследованию реального функционирования языка в разных сферах общения, далее – проблемам культуры речи, типам речевой культуры, исследованию современного состояния речи в аспекте ее влияния на сам язык, экологии русского языка. Монографии, учебные пособия ученого много раз переиздавались и переиздаются до сих пор. Ольга Борисовна воспитала и «защитила» 16 докторов и 58 кандидатов филологических наук.

За свой труд и вклад в науку и образование О.Б. Сиротинина награждена медалью «За доблестный труд», медалью имени А.С. Пушкина Международной ассоциации преподавателей русского языка и литературы (МАПРЯЛ), орденом Дружбы и другими наградами. В связи с юбилеем О.Б. Сиротинину поздравил Почетной грамотой Президент Российской Федерации В.В. Путин, а министр высшего образования и науки В.Н. Фальков вручил ей медаль К.Д. Ушинского «За заслуги в области педагогических наук».

Уникальность этого человека, сумевшего вопреки жизненным обстоятельствам не только выжить, но и показать на собственном примере «науку жизни», откроется ярко и убедительно тем, кто прочтет ее книги: «Жизнь вопреки, или я счастливый человек» (Саратов, 2022) и «И жизнь пролетит, как мечта…» (Саратов, 2023). Эти книги о том, как Оля Брин-Сиротинина, которая родилась очень больным ребенком, следуя завету мудрой мамы – «Человек сам хозяин своей судьбы», упорно боролась за жизнь, шаг за шагом преодолевая множественные недуги; как, только научившись читать, – буквально «проглотила» семейную библиотеку; будучи совсем юной, стала заядлым театралом, ходила (и не по одному разу) на все спектакли Саратовского драмтеатра, писала роман. В годы войны, по-взрослому осознавая огромную ответственность за судьбу Родины, она по мере сил помогала стране. Вот одна из записей в ее дневниках: 29/X–41 г. *Итак, вчера я дежурила. Сутки. Спать совсем не пришлось <...> Устала страшно. А сегодня опять разносила повестки.* Поскольку идти на фронт не позволяло здоровье, поступив в университет, училась, как и все студенты того времени, не позволяя себе никакого послабления: *На лекциях все, конечно, сидели одетые, потому что не топили, и занимались мы часто не в университетских корпусах, а в общежитии на Кутякова. Сидели на кроватях и слушали курс, очень часто писали карандашами, потому что чернила замерзали* (из книги воспоминаний «Жизнь вопреки, или я счастливый человек»). По ночам, до судорог в руках (*руки под холодную воду – и снова к книгам*) конспектировала…

Кафедра русского языка, речевой коммуникации и русского как иностранного СГУ им. Н.Г. Чернышевского в день рождения поздравила юбиляра, было зачитано много сердечных слов от ученых–лингвистов, ее

учеников и коллег со всех уголков России и зарубежья. 20–21 октября в университете была организована международная конференция «Современная речевая коммуникация в разных сферах жизни общества», посвященная замечательному юбилею Учителя.

Мы, ее коллеги, ученики, друзья, благодарим судьбу за то, что нам выпало счастье быть рядом с таким ЧЕЛОВЕКОМ! Одно из изречений Андрея Николаевича Сиротинина, дяди Ольги Борисовны, известного русского писателя, филолога, переводчика: «Надо стараться, чтобы каждому, с кем встречаешься и живешь, было легче жить», нам показалось особенно точно отвечающим ее жизненному кредо. Каждый из нас знает, что Ольга Борисовна всегда придет на помощь, найдет выход из, казалось бы, безысходной жизненной ситуации.

На многочисленные поздравления с юбилеем Ольга Борисовна с гордостью отвечает: «Все Сиротинины были известными в своей области знаний людьми, и я их не подвела».

Ольга Викторовна МЯКШЕВА

д.ф.н., проф. кафедры русского языка, речевой коммуникации
и русского как иностранного СГУ им. Н.Г. Чернышевского
от многочисленных учеников Ольги Борисовны

Поток желающих поздравить Ольгу Борисовну с замечательным юбилеем не прекращается, и *Russian Journal of Linguistics* с радостью их публикует в качестве своего эмоционального подарка.

***

Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

Сердечно поздравляем Вас с замечательным юбилеем. Невозможно переоценить ваш вклад в русистику и лингвистику. Вы создали целую научную школу, и не одну. Ваши работы сегодня являются классическими для новых поколений лингвистов. Нам особенно приятно отметить, что Вы – предтеча корпусной лингвистики и один из самых первых и активных энтузиастов наших корпусных проектов.

От имени всего коллектива Национального корпуса и от себя лично желаем Вам здоровья, благополучия и радости творчества.

Владимир Александрович ПЛУНГЯН
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Доминанты личности Ольги Борисовны Сиротининой – это мудрость и доброта. Соединяясь, эти качества дают возможность решать именно те вопросы бытия, которые обогащают жизнь человека, избавляя его от псевдопроблем. Выбрав полем своей деятельности русский язык, Ольга Борисовна очень помогла своим ученикам и читателям так выстраивать свое общение с другими людьми, чтобы оно становилось источником радости узнавания и взаимопонимания.

Спасибо за науку и за личный пример, дорогая Ольга Борисовна!
Восхищенно почитающий Вас

Игорь Григорьевич МИЛОСЛАВСКИЙ
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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна! Поздравляю Вас с замечательным юбилеем! Очень горжусь нашей научной дружбой, восхищаюсь Вашим исследовательским талантом. От имени Стилистической комиссии Международного комитета славистов от всей нашей стилистической души благодарим Вас за участие в проектах Комиссии, наиболее значимым из которых стала Ваша глава о разговорном стиле в только что вышедшей коллективной монографии «Стилистика славянских стран на рубеже XX–XXI веков» (М.: Флинта, 2023).

Счастья Вам и здоровья! И рассчитываем на наши следующие совместные проекты.

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<center>***</center>

Встретить своего Учителя – большое счастье! К такому человеку всегда можно прийти за советом, поделиться идеями или просто выпить чаю. Ученикам Ольги Борисовны очень повезло! Неиссякаемая энергия, доброта, творчество, любовь к родному языку, к науке – всем этим и многим другим всегда готова щедро делиться Ольга Борисовна!

Желаем дорогой Ольге Борисовне еще долгие годы оставаться источником вдохновения для учеников и коллег!

<div align="right">

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Ольга Борисовна Сиротинина – это образец высокого служения филологии, искренней заинтересованности в развитии лингвистики. Очень повезло тем, кто знаком с ней, кто читал ее книги и статьи, слышал ее выступления и комментарии. У нас есть ориентир. И, значит, наша наука будет развиваться!

<div align="right">

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Дорогая и уникальная Ольга Борисовна! Позвольте по случаю Вашего юбилея выразить искреннее уважение и восхищение Вашей личностью и исследовательским талантом. Ваша научная деятельность – прекрасная эпоха в отечественной лингвистике. Вы поистине редкостный образец бесконечной преданности любимому делу – сохранению и умножению богатств великого и могучего русского языка, воспитанию новых поколений филологов. Здоровья Вам, любви ваших коллег, родных, друзей и учеников!

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна, Ваш светлый творческий ум, Ваша неиссякаемая энергия, Ваши труды, исследования Ваших коллег и учеников – предмет белой зависти и пример для робких попыток подражания!

Желаем Вам крепкого здоровья и благополучия!

<div align="right">

Игорь Алексеевич ШАРОНОВ
д.ф.н., проф., зав. кафедрой русского языка
Института филологии и истории
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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

От всей души поздравляем Вас с замечательным юбилеем! Вы являетесь для нас образцом педагога, ученого и наставника! Вы человек-эпоха и человек-легенда! Мы восхищаемся также необыкновенным обаянием Вашей личности, сочетанием женственности и решительности, стойкости и силы воли! Радуемся каждой полученной от Вас весточке. Мы благодарны судьбе, которая подарила нам счастье общения с Вами!

Желаем Вам, Ольга Борисовна, здоровья, сил, бодрости духа и новых возможностей для реализации научных идей! Пусть Ваши ученики всегда будут рядом с Вами, поддерживают Вас и вдохновляют! Будьте всегда оберегаема и вдохновляема!

Галина Анатольевна КОПНИНА

д.ф.н., проф., профессор кафедры русского языка и речевой коммуникации Института филологии и языковой коммуникации Сибирского федерального университета и многочисленные коллеги

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

Для меня и моих коллег Ваше имя всегда было символом служения филологии, увлеченности наукой, вдохновенного наставничества. Одним из самых ярких впечатлений последних лет стала Ваша книга воспоминаний «Жизнь вопреки, или я счастливый человек», которая учит позитивному отношению к жизни, силе духа и доброте. Ваша жизнь и судьба убеждают, что верность избранному в молодости пути и доброе сердце – лучший рецепт долголетия.

Оксана Сергеевна ИССЕРС

д.ф.н., проф., зав. кафедрой теоретической и прикладной лингвистики Омского государственного университета им. Ф.М. Достоевского

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Глубокоуважаемая Ольга Борисовна!

Мы (лингвисты Омска) гордимся, что встречались с Вами лично и можем с полным правом сказать: «Элитарная языковая личность есть! Это Ольга Борисовна Сиротинина»!

Многие Вам лета! Да укрепит Господь Бог Ваши духовные и телесные силы в подвиге служения на ниве Филологии!

Лариса Олеговна БУТАКОВА

д.ф.н., проф., зав. кафедрой русского языка, славянского и классического языкознания Омского государственного университета им. Ф.М. Достоевского и все коллеги по кафедре

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Исследования в области функционально-стилевой дифференциации речи, культуры речи не мыслятся без имени Ольги Борисовны Сиротининой, ставшей прижизненным классиком. Ваше имя произносится с неизменным и глубочайшим пиететом, на Ваших книгах выросло несколько поколений отечественных лингвистов и, шире, филологов.

Многия лета и доброго здравия, глубокоуважаемая Ольга Борисовна!

Светлана Викторовна ИВАНОВА
д.ф.н., проф. кафедры иностранных языков
в области экономики и права, факультет иностранных языков,
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет

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Уважаемая Ольга Борисовна!

Поздравляю Вас с прекрасным юбилеем! Ваша научная деятельность во благо сохранения и развития русского языка является примером для многих поколений исследователей и педагогов!

С наилучшими пожеланиями

Ирина Ивановна ВАЛУЙЦЕВА
д.ф.н., проф. лингвистического факультета
Государственного университета просвещения, Москва

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

От всей души поздравляю Вас с юбилеем! Мастеру слова, знающему о нем решительно все, хочу адресовать все самые добрые и лучшие слова, какие только есть в русском языке! Вы – человек, знающий толк в словах и точности ударений, лучший специалист языковых нюансов!

Мой научный руководитель доктор филологических наук, профессор Зоя Ильинична Хованская с большим пиететом относилась к саратовской лингвистической школе, которую Вы олицетворяете! И я пронесла эти чувства к Вам через всю свою жизнь. Благодарим Вас за то, что учите нас любить язык, принимать его в дар от наших предков, сохраняя для будущих поколений, ценить его богатство и многогранность, бережно обращаться со словом. Язык был и остаётся как оружием, так и спасением, если умело им пользоваться, и именно Вы помогаете нам в этом!

Пусть глубокий смысл, интересное и захватывающее содержание наполняют каждое мгновение Вашей жизни! Счастья, здоровья и радости Вам!

Лилия Амиряновна НЕФЕДОВА
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Челябинского государственного университета

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

Хочу присоединиться к хору поздравлений с Вашим замечательным юбилеем. Вы для нас всех образец неиссякаемых творческих возможностей и научного долголетия. Ваш вклад в лингвистику неоценим, Ваши труды давно уже стали для нас настольными – читаем, цитируем, обучаем по ним наших студентов и аспирантов. Горжусь знакомством с Вами. Желаю Вам сил, здоровья, оптимизма и хорошего настроения!

Ольга Аркадьевна ЛЕОНТОВИЧ
д.ф.н., проф., гл. науч. сотрудник кафедры межкультурной
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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

Таких, как Вы, – единицы. Вы – редкий свидетель становления и распада страны, пытавшейся объединить народы; человек, проживший и переживший век, однако не изменивший ни себе, ни Слову, живому слову – русской разговорной речи. Для нас Вы сильная и яркая личность, пример для подражания. Будьте здоровы во благо всем нам, Вашим поклонникам и последователям.

Лианна Бениаминовна МАТЕВОСЯН
д.ф.н., проф. кафедры русского языкознания, типологии
и теории коммуникации факультетата русской филологии
Ереванского государственного университета,
председатель Армянской ассоциации русистов

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В богатой на имена и идеи афористике о научном творчестве отражаются особенности мышления, соотносимые с образом жизни ученого.

Обратила внимание на знаковые для личности Ольги Борисовны высказывания: «Пожалуйста, спорьте со мной ради бога, вы вовсе не обязаны принимать мою точку зрения, только доказывайте свою»; «Я считаю великим счастьем то, что мне до сих пор удаётся что-то делать в науке».

Поздравляя О.Б. Сиротинину с юбилеем, хочу добавить: лингвисты счастливы фактом сопричастности (в качестве читателей и популяризаторов) к тому, что «удаётся делать в науке» такому замечательному ученому.

Лара Николаевна СИНЕЛЬНИКОВА
д.ф.н., проф. кафедры русского языкознания
и коммуникативных технологий
Луганского государственного педагогического университета, Луганск

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна!

Пробираясь сквозь толпы Ваших почитателей, хочу поздравить Вас, великого счастливого человека, дожившего до библейского возраста, с юбилеем! Вы, Ольга Борисовна, являясь выдающимся специалистом в области изучения современного русского языка, речевой коммуникации, русского синтаксиса, функциональной стилистики и культуры русской речи, создали всемирно известную научную школу, подготовили несколько поколений русистов.

Сердечно поздравляю Вас с днем рождения и мечтаю о радостном свидании!

Мария Валерьевна ИВАНОВА
д.ф.н., проф., декан очного факультета
Литературного института им. А.М. Горького, Москва

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Дорогая Ольга Борисовна! Дорогие близкие Ольги Борисовны, ее единомышленники, коллеги и ученики!

Я восхищен возрастом Ольги Борисовны, ее подвижничеством, многолетней благородной деятельностью, мудростью и оптимизмом! Нижайший ей за это поклон от всех нас! Я сам нахожусь во весьма преклонном возрасте и очень хорошо понимаю, что дело ведь не в том, чтобы дожить до определенного количества лет. Дело в том, чтобы прожить эти годы достойно, не изменяя своим принципам, будучи уверенным в том, что твоя жизнь способствовала процветанию твоей родины и всего человечества! Пусть это — высокие, пафосные слова, но Ольга Борисовна для меня и есть воплощение этих высоких идеалов.

Преклоняюсь перед ее человеческим и научным подвигом.

Борис Юстинович НОРМАН
д.ф.н., проф., Минск

Уважаемая Ольга Борисовна,

Редколлегия нашего журнала, его авторы и читатели от всей души поздравляют Вас с юбилеем! Ваша жизнь – это пример самоотдачи любимому делу и своим ученикам. Искренне желаем Вам крепкого здоровья, бодрости, оптимизма, неиссякаемой энергии и новых творческих идей.

Низкий Вам поклон.

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